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JERUSALEM FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

THE

HOLY CITY.

HISTORICAL, TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND ANTIQUARIAN NOTICES OF

JERUSALEM,

BY

GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D.,

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS,
INCLUDING

AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE,

BY

THE REV. ROBERT WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S.

JACKSONIAN PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.
CAMBRIDGE: JOHN DEIGHTON.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

Cambridge:
Printed at the University Press.

TO THE

PROVOSTS, FELLOWS, AND SCHOLARS

OF THE

TWO ROYAL AND RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

OF

KING HENRY THE SIXTH:

AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE

FOR BENEFITS RECEIVED IN THOSE COLLEGES,

THESE VOLUMES ARE RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

Four years have now elapsed since the publication of these Notices, one main object of which was declared to be the vindication of the ancient Church from the illiberal and unjust aspersions of many modern writers, by shewing that the early traditions of Jerusalem, when fairly examined, by no means warrant the imputation of wilful dishonesty or ignorant credulity to those who became chiefly instrumental in establishing and perpetuating them.

In acknowledging the attention with which the first Edition was received, I must express my gratitude for the forbearance which passed over its numerous errors, typographical and others, incidental to the circumstances under which it issued from the press. How important it is that a Work should receive its last corrections from the writer's own hand, can only be learnt by experience. Inaccuracies of expression and obscurities of style, which passed unnoticed in manuscript, become patent in print; and the process of elimination and castigation carried on in the proof-sheets is of the utmost importance to all but very experienced or very remarkable authors. This advantage was denied to my pages, and the

inseparable evils ensued. The chief of these, and that which has occasioned me the greatest regret, is one which I must seize the earliest opportunity of acknowledging in public, as I have already in private to the party principally aggrieved. It is that, in my zeal for what I held, and still hold, to be important truth, I forgot the courtesy and consideration due to those who differed from me. Whatever opinion I might have formed of the arguments and conclusions of Professor Robinson, I was not justified in imputing motives, of which I could be no adequate judge; and I would gladly recall, as I do sincerely retract, all those harsh insinuations and personal reflections which ought not to have been applied to a gentleman and a scholar; and which would not, I hope, have escaped the censorship of a maturer judgment, had they been subjected to my revision in their passage through the press. I have endeavoured to weed them carefully from the present edition; and I heartily hope that personalities, which have indeed been too freely indulged on all sides, will be no more allowed to embarrass the sufficiently perplexing questions with which we are engaged.

Having said thus much, as was due to myself no less than to Dr. Robinson, I must add, that the differences between that writer and myself are as far from a satisfactory adjustment as ever: I believe that not an inch of debateable ground has been ceded by either party. A brief review of the literature of the subject, since the publication of the First Edition of the Holy City, will serve to shew the

present state of the controversy, and will furnish, I trust, a sufficient apology for the greatly-increased bulk of my Work.

It was my fortune, and I count it a privilege, to be the first of modern travellers to put in a plea for the ancient traditions of Jerusalem, against those modern objections, which, however ably combated by critics at home and abroad, had seriously damaged their credit in the public mind, and created a very general prejudice against them. I did not long stand alone. Almost simultaneously with my own Notices, there issued from the press in Germany a Lecture on the Topography of Jerusalem by Dr. Schultz, who, during nearly three years' residence in Jerusalem, in the capacity of Prussian Consul, had applied himself to the study of its Archæology with an industry and intelligence truly national. The results at which he had arrived, after a most diligent investigation, were in the main points identical with my own: and the very liberal manner in which he was pleased to speak of his personal obligations to me, and the handsome terms in which he noticed my then newly-published Volume, could not but be extremely gratifying. I say this the rather, because I feel that the kindly-intended remarks of a German Reviewer, in a joint notice of the two Works in the *Neues Repertorium*, were too partial to myself and unduly severe on my friend, in whom I certainly can detect no disposition "to deck himself in borrowed plumes;" but, on the contrary, a most scrupulous regard to the rights of property in the field of antiquarian discovery. After having

acknowledged in general terms, in his Preface, the communications which I made to him on his first arrival in Palestine, he several times in the course of his Lecture specifies particular theories borrowed from me: but in his Appendix he collects into one view the several points in the topography of the City which he considers me to have established, and most honestly sets them to my account. I, at least, was more than satisfied with him, and should have been better pleased had the German Reviewer distributed his laurels more equally between his own countryman and the foreigner.

In perfect contrast to the fair dealing of Dr. Schultz is the treatment which we have both experienced at the hands of the author of *Topographie Jerusalems*, published in the following year (Bonn, 1846). Professing to have arrived at his conclusions independently of us both, or at the most to have borrowed but one point (which is, however, the *fulcrum*) from us; he yet adopts entire pages of description and long lines of argument—seriatim or only slightly inverted—without any acknowledgment; while he parades and magnifies the differences, sometimes very trivial, between himself and us, so as to produce the impression that he has nothing in common with us, or at the least that the points of agreement are very few in proportion to the points of difference: The truth being, as is remarked both by Professor Rödiger and Dr. Robinson, that he "follows in general so closely the results of Williams as not to vary essentially the position of the controversy."

Herr Krafft is perfectly welcome to avail himself of our labours in any way that he thinks best—they are public property;—but his plagiarism does not contrast favourably with the honesty of his more ingenuous countryman; which I regret the rather, because his work contains much original matter of great value, and quite sufficient to establish his reputation for zeal and industry, without the infringement of the rule of *suum cuique*, so rigorously observed by Dr. Schultz.

The next writer who entered the lists was the distinguished German scholar Dr. Tischendorff, well known for his important and extensive labours in the field of Biblical Criticism. His candour is as creditable to himself as the terms of his retractation are flattering to Dr. Schultz and myself, "the results of whose inquiries," he regards as "some of the fruits, if indeed they are not the richest fruits, of the establishment of the Evangelical bishopric in the Holy City." I transcribe his palinode as an example of sincerity worthy of all imitation: "I myself indeed returned home impressed with convictions similar to Robinson's, deduced from my own examination of the tradition, as well as of the locality. But the conclusions arrived at within the last few months relative to ancient Jerusalem, by two gentlemen competent beyond all others to the undertaking, have thrown a new light upon my reminiscences, and so biassed my judgment." Then, after an able and lucid summary of the arguments, he thus religiously concludes: "The result of a serious investigation must be welcome, even should it oppose our prepossessions; for the truth, or

what is most proximate to the truth, is the object of all research; but doubly welcome is the result which confirms the sympathies fervently dear to the heart. With such has my enquiry into the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre furnished me. I think it will be in future difficult to dispute this authenticity upon reasonable grounds."

Another important fact in connexion with this subject, stated by Dr. Wilson in his "Lands of the Bible," is this, that Dr. Robinson's conclusions, "though they have obtained the acquiescence of multitudes of his readers, both in Europe and America, have been assented to but by few of the travellers who have visited Jerusalem, and favoured the world with the result of their observations, since the publication of his most important Biblical Researches." And the value of this testimony is enhanced by the fact, that the estimable writer is himself one of the few that have assented, after a personal observation of the localities.

It was not to be expected that this rapid revolution in public opinion should be permitted to go forward without an effort to check it on the part of those, who regarded the old view as false, and fraught with dangerous consequences tending to superstition. Accordingly Dr. Robinson, specially moved by "the circumstance that travellers in their brief visits to the Holy City have in some instances already yielded, and probably will hereafter yield their assent to the same views," was led to investigate anew the evidence on which his former conclusions were founded.

The result appeared in an elaborate critique of Dr. Schultz's book and my own, in two numbers of the Bibliotheca Sacra, a Theological Quarterly, published at New York, (August and November, 1847), which articles "have been translated into German and published at Halle, under the supervision of Prof. Rödiger."

I have already stated, that every position advanced in his former Work is resolutely maintained in this; and I have no right to complain, and do not complain, if his rejoinder re-echoes the tone of my strictures—for I was the first to provoke it. But I may be permitted to say, without offence, that I should have felt greater satisfaction, and have experienced more pleasure in the controversy that occupies us, if, instead of retorting my charge of misrepresentation, he had fairly avowed and honestly corrected two plain misstatements, commented on, perhaps too severely, in my first edition. I have bestowed upon Dr. Robinson's new argument the attention to which they are entitled, and replied to them as occasion required.

But independently of the original questions, some new theories have lately been published; the most novel and startling of which is that propounded by Mr. Fergusson, who maintains that the building, universally regarded as a Saracenic structure, and popularly called the Mosk of Omar, is the actual Church of the Holy Sepulchre erected by Constantine! The grounds of this extraordinary hypothesis, and Mr Fergusson's method of treating the subject, have been investigated and commented on in the Second

Volume; but, since much has been written concerning the supposed tendency of their views who advocate the authority of the ancient traditions, it may be instructive to illustrate the bias of writers who take the opposite course of free enquiry, unchecked by the moral restraint of reverence, and intelligent—not blind—regard for ancient testimony. We have been taught, by inspired authority, that David was prevented by express Divine prohibition from building the Temple which he had designed and planned. "God said unto me," said the aged king, "Thou shalt not build an house for My Name, because thou hast been a man of war, and hast shed blood. . . . And He said unto me, Solomon, thy son, he shall build My house and My courts." And after his charge to his son, he gave him the patterns of all the buildings which, he said, "the Lord made me understand in writing, by His hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern." (1 Chron. xxviii. 2, 6; 11—19.)—The following account of these events from Mr Fergusson will need no comment. After some unauthenticated assertions concerning the architectural ignorance of the ancient Israelites, he thus proceeds: "That they were utterly ignorant how to set about building the Temple, is further proved by David's inability to accomplish this much-desired object, and his being consequently obliged to delegate it to his son Solomon; who, in all probability, would have been as unequal to the task as his father, had it not been for his fortunate alliance with Hiram of Tyre, who did for the Jews what they were incapable of

doing for themselves. And as the Jews had no previous Temple, and indeed no previous notions of architecture, of course they could give no instruction; nor could they have any prescribed or hallowed form of Temple, which they could wish either repeated or imitated; so that this one of Jerusalem, whatever it was, can only be looked upon as a Tyrian Temple, built after the fashion of those existing among the Phœnicians; and, if we had a remnant of their architecture, we might safely apply it to the illustration of this one." (Principles of Beauty in Art, p. 293.)

To those who regard with reasonable jealousy assumptions of this nature, it is a satisfaction to learn from Mr Fergusson himself, that "the very slight interest evinced for his former attempts to elucidate Jewish antiquities," has not been wholly without effect as a salutary warning. (Ibid. p. 295.)

A large proportion of British Reviewers, regarding the questions at issue rather through a theological and moral medium, than by the received canons of historical and archæological criticism, have judged of my Work according to the presumed principles of the author, and the supposed tendency of the views advocated by him. This rule of judgment, in so far as it is indicative of religious earnestness and zeal for truth, is praiseworthy and consolatory; but it has this inconvenience—that it introduces controversial divinity into a province with which it has really nothing to do, and still further embarrasses the sufficiently difficult subjects under debate. The German writers are remarkably free from this partiality or prejudice; and

viewing these questions simply as historical and archæological problems, which they really are, they bring to the investigation a more candid and unbiassed judgment, and determine the various points on their own merits. I have not felt it incumbent upon me to reply to such objections as I have just alluded to; and, while I can respect all honest remonstrances against suspected error, and am grateful for them whensoever they are expressed charitably and in sorrow, I must protest against the *obiter dicta* of antiquarian or topographical discussion being assumed as containing the sum of my theological Creed.

The object of the enlargement of the historical division of my Work, particularly in the third and fourth chapters, was not solely to counterpoise the additional matter in the other division: but the bearing of the civil history in the former on the inspired narrative of the New Testament is so important, that I hoped to confer a benefit on the Biblical Student by its expansion. With regard to the period embraced in the latter, a remark of Dr Robinson, that the scanty materials for its history "have never yet been fully collected and arranged," put me upon the design of filling up the very vivid outline of the narrative which he had given.

With regard to the most important addition of all, I feel that I cannot adequately express my obligation to Professor Willis for the readiness with which he acceded to my proposal, to make my book the vehicle of his communications to the public on the Architecture of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and it

is a matter of sincere congratulation to all interested in Antiquarian and Ecclesiological study, that the illustration of this most important branch of the subject has been undertaken by one, competent, beyond all others, to do it full justice. Neither have his services been confined to the Chapter which is wholly his. Other parts of the Work are largely indebted to his kind offices, particularly the Plan and the Descriptive Memoir. That the former owes much of its beauty and completeness to his most assiduous supervision, may be said without any disparagement of the Engraver, who has evinced equal intelligence and zeal in the prosecution of the task assigned him.

My obligations to Colonel Alderson, Major Aldrich, and other gentlemen connected with the Ordnance Department, have been more fully expressed in the Introduction to the Historical and Descriptive Memoir. The publication of the first accurate Plan of the Holy City may justly be regarded as an era in the literature of the subject; and I have spared no pains to make the Companion worthy of the Work which it is designed to illustrate.

It would be a pleasing, but somewhat lengthy task, to acknowledge my obligations to others who have, by word or deed, expressed their kind interest in my undertaking, or in any way aided me in it. The names of some are mentioned in connexion with the particular services which they have rendered; among the most conspicuous of whom are H. J. Scoles, Esq., F. Catherwood, Esq., Dr Schultz, and W. T. Young, Esq., late British Consul at Jerusalem. I trust that

a general acknowledgment to others will be accepted as a token that I am neither unmindful of my duty, nor ungrateful for their kindness.

And so I again commend my Notices to the deliberate judgment of the learned; nor do I fear that the students of Grecian or Roman, Egyptian or Assyrian antiquities, subterranean and superficial, will impute it to me as a fault that I have bestowed so much time and pains on the Archæology of the Holy City.

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EXPLANATION OF THE REFERENCES IN THE DETAILED PLAN OF THE TEMPLE-AREA.

N.B.—This Table is inserted here for want of room upon the Plate. The numbers refer to Mediæval and Modern Sites; the letters to the Jewish and Christian Antiquities.

Mosk el-Aksa.

1 Mihrab of David—called also of Omar.
2 Minbar.
3 Mihrab of Moaviah.
4 Corner of the Circumcision.
5 Gallery of the Muezzin.
6 Porch of Ozair (Ezra).
7 Porch and Mihrab of Zechariah.
8 Eastern Gate.
9 Western Gate.
10 Well of the Leaf.

Other References, the position of which is indicated in all cases where the figures are widely separated.

11 (On the Southern Wall of the Area). The Mart of Science.
12 Second Mihrab of David.
13 (On the western boundary near the "House of Abu Se'ud"). Descent to a subterranean Gateway.
14 (On the eastern wall immediately opposite to the last). Judgment-seat of Mohammed.
15 (Southern boundary of the Platform of the central Dome). Minbar used on Festivals, &c.
16 (This and the following near the North-west side of the Platform). Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet.
17 The Place of the Prophet.
18 The Place of El-Khudr (S. George).
19 The Cave of Spirits.
20 (Near the North side of the Area). Dome of Solomon.
21 (Between the South-west corner of the Platform and the West wall of the Area). Dome of Moses.
22 (This and the ten following numbers are placed in order round the Platform beginning with the South-west corner). Dome of the Grammarians.

23 Dome of the Roll.
24 Cell of Kashan.
25 Convent of Bostam.
26 Convent of Samed.
27 Steps of Borak, with Saracenic arcade at the head.
28–34 Others steps leading to the Platform, with similar Saracenic arcades.
35 Five Prayer Stations (scattered about the North and West parts of the Area).
36 (Appended to the South Wall of El-Aksa). Chambers connected with the Mosk el-Aksa.
37 A small kiosk projecting from the western wall of the Area to the South of the House of Abu Se'ud.

The following numbers all lie near the same spot.

38 A small stair leading to the Court of Abu Se'ud's House.
39 An open court on a lower level than the Area of the Mosk.
40 Southernmost Angle of the West Wall, where the continuity of its line is broken by the house of Abu Se'ud.
41 The Gate of The Prophet.
42 (Four references scattered in various places upon the western and northern sides of the Area). Convents, Schools, Cells, &c.
[N.B. This and the following references are repeated on the General Plan.]
43 (On the North side of the Area). A Mosk.
44—48 See General Plan.
48 (West of the Dome of the Rock). Dome of the Chain, or of David.
49 (Between the Dome of the Rock and el-Aksa). Fountain.
50 Descent to the Vaulted Corridor beneath the Mosk.
51 (South-eastern corner of the Area). Cradle of Jesus and Descent to the Substructions.
52 (Eastern wall of Area above the *Golden Gate*). Throne of Solomon.
53 Minaret (at the South-western corner of the Area).
54 Ditto (on the western boundary of the Area).
55 Ditto (near the western extremity of the northern boundary).
56 Ditto (on the northern boundary opposite the *Pool of Bethesda.*

Site of the Jewish Temple.

a The Altar.

b The Temple.

cc The Wall of separation between the Courts; in the middle of which wall was placed the Beautiful Gate.

defg The boundary of the Inner Temple. The space between the parallel lines indicates the "Chel."

hh Masses of building occupied by the chambers and gates, and having stoas in front, which also extended along the eastern boundary, and had a gate in the centre; but these are not indicated in the Plan, to avoid confusion.

i (In the western boundary of the Area, opposite to the south-west corner of the Platform. This and the following letters are placed in order round the boundary.) The Causeway.

m The Gate Shallecheth.

n The Gate Parbar.

o, *p* The two Gates of Asuppim.

q Site of the Tower Antonia.

r The Gate Tedi.

ss Two arched Vaults running Westward.

[N.B. This and the following references are repeated on the general Plan.]

t North-east angle of Mosk: ancient Masonry.

u (Near the Golden Gate). Saracenic Gateway (built up).

v South-east angle of Mosk: ancient Masonry.

u (On the South between 11 and 12). Saracenic Gateway (built up).

w Three Roman arches (built up).

x Double Gateway to Vaulted Passage (built up.)

y Ruined Arch. (Dr. Robinson's Bridge).

z Jews' Wailing-place: Ancient Wall.

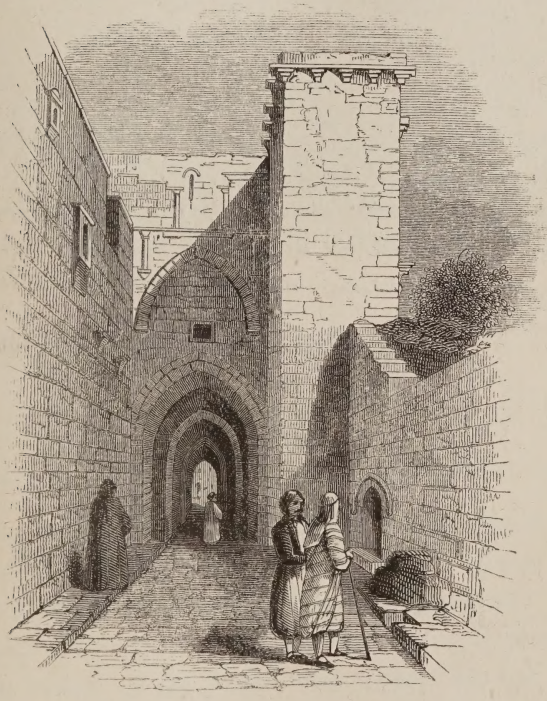
ERRATA TO VOL. I.

Chap.	Page		Line		Error.	Correction.
I.	43		17		over	beyond.
II.	80		16, 18,		Philopater	Philopator.
	89		3	from bottom	Cælesyria	Cœlesyria.
III.	128	notes col. 1.	3		ἐτὶ	ἐπὶ.
IV.	209	— — 2.	3	from bottom	ὀχυρωτάτη	ὀχυρωτάτη.
	267		13		corrupt	corrupts.
V.	312		5	from bottom	mea	meal.
	364		13		with	by.
VI.	384		17		Bishop	Archbishop.
	407		16		Dasmascus	Damascus.

HISTORICAL NOTICES

OF

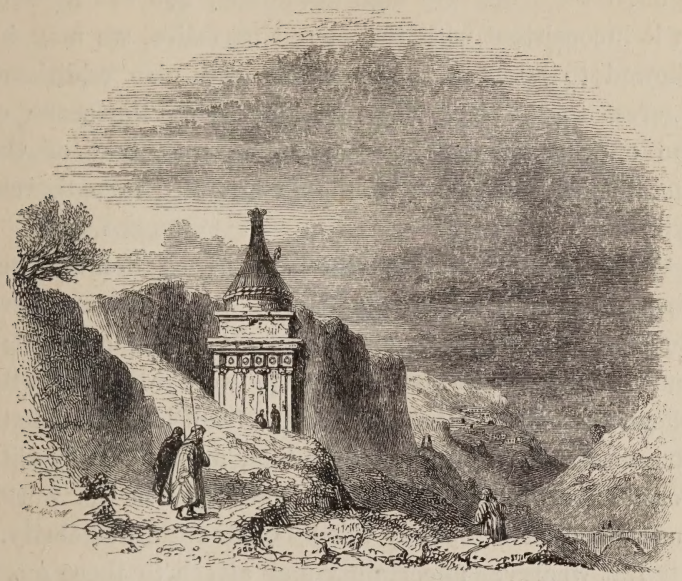
JERUSALEM.



"..... Dear
Is every stone of hers; for THOU wast surely here!"

Τοῦ νεὼ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ βάθρων κατάλυσιν, οἱ μὲν τεθεαμένοι, φιλαληθῶς ὁμολογήσατε, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, τοῖς διηγουμένοις πιστεύσατε· αὐτόπτης γάρ που κἀγὼ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐκείνης γεγένημαι, καὶ τὴν πρόῤῥησιν ἣν ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐδεξάμην ἐθεασάμην τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς· καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὕμνησά τε καὶ προσεκύνησα.

THEODORETUS Adversus Gentiles. Disputatio XI.



PART I.

CHAPTER I.

JERUSALEM FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY.

The early history of that city which was destined to occupy so conspicuous a place in the annals of the world, is so involved in obscurity, owing to the remote antiquity to which it belongs, that not only is nothing certain known of its origin, but writers are not agreed as to where it is first mentioned in Holy Scripture. The testimony of Josephus, representing as is probable the tradition of the Jewish church, has not been enough to satisfy either ancients or moderns that the Salem of Melchizedek is identical with the Jerusalem of which David was the second founder; but as this

opinion rests on very high authority[1], and has nothing in it inconsistent with the sacred narrative, we may be allowed to adopt a theory which will give additional interest to the Holy City, by identifying the scene of the offering of the king of Salem with that of the sacramental institution of the Prince of Peace therein typified.

The Jewish historian without any hesitation ascribes its foundation to Melchizedek, who, he says, "was there the first priest of God, and first built a temple there[2];" and if this mysterious personage were identical with Shem, the son of Noah, as ancient tradition with singular consistency has delivered[3], then may the Holy City boast an antiquity greater than any city in the world, and a founder every way worthy of its future celebrity.

But whatever uncertainty may attach to these questions, there can be little doubt that the spot selected by God for the offering up of Isaac "in the land of Moriah," was one of the hills of Jerusalem, where, in

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[1] Lightfoot quotes the Rabbies for this tradition (Chorograph. Cent. cap. xxi.) St Jerome speaks of "Josephus et *nostri omnes*," of whom he mentions Hippolytus, Irenæus, Eusebius of Cæsarea and of Emesa, Apollinarius, and Eustathius, as favouring this opinion, which he, however, did not adopt. He identifies the Salem of Melchizedek with that in Gen. xxxiii. 18 (the same probably as in John iii. 23), and places it near Scythopolis, where, he says, extensive ruins of the palace of Melchizedek were shewn in his day, Epist. Crit. Vol. II. pp. 571, 573, B. Ed. This Father was mostly followed by the writers of the middle ages. Of modern writers, Wells, Bossuet, Hales, Gesenius, Raumer, and others, follow Josephus; the learned Reland, and, after him, Rosenmuller, Bleek, and others, follow St Jerome.

[2] Jewish War, B. VI. cap. X. comp. Antiquities I. X. 2.

[3] Lightfoot says that "all acknowledge Mechizedek for Shem." Chorograph. Decad. cap. X. sect. I. He adduces the Chaldeans, Jews, and many Christians (Miscell. xxviii.), and computes that Shem lived 75 years after Abraham came into Canaan. Chron. in Gen. xv. St Jerome mentions this tradition, and shews from the Bible chronology that Shem outlived Abraham 35 years. Epist. Crit. Vol. II. p. 573. B. Ed.

this type, designed not only for the trial of his faith, but for the confirmation of his hope, transacted amid the scenes thereafter to be consecrated by the expiatory Sacrifice of the Son of God, the patriarch Abraham in an especial manner "rejoiced to see the day of Christ, and he saw it, and was glad[4]."

It is interesting, whatever be the value of the tradition, to find a record of these events still existing in Jerusalem; to be shewn the tomb of Melchizedek, the place where Abraham offered up Isaac, and the tree which occupies the spot where the ram was caught in a thicket by its horns: it serves at least to bring these transactions most vividly before the mind, and to give a vitality to the Sacred History, which will incline those who profit by it more readily to pardon the credulity of the Greeks, in whose chapel of the Forerunner the venerable tomb is preserved, as is the place of sacrifice in their monastery of Abraham, on the hill of Calvary; or the superstition of the Copts, who regard with veneration a tree—associated in their minds with an event of Scripture interest—which they reckon among the few treasures of their convent.

We have no further mention of Jerusalem until after an interval of more than five centuries, when, the iniquity of the Amorites being full, and the time appointed for the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham having arrived[5], the Israelites, under the command of Joshua, entered upon the possession of their inheritance[6].

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[4] Genesis xxii; John viii. 56: comp. Hebrews xi. 19; and see Warburton's Divine Legation, Lib. VI. sect. v. Works, Vol. III. p. 383, &c. Ed. 1788.

[5] Genesis xv. 13, 16.

[6] Joshua x. This is the first passage in which the name of Jerusalem occurs in the Sacred narrative, and even here it seems to be used by anticipation

The name of the king of Jerusalem at this time, compared with that of its former king in the time of Abraham, would intimate that this city had acquired a religious character among the Canaanites which entitled its ruler to the honourable appellation of the "Righteous King," or the "Righteous Lord[1]." It would appear, moreover, that Adonizedec was in a position to exercise some kind of authority over the petty

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while the city retained its ancient name of Jebus. Joshua xv. 8; xviii. 28; and Judges xix. 10. Josephus informs us that Melchizedek first called it Jerusalem, J. W. vi. v. 1; but his account of the origin of this name is very obscure. Ant. vii. iii. 2. St Jerome and others understood him to make it a compound of the Greek ἱερον, and the Hebrew שלם, but Isaac Vossius defends him from this imputation. Lightfoot, after the Rabbies, derives it from the latter part of the name "Jehovah-*jireh*," (Genesis xxii. 8, 14), and Shalem or *Salem*, (Genesis xiv. 18), by which name it is called Psalm lxxvi. 2, thus יראה+שלם =ירושלם, and he gives a curious reason for this compound. Cent. Chorog. Matt. Præmissa, cap. xxi. Whiston, who adopts this derivation, supposes the place to have been so called prophetically, after Abraham had received that oracle "Jehovah-*jireh*." "Since that expression, 'God will see,' or rather, 'God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering,' is said to have been proverbial till the days of Moses," he thinks it probable that the word may denote "that God would provide peace, by that Lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world." Note on Josephus, Ant. vii. iii. 2. It is not unlikely that, after the event referred to, the two patriarchs Mechizedek and Abraham would adopt this name with its prophetical signification, which was lost among the ungodly Canaanites, but retained and restored by the posterity of the patriarch. Reland adopts ירוש שלם "*hereditas*, or *possessio hereditaria pacis*," (accounting for the loss of the שׁ by assimilation) which gives a very good meaning, but wants the authority of the former. He is followed by Raumer, Palestina, p. 333. The least satisfactory is that of Dr Wells, who supposes it to be composed of its two ancient names *Jebus* and *Salem*—the ב being changed into ר euphoni gratiâ (Geog. of O. T. Pt. iii. cap. ii.) or, as Professor Lee, who adopts the same theory, imagines, on account of the unsuitableness of the name, יְבוּשָׁלֵם ("which would signify the *trampling or treading down of* peace") to the city which God himself had chosen for his own. Lexicon, sub voce.

[1] For examples of the union of the kingly and priestly offices in one person see Shuckford's Connection, Vol. i. p. 353, and more fully ii. 92, &c. Ed. 1731.

princes of the neighbouring cities, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, who obeyed his summons "to come up to him and help him, that they might smite Gibeon, because it had made peace with Joshua and with the children of Israel."

The site of Gibeon is still marked by the modern village of Geeb, distant about an hour from Jerusalem on the road to Jaffa, by Bethoron and Lydda; and the plain "before" it (*i. e.* to the east of it) is well adapted for the encampment of a large army. It was here that Joshua gained that decisive victory over the combined army, when the day was lengthened to complete it—so that "the sun stood still in the midst of the heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day." The king of Jerusalem, with his four allies, was taken and put to death; but we do not read that his city, like theirs, fell into the hands of the conquerors at that time, nor is it easy to determine the period of its capture by the Israelites.

In the account of the division of the land by Joshua, the northern boundary of Judah is drawn "south of the Jebusite[2];" consistently with which "Jebusi, which is Jerusalem," is reckoned among the cities of Benjamin[3]. Yet by right of conquest it belonged rather to the former[4], as it is reckoned in many passages[5], although being situated in the borders of the two tribes, it was considered common to both[6].

The conquest however was never complete, and the tenure of the Israelites throughout precarious, insomuch

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[2] Joshua xv. 8.
[3] Ib. xviii. 28.
[4] Judges i. 21.
[5] See e. g. Psalm lxxviii. 68.
[6] Compare Joshua xv. 63 with Judges i. 8. The Rabbies draw the line between the two tribes "through the very court of the temple." Lightfoot, Chor. Cent. cap. xxi. This is a mere fancy.

that the Jebusites, whom they could not drive out, having dwelt among them under tribute for some time[1], succeeded at length in breaking off the yoke and expelling their conquerors. This must have occurred during that period of degeneracy and effeminate ease which followed the death of Joshua[2], since we find that before the time of the Judges it was so completely in the power of the Jebusites, as to pass among the Israelites for "the city of a stranger," which would scarcely afford a secure shelter to one of their nation[3].

The account which Josephus gives of its first capture is important, as shewing that the distinction between the Upper and Lower City, which he so consistently preserves throughout his history, is supposed to have been recognized from the very earliest times: a fact which may lend some countenance to the notion that the dual form of its name was designed to mark this peculiarity[4].

He informs us that "when the Israelites had at length taken the Lower City they slew all the inhabitants, but the Upper City was hard to be taken, owing to the strength of its walls and the nature of the place[5]." They were, as we have seen, subsequently expelled even from the part which they had conquered, and it was not until the time of David that the Jebusites were brought into complete subjection[6].

Having come into the undisputed sovereignty of the

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[1] So Josephus Ant. v. ii. 5, where he assigns the city to the Benjamites.

[2] Judges ii. 10, &c.; compare Josephus, Ant. v. ii. 7.

[3] Judges xix. 10—12. This was during the life-time of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron. xx. 28.

[4] Lee supposes this dual form יְרוּשָׁלַ֫יִם to be "a mere figment of the Jews." Lex. sub voc. Gesenius is of opinion that this mode of writing is of recent date. Lex. sub voc. Thesaurus, p. 628, 9.

[5] Ant. Lib. v. ii. 2.

[6] 2 Sam. v. 6, &c. and 1 Chron. xi. 4—8.

whole land, by the violent death of Ishbosheth the son of Saul, "he laid siege to Jerusalem and took the Lower City by assault, while the citadel still held out[7]." This fortress, which came now to be called "the City of David," occupied a very strong natural position, aided, no doubt, by artificial defences; and the garrison were so confident in its strength, that they contemptuously exposed the blind and the lame on their walls, as if such defenders would suffice to repel the attacks of the assailants[8]. This taunt served but to exasperate the besiegers, and the reward of the first command, offered by David to him who should first cross the natural fosse which surrounded the hill[9] and smite the Jebusites, called forth all the energies of the captains, so that the position was speedily carried and secured. David now took up his abode in the castle, and enlarged the city to a size worthy of the dignity of a royal city, and the seat of government. To effect this he united the fortress of Sion to the city of Jebus, taking in the valley which had formerly divided them, and surrounded the whole with a wall[10]. The incorporated city would thus consist of two hills and an intermediate valley, which continued to be called "the suburbs," as originally distinct from either part of the city.

No sooner was David thus settled in his new capital, than he proposed to bring up the Ark of God to

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[7] Ant. VII. iii. 1.

[8] So Josephus explains 2 Sam. v. 6. See Antiquities, VII. iii. 1.

[9] τῷ διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων Φαράγγων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἀναβάντι. κ. λ. Ibid. Kennicott and many other commentators, understand צִנּוֹר, 2 Sam. v. 8, to mean a subterranean passage or aqueduct, and so he understands these words of Josephus. Dissert. in 1 Chron. xi. &c.

[10] 1 Chron. xi. 8: "Δανίδης δὲ τήνδε κάτω πόλιν περιλαβὼν, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν συνάψας αὐτῇ, ἐποίησεν ἓν σῶμα· καὶ περιτείχισας, κ. λ. Ant. VII. iii. 2

Jerusalem, that it might thus become the religious as well as the civil head of his kingdom[1].

Ever since the entrance of the children of Israel under Joshua, the Ark had been without any fixed resting-place. It was parted from the tabernacle of the congregation soon after their miraculous passage of the Jordan, the latter abiding in the camp at Gilgal, while the former went before the army to their battles[2]. When the land was settled, the tabernacle was removed to Shiloh[3], in the tribe of Ephraim, and the Ark was deposited in it: there it remained until the time of Eli the priest, except that it was occasionally carried to the national assemblies of the children of Israel, to add solemnity to their meetings[4].

The site of Shiloh is still preserved under the name of Siloon[5], a ruinous heap on a remarkable hill, about two miles to the east of the road between Jerusalem and Nablouse—eight hours from the former, and four from the latter—at the S.E. extremity of a valley known as "Wady Lebban." There is little left to mark the spot which was once the centre of the true worship of God: for the judgment on the house of Eli has extended to the very city where he dwelt; and God not only "forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh," but reduced the city itself to complete desolation, so that it became a proverb in Israel[6].

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[1] 2 Sam. vi. 1, &c.

[2] Joshua ix. 6, 15; x. 43; vi. 12; viii. 43.

[3] Ib. xviii. 1.

[4] Ib. xxiv. 1, 25, 26.

[5] See a full description in Dr Robinson's Bib. Researches, under June 14, 1838, Vol. III. p. 86. Its position is exactly given in Judges xxi. 19. The nearest point to it on the high road is Khan Lebban, which takes its name, as does the valley, from a village so called, situated on the west side of the valley, the Lebonah mentioned in Judges.

[6] Psal. lxxviii. 60, 67; Jer. vii. 12, 14, and xxvi. 6, 9.

The circumstances attending the removal of the Ark from that place were most disastrous[7]. Instead of redeeming the fortunes of the rebellious Israelites in their contest with the Philistines, as they vainly hoped and their adversaries feared, it fell into their enemies' hands, and remained seven months in their possession—a troublesome trophy indeed, dealing destruction and misery among their people, their princes and their gods, so that they were glad to be quit of its awful Presence. By the advice of their priests and diviners it was placed on a new cart with a trespass-offering, and committed to the direction of two milch-kine, who were guided, contrary to natural instinct, to the priestly city of Beth-shemesh, where the presumptuous violation of its mysteries involved some of the citizens in a lamentable destruction[8]. Awed by this event, the Beth-shemites besought the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim to relieve them of the guardianship: it was accordingly transferred to that city, and deposited in the house of Abinadab[9], under the custody of his son Eleazar, where it remained, with occasional interruptions[10], until the establishment of the kingdom in the hand of David[11].

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[7] 1 Sam. iv. 3, &c.

[8] 1 Sam. vi. 19. The Hebrew and Septuagint agree in stating the number at 50,070, Josephus sets it at 70. Dr Kennicott labours at great length to prove that the smaller number should be read in 1 Sam. vi. 19, and to account for the interpolation. Observations in loc. Oxford, 1768. Three Hebrew MSS. omit the words "fifty thousand." Kennicott's Bible in loc.

[9] A Levite, according to Josephus, Ant. VI. i. 4.

[10] In this interval it was with Samuel at Mizpeh, 1 Sam. vii. 5, &c. x. 17, &c., and afterwards at Gilgal, xi. 15, &c.; and again with Saul in Gibeah of Benjamin, xiv. 18.

[11] 1 Sam. vii. 2, cannot be intended to express that the whole time of the residence of the Ark at Kirjath-jearim was only 20 years. It was obviously much longer. Bp. Horsley corrects the translation and gives the right sense of the passage. Bib. Crit. in loc. Vol. I. p. 320.

The language of the sacred narrative implies that this border-city of Judah, originally called Baalah[1], was not far distant from Beth-shemesh; but as all traces of its name have perished, it is difficult to ascertain its precise situation. A modern traveller[2] has conjectured that Kuryet-el-'Anub[3], on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, occupies this ancient site; but there are several weighty objections to this hypothesis, besides those which he has noticed and attempted to remove.

In the description of the borders of Benjamin, the *western* line is drawn from a hill south of the lower Bethoron to Kirjath-jearim, whence the *south* border is drawn by the waters of the well Nephtoah to the valley of Hinnom, and so following[4]: thus placing Kirjath-jearim in the south-west corner of Benjamin.

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[1] Josh. xv. 9; 1 Chron. xiii. 6, &c.

[2] Dr Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, Vol. II. pp. 334, 335.

[3] Commonly known as the village of Abu-ghoosh, about two hours from Jerusalem. There can be little doubt that this village represents the Emmaus of St Luke, according to an ancient tradition of the Greek Church. It is exactly the distance required—viz. 60 stadia. Luke xxiv. 13. St Jerome most unaccountably identifies the Emmaus of St Luke with the city of that name aftewards called Nicopolis, and now 'Amwus, distant 176 stadia from Jerusalem, (according to the Jerusalem Itinerary), a little to the right of the road to Jaffa. See St Jerome, Epist. lxxxvi. ad Eustochium Virginem. Vol. IV. part ii. p. 573. Ed. Bened. and Onomast. sub voc. *Emaus*. Reland with his usual acumen solves the difficulty. Palestina, Lib. II. cap. vi. p. 427, &c., and Lib. III. p. 758. The old Christian church now in ruins at Kuryet-el-'Anub, would appear, from the paintings still to be traced on the walls, to have belonged to the Greeks, not to the Latins, as Dr Robinson says, Bibl. Res. Vol. II. p. 336. The Franciscan monastery, mentioned by Bonifacius and Quaresmius, occupied a hill on the opposite side of the road, where extensive ruins are still shewn among the olive plantations. It was near this Emmaus, and not at Nicopolis, that the Roman colony of 800 soldiers was planted by Vespasian. Jewish War, VII. vi. 6. The modern village of Kul'onieh, between this and Jerusalem, may retain in its name a memorial of this event. Josephus does not say that they occupied the *town*; but, χωρίον...ὃ καλεῖται μεν Ἀμμαοῦς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους ἑξήκοντα.

[4] Josh. xviii. 14, 15. Compare xv. 8—10.

The site of the lower Bethoron is preserved by the modern village Beit-ûr et-Tahta; the fountain of Nephtoah is conjectured by the author in question to be the present 'Ain Yalo in Wady-el-Werd: or, as this fountain lies too far south to continue the line determined by the valley of Hinnom, I would rather, on the authority of an ancient tradition, assign it to 'Ain Karim[5], which however is not far distant to the north of 'Ain Yalo. Now if the village of Kuryet-el-'Anub does represent Kirjath-jearim, it would be about *the middle of the western border* of Benjamin[6], not in the *southern extremity of it*, as the Scripture narrative intimates. But there is an insuperable objection, based on the language of Holy Scripture, to that position which all the later maps, on the authority of this writer, assume for this city. Mahaneh-dan is said to be "in" or "behind" Kirjath-jearim[7]. But Mahaneh-dan was "between Zorah and Eshtaol[8]," two cities of that part of Judah afterwards allotted to Dan, which are elsewhere associated with Beth-shemesh, in a manner which appears to intimate a proximity to it[9]. Two of these sites are still preserved in the modern villages of Surâh and 'Ain Shems[10], while Eshtaol must have been not far distant, somewhat to the south of Beth-shemesh, as

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[5] See Cotovicus, Itin. Hieros. p. 250.

[6] A line drawn from Bethoron the nether to 'Ain Yalo, would pass through Kuryet-el-'Anub, which is equally distant from both points. See Dr Robinson's map.

[7] Judg. xviii. 12. אַחֲרֵי.

[8] Judg. xiii. 25.

[9] Josh. xix. 41, called here עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ no doubt identical with בֵּית־שֶׁמֶשׁ, now 'Ain Shems. Reland, however, thinks otherwise. Palestina, p. 656. They are considered identical by Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. Vol. III. p. 19. n. 6.

[10] See Bib. Res. Vol. II. p. 339, 343; Vol. III. 17, 18.

Beth-shemesh was south of Zorah[1]. But if such was the relative position of Zorah and Eshtaol, it could not with any propriety be said that Kirjath-jearim was *between* them, if Kuryet-el-'Anub be the true site: for these considerations will necessarily determine its position near Beth-shemesh, as Scripture intimates, and Josephus expressly affirms[2], somewhere to the south-east of Surâh: south, that it may be "between Zorah and Eshtaol;" east, that it may fall without the boundaries of the tribe of Dan. Now there is an ancient site exactly in this locality, occupied by the modern village of Deir-el-Howa, on a remarkable hill above 'Ain Shems, where the mountain-region begins to descend towards the plain. The situation is such as would be well suited for a large city, and the traces of ancient masonry in the modern hovels attest the existence of extensive buildings in former times. Several coincident circumstances unite to identify this site with that of Kirjath-jearim[3].

From this point a distinct line of hills runs up to the lower Bethoron, presenting a natural boundary for

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[1] Eshtaol was in the plain. Josh. xv. 33. It is placed by Eusebius and St Jerome between Eleutheropolis and Nicopolis, ten miles north of the former; the same is said of Zorah; and Beth-shemesh is placed at the same distance, to the east of the road. Vid. Onomast. sub voc. *Esthaul*, *Saara*, *Bethsamis*. But that Eshtaol was most to the south may be inferred from what they write of Jarmuth, that it was *four miles* from Eleutheropolis, *and adjacent to Eshtaol*. *Jarimuth*. sub voc. These writers place Kirjath-jearim ten miles from Ælia, on the road to Diospolis. (Sub voc. *Cariathiarim*.) But they also place Timnath (now Tibneh, further south than Deir-el-Howa) on the road between Ælia and Diospolis. Sub voc. *Thamna*.

[2] Ant. vi. i. 4.

[3] Among other old sites pointed out to me from Deir-el-Howa by a native of the place, *unprompted*, was Beit Mahanem, bearing N.N.E. on the hill situated on the opposite side of Wady Ismâil. Might not this be a relic of the name Mahaneh-dan?

W.F.Wills del. T.Picken lith.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the Queen

WEST VIEW OF MOUNT ZION.

(From the Head of the Valley of Hinnom.)

Benjamin on the west; while the southern line would be marked by the deep valley of Ismâil, which, commencing below Deir-el-Howa, is continued under another name to 'Ain Karim (the waters of Nephtoah), from whence it would pass nearly along the road which joins that village to Jerusalem, and across the high rocky ground between the city and the Convent of the Cross, to the head of the valley of Hinnom[4].

About half way between Deir-el-Howa and 'Ain Karim, on the north side of the valley near the village Satâf, is a Wely called by the natives Khirbet-el-Uz, a name which suggests the possibility of the identity of this site with Perez Uzzah, the place where David's first attempt to bring up the Ark from Kirjath-jearim was defeated[5], and where it remained for three months in the house of Obed-edom; at the end of which period it was brought to Jerusalem, and deposited in the tabernacle prepared for it on Mount Sion.

This tabernacle however was not its proper resting-place. The tabernacle of the congregation, with the altar of burnt-offering, was now at Gibeon[6]. It had been removed to Nob after the loss of the Ark in the battle of Aphek, probably by divine direction, and on the destruction of that city[7] had been transferred to Gibeon, whence David had no warrant to remove it to Jerusalem. Although therefore we find him sacrificing before the Ark when he brought it up, this was, so to speak, a special service for an extraordinary occasion,

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[4] Josh. xviii. 15. Compare xv. 8, 9. . . . "the border *went up to the top of the mountain* that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the valley of the giants northward, and the border was drawn *from the top of the hill* unto the fountain of the water of Nephtoah."

[5] 2 Sam. vi. [6] 1 Chron. xxi. 29.

[7] 1 Sam. xxii. 19.

and did not supersede the established custom; for while he provided a ministry of Levites for continual attendance upon the Ark at Jerusalem, he appointed a service of priests by course for the tabernacle-worship at Gibeon, and for the perpetual burnt-offering[1]: here it was that Solomon offered up his sacrifice at his inauguration, and was favoured with divine revelations[2].

The tent on Mount Sion was designed only for a temporary arrangement by David himself, who had it in his heart to erect a more durable monument of his zeal for the service of God, thinking it a shame that he should dwell in a house of cedar, while the Ark of God dwelt within curtains[3]. His purpose met with the divine approval; and although he was not permitted to carry his design into execution, yet with the faith of a prophet and the munificence of a king, he devoted himself during the remainder of his days to provide materials for the building, which he knew that he should not be permitted to behold. His preparations were conducted on a scale of liberality worthy of a house which was to be "exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout all countries." And in the spirit he saw it all, for the pattern of the whole building and of all the courts was his, "by the hand of God upon him[4]:" even the distribution of the Levites in their offices, the orders of the sons of Aaron in their courses, the divisions of the singers and of the porters, and the very allotment of the gates to each, was his care, and the site was assigned by him[5].

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[1] 1 Chron. xvi. 1, 37—40.
[2] 2 Chron. i. 3—6, &c. Comp. 1 Chron. xxi. 29.
[3] 1 Chron. xvii. 1, &c.
[4] 1 Chron. xxviii. 19.
[5] 1 Chron. xxii; 2 Chron. viii. 14.

The traveller in Palestine in the time of harvest will witness in the immediate vicinity of every town or village a busy scene of no small interest as a Scripture illustration. It is the threshing out of the grain which has just been brought in from the fields. The process is as follows: A space of ground is chosen of sufficient size for the purpose, mostly in a quarter exposed to the wind; the rock, which is generally near the surface, is cleared of the superincumbent soil or sand, levelled where necessary, and thus prepared for the treading of the cattle who are then turned in to trample over the sheaves until the straw is reduced to chaff and the grain completely separated from the husks. Sometimes, but rarely, a "threshing instrument having teeth" drawn by the hand or by oxen, is used in addition. The corn is then tossed into the air with shovels, and winnowed by the wind, which carries away the lighter particles, the grain only falling back to the floor by its own weight[6].

The customs of the orientals in agriculture are not subject to change: as are their threshing-floors at this day, such we may conclude them to have been in the days of David; and such would be the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, which was selected by divine appointment for the erection of the temple, having been signalized before by an act of mercy, as the spot where the hand of the destroying angel who smote Jerusalem was stayed[7].

This site has the singular good fortune to be the

[6] Isaiah xli. 15. There are constant allusions to this process in Holy Scripture, e. g. to the *threshing* in Isaiah vii. 25; xli. 15; to the *winnowing*, Job xxi. 18; Psal. i. 4; xxxv. 5; Isaiah xxx. 24; Daniel ii. 35; Hosea xiii. 3.

[7] 1 Chron. xxi. 15; 2 Chron. iii. 1.

only one of all the sacred localities in Jerusalem whose identity has not been disputed in modern times. It is universally agreed that the hill now occupied by the Mosque of Omar and its surrounding courts, is "the Mountain of the Lord's house," though the ingenuity of travellers has been exercised in attempts to lay out the ground and determine the exact position of the temple. It is described by Josephus as a strong hill, the level summit of which was at first hardly sufficient for the Holy House and the altar; but Solomon first, then succeeding monarchs, raised banks of enormous stones from the deep valleys beneath, so as to form a larger plain[1]. Its present aspect very well agrees with this account; the courts of the Mosque present the appearance of artificial platforms raised one above another, the rock being cut into form, and its defects supplied by solid masonry. Nor is it improbable that the large stones at the exterior of the eastern wall of the enclosure above the valley of Jehoshaphat, noticed by all travellers, form part of one of those stupendous foundations mentioned with so much admiration by the Jewish historian.

Here then the temple designed and planned by David, under the immediate inspiration of God, silently developed its fair proportions, rising from the rock as by an enchanter's wand, without the sound of axes or hammers[2]; constructed with such materials as the wealthiest of kings could provide, and furnished with such ornaments as the highest wisdom, aided by the most excellent skill of the best artificers, could devise and execute.

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[1] Jew. War, V. v. 1.

[2] 1 Kings vi. 7.

The matrimonial alliance which Solomon had formed with the king of Egypt[3], the mother or nurse of human sciences, and the friendly understanding which had subsisted, even during his father's reign, with Hiram of Tyre[4], then and for many ages the great emporium for the commerce of the western world[5], secured to him all the aid which the arts could supply in the construction of the temple. Hiram, in particular, not only provided for the work timber of cedar and fir from the forests of Lebanon[6], but all the ornamental furniture for the exterior and internal decoration was prepared under the superintendence of his artificers; and the skill of the Tyrians was so well seconded by the labourers of Solomon, raised by levies from among all the tribes, that at the end of seven years this temple of unrivalled magnificence[7] was completed and dedicated to the worship of the God of Israel, under circumstances of awful solemnity, amidst evident tokens of the Divine Presence[8]. Here the Ark and the Tabernacle once more met together[9], never again to be separated until the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

The almost incredible quantity of gold employed in

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[3] 1 Kings iii. 1. This was the eleventh king of the 20th dynasty, named Asychis, who reigned about 14 years, from B. C. 1019 to 1005. See Jackson's Chron. Ant. Vol. II. p. 218.

[4] 2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Kings v. 1.

[5] See Is. xxiii; Ezek. xxvii. xxviii.

[6] 1 Kings v; 2 Chron. ii.

[7] Justinian's exclamation of "devout vanity," as the infidel calls it, must be taken with some qualification: "Glory be to God, who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work. I have vanquished thee, O Solomon," said that emperor, on contemplating the church of St Sophia, at Constantinople, the estimated expense of which is about a million sterling; while the temple of Solomon, though equalling in size only a small parish-church (according to Dean Prideaux's estimate. Connexion, Vol. I. p. 144, folio), might be valued at four or five millions sterling. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xl.

[8] 1 Kings viii.

[9] 1 Kings viii. 4, &c.; 2 Chron. iii. 2, 5.

this structure was furnished by the commerce which had been lately opened through the Red Sea. The conquest of Edom[1] having put David in possession of the two naval stations, Ezion-geber and Elath[2], he had commenced the trade[3], which was much enlarged by his son and successor[4], who himself visited these ports,[5] and established, by the aid of his Tyrian ally, a regular communication with the gold country of Ophir and with the celebrated mart of Tarshish[6].

The former of these has been lately proved by a learned writer[7] to be situated in the south eastern part of the great peninsula of Arabia, upon the shores of the Indian ocean, near the entrance of the Persian gulf, still bearing the name of Ofer. There is less certainty with regard to the latter[8], while the difficulties attending its position are augmented by the fact of "ships of Tarshish" being found in the ports both of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea. The difficulty might be removed by adopting the theory of this being a general name for

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[1] 2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 15, 16.

[2] First mentioned by Moses, Numb. xxxiii. 35, 36; Deut. ii. 8. The modern town of 'Akabah represents the ancient Elath; all traces of Ezion-geber have perished. See Robinson's Biblical Researches, Vol. i. p. 250, &c.

[3] Eupolemus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. ix. See 1 Chron. xxix. 4.

[4] 1 Kings ix. 26, &c.; x. 11, 12. This commerce was afterwards renewed by Jehoshaphat, 1 Kings xxii. 49; interrupted by the successful rebellion of the Edomites, under Jehoram, 2 Kings viii. 20, 22; re-opened by Uzziah's conquest, xiv. 22; and finally brought to an end by Rezin, king of Syria, in the time of Ahaz, xvi. 6.

[5] 2 Chron. viii. 17.

[6] 1 Kings ix. 26, &c.; x. 22.

[7] Rev. Chas. Forster, in his Historical Geography of Arabia, Vol. i. p. 165. It is called *Ofor* in D'Anville's Map, and lies in the territory of Omân, the gold-coast of Pliny, or his "littus Hammæum ubi auri metalla."

[8] Josephus and St Jerome place Tarsus in India, as do many modern writers; but Dr Wells is positive against this (Geog. of the O. T. Pt. i. cap. iii. sect. 2, 33), and adopts the theory mentioned in the text to account for Jehoshaphat's ships of Tarshish being broken at Ezion-geber, 1 Kings xxii. 48; but he had lost sight of the passage referred to in the next note.

merchant-vessels of a certain class, not necessarily implying the destination of such vessels, were it not plain from Scripture that ships constructed at Ezion-geber, did actually carry on trade with Tarshish[9], as did also those in the ports of Phœnicia[10]. Or again, we might resort to the usual hypothesis of another Tarshish south or east of the Red Sea, but that there is nothing in antiquity to warrant such a supposition. The native city of St Paul, in Cilicia, which was founded at a very early period[11], may have sent out to the Pillars of Hercules, even prior to the time of Solomon, that colony which afterwards attained considerable celebrity[12]: but we have no clear mention in any ancient author of any such port on the eastern coast of Africa or in the Indies. In this uncertainty and perplexity, it may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, which may perhaps gain credibility from several remarkable coincidences between the Scripture narrative of Solomon's naval expedition, and the account given by Herodotus of the circumnavigation of Africa by Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, who was, as far as he knew, the first to discover the passage[13].

Three years—the exact period occupied by the Egyptian expedition in their voyage round Africa—was the usual time required for the voyage from Ezion-geber to Tarshish and back[14], which would be too

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[9] 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37.

[10] Jonah i. 3. This was probably Tarsus in Cilicia. But Tartessus, in Spain, must be referred to, in Ezek. xxvii. 12, as furnishing to the fairs of Tyre, "silver, iron, tin, and lead."

[11] Josephus says that this city, and the country about it, was so called from Tarshish, the grandson of Japheth. (Gen. x. 4.) See Wells, Geog. of the O. T. Pt. I. cap. iii. sect. 2, 20, and Lightfoot, Miscel. cap. v. Tarsus still retains its ancient name, and something of its celebrity among the Syrians.

[12] Wells, Pt. I. cap. iii. 11, 32.

[13] See the account, Lib. IV. cap. 42.

[14] 1 Kings x. 22. Compare ix. 26.

long for any port south or east of the Red Sea; whereas if the sailors of Solomon were engaged in a similar undertaking to that of Necho some centuries later, and were also in the habit of sowing and reaping during the voyage,—a practice which might be common to the Phœnician sailors, who conducted both expeditions—the length of time would easily be accounted for; since the vessels, which had set sail in the Red Sea, having passed round the African continent, would enter the Mediterranean and accomplish their voyage in the period above specified, either at Joppa or Tyre, where they would discharge their cargoes[1], freighted on the coast of Africa and at Tartessus in Spain, the great emporium for the commerce of the contiguous continents.

King Solomon did not extend his dominions far beyond the limits assigned them by his father, whose conquests had secured to him the peaceable possession of a kingdom, larger than was ever afterwards embraced by the divided powers of Judah and Israel. It is therefore to this reign that we must look for the widest literal fulfilment which the promises made to Abraham and his seed have hitherto met with; and even were we not to expect a future accomplishment of the prophecies relating to the glory and greatness of the Israelitish kingdom, the strictness of Scripture language would be fully satisfied by the extent of the dominions of the son of David.

The question of the restoration of the Jews and a future literal verification of such predictions is not, certainly, affected by this fact: however that may be

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[1] Consisting of "gold, and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks." 1 Kings x. 22.

decided from other passages of Holy Scripture, it is not surely reverent or safe to suspend the truth of God upon a question of topography, or to argue, that because the territorial limits of the Jewish kingdom have never hitherto reached the limits assigned them by promise, therefore the Jews must be hereafter restored to a wider inheritance than that which their sins have forfeited[2]: for not now to insist on the condition of obedience expressed or implied in every such promise[3], or on the acknowledged difficulty of ascertaining precisely the boundaries of the promised and possessed land, the dominions of Solomon do appear, in fact, to have embraced all that was ever promised to the children of Abraham, and their limits are described almost in the language of the prophecies, as if to call attention to the fact of their literal accomplishment. Did the covenant made with Abraham declare, "Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates:"—it is remarked of Solomon, that "he reigned over all kingdoms, from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the borders of Egypt." Was the wilderness of Zin on the south, and the entrance of Hamath on the north, affixed as the limits of the land of promise:—we read that Joshua

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[2] Such is the argument of Dr Keith, in his work entitled "The Land of Israel."

[3] Πῶς ἐπαγγειλάμενος ὁ Θεὸς μεχρὶ τοῦ Ἐυφράτου ποταμοῦ παραδώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπλήρωσε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν; asks Theodoret. His reply is: Διὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου τοῦτο σαφέστερον πεποίηκεν ὁ Θεός. Πέρας γάρ φησι λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ βασιλείαν, τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καταφευτεύειν· καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν στραφὲν τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο ποιήσῃ πονηρὰ, οὐ μὴ ἐπαγάγω ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ὅσα ἐλάλησα· καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Jerem. xviii. 9. Theod. Quæst. 59 in Exodum, Op. Vol. I. p. 104. See again, Quæst. 2 in Joshuam, p. 195, &c. and Quæst. 7 in Lib. Judicum, p. 210, &c.

subjugated the whole country within these limits, and that David and his son reigned over the whole land, "from the entering in of Hamath unto the river of Egypt[1]."

The eastern and western landmarks, determined by the river Euphrates on the one side and the Mediterranean on the other, are not likely to be obliterated; but with regard to the northern and southern boundaries there is considerable difficulty, which the observations of modern travellers have served rather to augment than to diminish, until the recent recovery of an important site, frequently mentioned in the southern border, has furnished data whereby to determine the limits of the promised land in that direction; while the question relating to the northern boundary is perhaps capable of being decided by points already determined[2].

That the *possessions* of the Israelites were never co-extensive with these limits is undoubtedly true, the southern coast being occupied by the Amalekites, the western by the Philistines, the northern and eastern by the Syrians and various Arab families; but while this may be ascribed in part to their own neglect, in part to the divine judgment consequent upon it[3], it admits of a question whether it was intended that they should *inhabit* the whole of this extensive territory, or whether rather a distinction is not to be drawn between the

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[1] Gen. xv. 18; 1 Kings iv. 21, 24; Numb. xxxiv. 3, 8; Joshua xii. 7; xiii. 3, 5; 1 Chron. xiii. 5; 1 Kings viii. 65.

[2] In order not to interrupt the thread of the narrative, I have reserved for an Appendix the very interesting particulars of the discovery of Kadesh, by my friend and fellow-traveller, the Rev. John Rowlands, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge.

[3] See Judges, i. ii.

country given for *possession* and that granted for *dominion*[4]. It would even appear from some passages that the land of their possession was to have been confined between the Jordan and the Red Sea[5], while it is certain that in the reign of Solomon, all the nations within the widest borders were reduced to submission, so that "he had dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth; and they that dwell in the wilderness knelt before him, and his enemies licked the dust,"—as a type of that Son of David, to whom "the kings of Tarshish and of the isles should bring presents; the kings of Sheba and Seba offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him[6]."

Having finished the building of the Temple in the eleventh year of his reign, Solomon next proceeded to the erection of a palace, and other buildings, suitable to his magnificence, for the accommodation of his queen, and for the administration of justice. He then brought the hill, now occupied by the Temple, within the circuit of the city, which he further strengthened and adorned; and because the hill of Sion, on which the royal palace was situated, was separated from the Mountain of the House by a valley of considerable depth, he facilitated his approach to the latter by a causeway, whose traces

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[4] In Genesis xii. 7, and xiii. 14, 17, the land of Canaan (whose limits are described in x. 19) is promised to Abraham; but in xv. 18, &c., Dr Wells supposes, that "God not only repeated His promise of giving the land of Canaan *for an inheritance* to the seed of Abraham, but withal further promised to give unto his seed the *dominion* of a much larger track." lviii. 44. He finds this distinction "nicely observed in the sacred writings themselves." e. g. Gen. xvii. 8; xlviii. 4; Levit. xiv. 34; Deut. xi. 24, 25; Numbers xxxiv. 1—5.

[5] Numbers xxxii. 7, &c.; xxxiii. 51, &c.; Deut. ix. 1; xi. 31; xii. 9, 10, &c.

[6] Psalm. lxxii. 8—11. See 1 Kings iv. 21.

remain to this day,—a work of such magnitude as to excite the admiration of the queen of Sheba[1].

[1] 1 Kings x. 5. The various buildings of Solomon mentioned by the inspired historian are: "The house of the Lord"—"his own house"—"The house of the forest of Lebanon"—"the porch of pillars"—"the porch of judgment," and "an house for Pharaoh's daughter." 1 Kings vi. 1; viii. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8. The porches, however, were probably attached to his palace, and the house for Pharaoh's daughter would appear to have been part of the same. See 1 Kings iii. 1; compare ix. 24, and 2 Chron. viii. 11, where we learn incidentally that by "the city of David," is meant the house of David, where the Ark had been. Besides these works, it is said that "he built Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and repaired the breaches of the city of David." 1 Kings ix. 15—24; xi. 27. This *Millo* has much perplexed commentators. All agree in deriving it from מָלָא *to fill*, (whence מְלֵא and מְלוֹא *fulness*,) but account for its name by various conjectures. It is first mentioned after the taking of the fortress, 2 Sam. v. 9, and 1 Chron. xi. 8. The LXX. render it by ἄκρα in three places, (as Josephus seems to do in his version of this passage,) 2 Sam. v. 9; 1 Kings xi. 15, 27. Sometimes ἀνάλημμα. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Rabbi Kimchi imagines it *a large building* for public meetings; Abarbinel takes it for a large and beautiful place where the citizens were wont to meet and take their pleasure; others, (as Jarchi and R. Jeshaiah) following the Chaldee, which gives מליתא *a mound*, make it a mound of earth inside the wall; others, as R. Levi, *a trench* filled with water. Kennicott supposes it the same with the Castle of Sion or the fortress of the city of David, and quotes Lightfoot, who does not bear him out; for Lightfoot, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, makes it *part* (a complement or *filling up*) *of the city*, and identical with the suburbs, or the valley of the *Tyropœon*, that separated the Upper from the Lower City. I am disposed to think that most of these solutions may be more easily reconciled than would at first sight appear, (I except R. Levi and Kennicott.) There was probably a *public building* called Millo, giving its name to, or deriving its name from, the *part of the city* where it stood; which was crossed by *the mound*, (ἀνάλημμα) erected by Solomon for the purpose mentioned in the text. Beth-Millo, where Joash was slain, 2 Kings xii. 20, would be this house of assembly; which was "at the *going down of Silla*;" סִלָּא is taken to be equivalent to מְסִלָּא (aggestum iter) a *causeway*. Now it is worthy of remark, that the north wall of Sion, which probably crossed Solomon's *causeway* over the *Tyropœon*, was, according to Josephus, joined, as it approached the temple, to the council-chamber (βουλῇ). Jewish War, V. iv. 2, called otherwise βουλευτήριον. VI. vi. 3, a *large public building*, where the archives, &c. were kept, adjoining which was the Xystus, a place of *public resort*.

Thus then the city, which had been in a manner founded by David, attained the zenith of its glory in the reign of his son, and its renown spread to the ends of the earth for the wisdom and wealth of its highly-gifted monarch[2]. Its decline must date from the death, or rather from the apostacy of Solomon; yet it was gradual, like the decay of all great empires, and from time to time displayed fresh vigour, as though it would vindicate to itself its former greatness; but the seeds of dissolution had taken firm root, and the consummation was slowly, but surely approaching.

It is singular, that the first recorded act of that king for whose instruction primarily the book of Proverbs was composed, that store-house of all wisdom human and divine, should have exhibited indiscretion and folly almost without a parallel in the annals of the world. It is not to be supposed that the magnificence of Solomon could be otherwise than burdensome to his subjects, and his levies and taxes must have produced much disaffection and dissatisfaction. The latter period of his own reign had not been free from indications of a disposition to revolt[3] which manifested itself openly immediately on the accession of Rehoboam[4], and was ripened at once to rebellion by his uncompromising reply to the petition of his people to lighten somewhat of their grievous yoke; a reply prompted by an infatuation which can only be accounted for by the declaration of the inspired historian, that "the cause was from the Lord, that he

[2] 1 Kings iv. 29—34; x. 24.

[3] 1 Kings xi. 14, &c.

[4] Ib. xii. The political division between Israel and Judah, however it may have originated, was already fully recognized, even in David's time. See 2 Sam. xix. 11, 40—43, and xxiv. 9.

might perform his saying, which the Lord spake by Ahijah the Shilonite unto Jeroboam the son of Nebat."

The immediate consequence of this act of folly was the defection of the ten tribes, breaking out in the murder of Adoram the collector of the tribute, who had been sent to levy the government dues for the king of Judah. Rehoboam's design of reducing the revolters to obedience by the sword being abandoned in consequence of a divine prohibition, Jeroboam was permitted quietly to assume the government of the new kingdom, and forthwith took such measures as human policy dictated to secure its continuance. He had acuteness enough to perceive the connexion between loyalty and religion—between the fear of God and the honour of the king; and dreading lest Jerusalem should exercise a political as well as a religious influence over his people, and draw them away from their allegiance, he devised the expedient of setting up a new church within his own dominions, to counteract as far as possible their predilections for the old capital. Ambition was the motive, but the convenience of his people was the plea; and the popularity of the measure was secured by the adoption of the favourite idols and by admitting the lowest of the people to a participation in the priesthood, contrary to the exclusive rule of the Levitical law, which confined the office to the family of Aaron. These measures, persisted in as they were in contempt of the plainest denunciations of the divine displeasure[1], could not but serve to disgust the better disposed classes of his subjects; and the priests and Levites, with many of the people, voluntarily abandoned their temporal possessions,

[1] 1 Kings xiii.

to obtain part in the spiritual privileges of the temple-worship at Jerusalem[2].

But the profession of the true religion did not secure its practice: within three years the apostacy of Judah had become general, and brought upon that kingdom an invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt, with a numerous army[3]. The timely repentance of the king and princes averted the extremity of the divine wrath, but the fenced cities of Judah, including Jerusalem, were taken, and the Temple was spoiled of its treasures. The substitution of brazen shields for the shields of gold which Solomon had dedicated, and which Shishak now carried away, represented but too faithfully the deterioration of national piety and the consequent decline of the national prosperity. The king of Judah was reduced to a state of vassalage, but we have no intimation of the time or manner in which he released himself from the yoke. The remainder of his reign too clearly indicated the insincerity of his former repentance; and here we see the consequences of the father's sin perpetuated in the son; the record of whose wickedness is connected with his descent from an Ammonitess mother, in a manner which seems clearly to intimate that her evil influence had corrupted his heart in his early youth[4].

After a reign of seventeen years he left the kingdom to his son Abijah, whose short reign was occupied in the successful prosecution of the war with Israel which had continued during the whole period that had elapsed since the division[5]. His expostulation with the

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[2] 2 Chron. xi. 13, &c.

[3] 1 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chron. xii. Jackson says that Shishak "was probably incited to this expedition by Jeroboam," who had married his daughter. Chron. Ant. ii. 222.

[4] 2 Chron. xii. 13.

[5] 2 Kings xiv. 30.

apostate Israelites, his profession of adherence to the true worship of God, and above all, the decisive victory vouchsafed to Judah on this occasion, "because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers[1]," would bespeak a favourable opinion for this king, but that we are informed that "he walked in the sins of his fathers, and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God." But David's piety, which was still had in remembrance in the sight of God, proved the safeguard of his kingdom[2], until it was revived in the person of Asa, the son and successor of Abijah.

This king, immediately on his accession, commenced a thorough reformation, in a spirit which allowed no compromise with natural affection or expediency. His own mother, who had encouraged idolatry by her example, was deposed from the station of influence which she had occupied, and her idol was destroyed and publicly burnt by the brook Kidron[3]. Peace and prosperity was the consequence of this reformation, and he availed himself of this opportunity of strengthening the defences of the land by the erection of walled cities. His victory over the mighty host of Zerah the Ethiopian, and the promise of the divine favour, by the mouth of the prophet Oded, encouraged him in the course which he had begun, and brought over to him a large accession of the subjects of the king of Israel[4]. But the solemn covenant, by which they now bound themselves to the service of God, was not long observed; his signal deliverance from the Ethiopians was soon forgotten; and his trust in the king of Syria, on occasion of the invasion of Baasha, incurred the displeasure of God, and was

[1] 2 Chron. xiii.
[2] 1 Kings xv. 4.
[3] 1 Kings xv. 13.
[4] 2 Chron. xv. 1, &c.

the first act of a series of persecutions, oppressions and distresses, which cast a dark shadow over the later period of a reign which had given such fair promise at its commencement.

Very different was it with his son and successor Jehoshaphat[5], whose consistent course of rectitude is placed in so striking contrast to the impiety and gross idolatry of the contemporaneous king of Israel, that a review of the two reigns would form an instructive exemplification of the progress of virtue and vice; the former tending more and more to glory and honour here, no less than to immortality hereafter, the latter sinking continually to a lower depth of debasement.

The reformation of Jehoshaphat proceeded further than that of his father or of other succeeding kings; for he "took away the high places and groves[6];" he appointed princes, and Levites, and priests to teach throughout the land and to expound the law of the Lord, copies of which they carried with them; and he himself became a teacher and preacher of righteousness to the judges and the priests, to remind them of their responsibility and of the sin of wresting judgment, and to encourage them in the discharge of their important duties, the nature of which he so excellently declared to them. The complete system of organization under which the kingdom was brought during his reign, must much have facilitated the administration of its affairs, and proves that his religious zeal was not inconsistent with the due discharge of his functions as a civil magis-

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[5] 2 Chron. xvii.—xx.

[6] 2 Chron. xvii. 6. Yet in 1 Kings xxii. 43, and 2 Chron. xx. 33, we read that "the high places were not taken away," &c. This may refer to an earlier period of his reign.

trate: but he had the wisdom to see that his political improvements would be vain without the religious instruction of his people, so he made this his first care, and by so doing secured to himself the favour of God, the ready allegiance of his subjects, and the submission of all the surrounding nations.

The Philistines and Arabians, those hereditary enemies of Judah, submitted themselves to him and voluntarily offered tribute; and "the fear of the Lord fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against him." And if the invasion of his country by the combined armies of the Moabites and Ammonites, with the inhabitants of mount Seir, or the Edomites, interrupted for a short time the tranquillity of his reign, it was only to afford occasion for the exhibition of new virtues. Renouncing all confidence in his numerous and well disciplined army, and trusting simply in the protection of the Almighty, he sought to propitiate His favour by a solemn fast and extraordinary religious services in the temple at Jerusalem. The preparation and conduct of the war gave it throughout a religious character and issued in the complete overthrow of the mighty host, which proved an effectual check to aggression from any other quarter.

There was however one act of his reign which became a fruitful source of evil to his posterity, though the strength and sincerity of his own principles prevented it from becoming disastrous to himself personally.

A state of hostility with idolatrous Israel was Judah's best security against apostacy, and the ill-advised alliance which he formed with Ahab, who had succeeded to the throne of Israel, after a long period of intestine

commotion, brought on him a denunciation of the divine wrath by the mouth of Jehu the son of Hanani. Even without this, his religious principles, which could not but be put to a severe trial in the court of his idolatrous ally, amid the assemblies of the prophets of Baal[1], and the ill success of the expedition against Ramoth-gilead, undertaken under their auspices and in defiance of the true prophet, issuing as it did in the death of Ahab, might have served to convince him of his error. Yet he afterwards joined himself with Ahaziah and Joram, the sons and successors of Ahab; with the former in a mercantile undertaking in which his works were broken and his projects defeated, according to the prophecy of Eliezer the son of Dodavah; with the latter in an expedition against the revolted Moabites, in which his presence procured for his ally the countenance of the prophet Elisha, with a miraculous deliverance from drought and a complete victory over the enemy[2]. The repetition of conduct which had been so plainly condemned, would make it appear that he had implicated himself with the royal family of Israel in a manner which bound him to forward their measures, and may be accounted for by the matrimonial connexion which he had allowed his eldest son to form with the house of Omri.

Such an alliance, as might have been expected, was in the last degree detrimental to the best interests of the nation. It was nothing strange that the son-in-law of the house of Ahab should walk in the way of the kings of Israel[3]. The first act of the reign of Jehoram was

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[1] 1 Kings xxii. [2] 2 Kings iii. [3] 2 Kings viii. 18; 2 Chron. xxi.

the murder of all his brethren, and of many of the princes of Israel. The remainder of his reign was answerable to this beginning; for, as though his own iniquity were a small matter, "he caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit fornication, and compelled Judah thereto." The revolt of the Edomites, who had been subject to Judah from the days of David until this period, while it was a fulfilment of ancient prophecy[1], was a warning and a chastisement to him, though neglected and despised: and a voice which came to him, as it were from another world, affected him no more, so hardened was he and insensible. This was a letter from Elijah, indited by the spirit of prophecy and written before his translation[2], reproving him for his sins and denouncing the divine vengeance; still he remained impenitent, and the threatened punishments immediately came to pass. The Philistines and Arabians invaded the land, sacked the city, carried into captivity his children and his wives, and left him the prey of a loathsome and incurable disease, under which, at the end of two years, he died miserably, unlamented and "without being desired."

He was followed, both in his government and in his impiety, by his youngest son, Jehoahaz or Ahaziah[3], who alone had escaped captivity, and "He also walked in the ways of the house of Ahab; for his mother was his counsellor to do wickedly." His sympathy with the king of Israel led to his destruction, in the revolt of

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[1] Gen. xxvii. 40.

[2] I adopt the most probable account, which is found also in the margin of the authorized version, 2 Chron. xxi. 12. The rapture of Elijah occurred during the life of Jehoshaphat, 2 Kings ii. iii. 13, &c.

[3] 2 Kings viii. 24—29; ix. 10; 2 Chron. xxi. 17.

Jehu, after a reign of one year, when many of the royal family of Judah shared the fate of the king.

Athaliah, the queen-mother, all but completed the extermination of those who survived and usurped the kingdom for six years, when the rightful heir was restored under circumstances which promised the extirpation of idolatry and a revival of the national religion[4]. The important services rendered to Jehoash by Jehoiada[5] the high priest gave the latter much influence over the mind of the youthful monarch, and his proposal to repair the temple, which had been broken up that its spoils might be bestowed on Baalim, called forth the religious zeal and devotion of the people. But the death of the high priest, in an extreme old age, clouded the bright prospect, and the murder of Zechariah the prophet, the son of his preserver, "between the porch and the altar[6]," proved the strength of his attachment to the idolatry into which he had lapsed, and from which the Spirit of God in the prophet would have recalled him. A disastrous invasion of the Syrians, and a grievous malady, terminating in a violent death, by the hands of conspirators, was the fruit of this defection.

His son Amaziah met with a similar fate after a long reign, the latter part of which was too nearly con-

[4] 2 Kings xi. 12.

[5] 2 Chron. xxiv. 20—22.

[6] Matt. xxiii. 35. St Jerome's account of the substitution of Barachiah for Jehoiada in this difficult passage, is scarcely satisfactory; viz., that Barachiah means "beloved of God," and Jehoiada was a just man, and therefore beloved; but he adds, that the version of the gospel, in use among the Nazarenes, had Jehoiada for Barachiah. Vid. Comment. in loc. Vol. IV. Pt. i. pp. 112, 113, Ed. Bened.; St Chrysostom, and many others, understand the allusion of the son of Barachiah, (Zech. i. 1). But this explanation appears inadmissible. See Poole's Synop. in loc.

formed to his father's pattern[1]. He had at first run well and prospered, but on his return from a successful expedition against the Edomites, he set up their gods to be his gods, and being reproved for his folly in "seeking after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their people out of his hand," he not only despised the admonition, but threatened the prophet, and was given over to an infatuation, the precursor of his ruin, which was brought about by means of a power which he himself had provoked to the contest. His wanton challenge of the king of Israel, prompted by pride and self-sufficiency, grounded on his former conquest, and persisted in against the remonstrance of his rival, involved both himself and his country in misery; for being defeated in a battle at Beth-shemesh, the conqueror brought him as a prisoner to Jerusalem, which he sacked and pillaged, not even sparing the sacred vessels of the temple; and having broken down four hundred cubits of the wall, he returned to Samaria, leaving the king to repair his shattered fortunes as he could, and soon after to become the victim of the well-earned disaffection of his subjects.

The long and prosperous reign of Uzziah[2], who succeeded to his father's throne at the early age of sixteen, served to place the affairs of Judah on a better footing. Having strengthened the defences of the capital and of the country generally, he secured a period of peace by the terror with which he inspired his troublesome neighbours in his wars against the Philistines and Arabians, by the establishment of a formidable standing army, and by the invention of military engines. He then devoted

[1] 2 Kings xiv; 2 Chron. xxv.

[2] 2 Chron. xxvi.

himself to agricultural pursuits, and might have come to his grave in peace, but for an act of daring presumption, which none of his predecessors, however abandoned, had ventured to commit. It was an attempt at a sacrilegious invasion of the priestly office, successfully resisted by the sons of Aaron, and signally visited by God Himself; furnishing an example to succeeding generations of the danger of intruding into the sacred ministry—an example which will be no less eloquent under the new dispensation to those who look to the Old Testament for a rule of life and for intimations of the divine will; regarding the Gospel as a continuation or extension—a fulfilment rather than an abrogation of the law, and, as such, not requiring the repetition of the principles there laid down, but none the less both sanctioning and demanding the observance of those principles.

Uzziah was succeeded by his son Jotham, who is mentioned with commendation, though the corruption of the people was becoming deeper year by year[3], and the voices of the prophets, who were raised up about this period, gave warning of approaching judgments. Joel and Amos, Hosea and Isaiah, were now uttering denunciations of wrath; and earthquake, and famine, and drought, with their attendant train of misery and distress, speedily ensued, insomuch that there was not corn and wine sufficient for a meat-offering and a drink-offering in the House of the Lord[4]: and when the religious king, who must always be a check to the progress of vice even in an age of profligacy, was removed,

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[3] 2 Chron. xxvii. 2.

[4] Joel i. 9, 13.

and the succession of Ahaz secured countenance for iniquity and idolatry in the highest quarters, then sin indeed ran riot in the land, and, according to the strong expression of the prophet, "they drew iniquity with cords of vanity, and sinned as it were with a cart-rope[1]." And judgment followed judgment, until they were almost exhausted, and there was no room to smite any more with the rod of chastisement[2]; the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint, and from the sole of the foot even unto the head there was no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores. The country desolate, the cities burned with fire, the land devoured by the enemies; the daughter of Sion desolate; a small remnant its only security against the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, which it had equalled or exceeded in its sin. Such is the picture of Judah's condition during the reign of this most profligate and abandoned of all her princes.

The confederacy of Pekah, king of Israel, with Rezin, king of Syria, resulted in their carrying off a large captivity, though Jerusalem itself escaped[3], and the last extremity of misery was averted by the intervention of the prophet Oded, and the interference of the princes of the tribe of Ephraim. The Edomites and the Philistines also invaded the land, possessed themselves of several cities, and carried away their inhabitants captives; so that Judah was brought very low. The Assyrian, in whom they vainly trusted, was so far from helping, that he distressed and impoverished them still

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[1] 2 Chron. xxviii; Isaiah v. 18.

[2] So Lowth translates Isaiah i. 5. "Where should ye be smitten?"

[3] Compare Isaiah vii. 1—9, and 2 Kings xvi. 5, with 2 Chron. xxviii. 5, &c.

more; and this unholy alliance became the occasion of fresh sin, in which king and priests and people were all involved. To turn to the worship of the gods of Damascus, on the plea, "Because the gods of the kings of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me[4]," was a more specious error than that of Amaziah—but the idolatry of Ahaz was the ruin of him and of all Israel.

There are few things more remarkable in the history of the kings of Judah than the frequent alternation of virtuous and vicious princes, contrary, it would seem, to the rule of the divine economy in the government of the world. One of the most striking instances of this apparent reversion of the order of Providence, is that of Hezekiah, of whom it is recorded that "after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him." He found the church and state in a deplorable condition, owing to the impiety of his predecessors. The high priest had been so far forgetful of his duty, as to lend himself to the idolatrous practices of Ahaz; the sacred vessels had been desecrated or destroyed, and the doors of the house of the Lord shut up, to the entire suspension of all the prescribed services[5]. The daily burnt-offering, indeed, was still offered, but not on the brazen altar, which had been removed from its place and superseded by that which had been built after the fashion of the idol-altar at Damascus[6]; and the streets of Jerusalem were polluted with like memorials of the idolatrous excesses of the late reign.

Hezekiah lost no time in commencing the purification

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[4] 2 Chron. xxviii. 23. [5] 2 Chron. xxviii. 24. [6] 2 Kings xvi. 10—16.

of the temple from these abominations[1]. "In the first year of his reign, in the first month, he opened the doors of the house of the Lord, and repaired them," and charged the priests and Levites, whom he assembled at Jerusalem, to prosecute the work of purification with vigour. In sixteen days it was accomplished, and the solemn dedication of the temple, rendered necessary by the late abuses, and the consecration of the priests and Levites to their several offices, proclaimed the re-establishment of the national religion.

His next care was the due observance of the Passover, which he proclaimed not only throughout his own dominions, but through the tribes of apostate Israel. His religious zeal, as was natural, excited the ridicule and opposition of many; but, on the whole, the revival was more general than could have been expected after so long a defection from the true worship of God, and a very great congregation was assembled. It was a most joyful occasion, for "since the time of Solomon there was not the like in Jerusalem." In a short time all the symbols and insignia of idolatry were swept away; the high places, the images and the groves were removed; and the brazen serpent that Moses had made—an object not only innocent in itself, but venerable from its associations—was destroyed, as having been abused to idolatrous practices. Neither was the reformation confined to the capital. The spirit of religious zeal descended from the prince to the people, and the whole land was cleared of its abominations. The willing offering of the firstfruits and tithes, which were brought in so plentifully that there was enough and to spare for all

[1] 2 Chron. xxix. 32; 2 Kings xviii. 20.

sacred purposes, bore witness to the sincerity of the offerers; and of the king it is said, that "in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered."

While these things were being transacted in Judah, the iniquity of the ten tribes had become full, and the long-threatened judgment at last overtook them. The appointed minister of vengeance was Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. In his first invasion he reduced Hoshea, king of Israel, to a state of vassalage, but was content to leave him in possession of the throne, in consideration of an annual tribute: but when, after an interval, the tribute was withheld, and the vassal-monarch manifested a disposition to exchange the yoke of Assyria for that of Egypt[2], he again invaded the country, and laid siege to Samaria. At the end of three years he took the city, and carrying away the ten tribes to Media, peopled the desolated country with captives from other conquered cities, whose small remnant at this day attests the truth of the sacred history[3].

The ruin of Israel would doubtless inspire the pious king of Judah with fresh zeal in the prosecution of the work in which he was engaged, if by any means he might avert the like calamities from his own country. Yet he took a course which human policy would pronounce most likely to hasten that crisis which he sought

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[2] 2 Kings xvii. 3, 4.

[3] 2 Kings xvii. 24, &c. and compare xviii. 24. The Samaritans are found only at Nablouse: in 1842, the community consisted of 39 taxable men, with their families; they are distinguished from all other denominations, by their somewhat Jewish physiognomy, the red turban, peculiar to them, and their deep-seated hatred of the Jews. They receive only the Pentateuch, are rigid observers of the law, and sacrifice three times in the year on mount Gerizim.

to prevent. The services of the Assyrian army had been purchased by Ahaz at the price of an annual tribute, the continued payment of which implied a dependence on its aid inconsistent with that simple reliance on God, which had ever been the best protection of the Jewish nation. Hezekiah therefore withdrew his fealty, and an invasion was the immediate consequence[1]. Daunted for a time by the approach of his powerful enemy, he sought to escape the impending storm by a tardy submission; but, when at a later period he resumed his opposition and again provoked the resentment of the great king, he was delivered by a wonderful intervention of Providence from the threatened destruction. He had put the city into a state of complete defence and taken all necessary precautions against the emergency of a blockade, but his trust was placed in something stronger than walls and bulwarks—even in Him who compasseth His people as the hills stand round Jerusalem—and as he relied not on an arm of flesh, spiritual succour was vouchsafed to him, before the invader had so much as cast a bank or shot an arrow against the city. Once, while at Lachish, he had detached three of his captains with a great host for this service, and they had come to Jerusalem and sat down before it; but the siege was raised, and the forces reunited at Libnah, from whence Sennacherib soon after marched to meet Tirhakah king of Ethiopia[2], having first sent an insulting

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[1] Comp. 2 Kings xv. 2, 7, &c. and xviii. 7, 13—16.

[2] The Taraco of Manetho, the third king of the 25th or Ethiopian dynasty, called Sethon, priest of Vulcan, by Herodotus, Book II. c. 141. See Heeren's Historical Researches, Vol. II. p. 383. Jackson's Chron. Ant. II. 230, 1. note 2. Milman observes from Horapollo, that "total destruction was represented in Egyptian hieroglyphics by the symbol of a mouse." This, if

message to king Hezekiah, threatening on his return to proceed in person to the subjugation of Jerusalem. It was during this expedition that the miraculous destruction of his numerous army forced him to a precipitate retreat to Assyria, where he met with a violent death from the hands of his own children; yet so memorable was this invasion, that the Camp of the Assyrians, on the north of Jerusalem, was ever afterwards had in remembrance, and was occupied by Titus himself during the blockade of the city by the Romans[3]. The prosperous reign of Hezekiah, which was almost blameless, was miraculously prolonged for fifteen years, and his death left the throne vacant for a son who had nothing in common with him.

The long reign of Manasseh[4], who equalled, if he did not exceed, the worst kings of Israel in the enormity of his wickedness, reduced the kingdom to such a state, that when in his later years, under the discipline of affliction, he had learnt true wisdom in his dungeon at Babylon, his most strenuous efforts to extirpate the idolatry which he had planted were unavailing[5], and he had to reap the bitter fruits of those iniquities of which he had deeply repented, and which his whole soul

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correct, will throw great light on the version of this story given by Herodotus, who very possibly derived it "from the misinterpretation of an hieroglyphic, in which the shield, the quiver and the bow, the usual symbols by which, as in Hebrew poetry, the might of a great army is represented, were destroyed by some secret and unseen, or insignificant instrument of the divine power, typified by the field-mouse." History of the Jews, Vol. I. p. 307, 8. This writer, with others, attributes the catastrophe to the Simoom, which seems a very arbitrary and unauthorised method of interpretation. The same may be said of the substitution of Pelusium for Libnah in this history; for he could scarcely imagine them to be identical. Joshua xii. 7, 15.

[3] Josephus, J. W. v. xii. 2.

[4] 2 Kings xxi.

[5] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11—17.

abhorred. And as he could not stop the torrent of depravity to which he had opened the flood-gates, so neither could he avert the after consequences of his transgressions, which are ever mentioned as the chief moving cause of the Babylonish captivity[1]: a solemn warning indeed, that repentance, however sincere, however availing through God's mercy to the salvation of the individual penitent, cannot cancel the past, nor reverse the righteous decree which has connected sin and misery together by an inseparable tie. Something however was effected; the people were induced, by the example and admonition of their king, to abandon the worship of the false gods, but the continuance of the high places, to which they clung with fond idolatry, left open the door to defection from the true object of worship: and evil principles had become too deeply seated in his son Amon to be eradicated by the late repentance of his father, whose early impiety he imitated during the two years of his reign[2].

His violent death placed the young Josiah on the throne[3], a prince whose devoted loyalty to the King of kings would have redeemed his land from destruction, had not the iniquity of his predecessors opposed an insuperable obstacle to pardoning mercy. He came to the throne at the early age of eight years, when youth and inexperience would disqualify him to take a decided line, even if his principles had disposed him to run counter to the first lessons which his childhood had received under the tuition of an idolatrous father. But although he laboured under such disadvantages, and had to

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[1] See 2 Kings xxi. 11, 12; xxiii. 26; xxiv. 3; and Jerem. xv. 4.

[2] 2 Kings xxi. 23, &c.

[3] 2 Kings xxii. xxiii.

grope his way from darkness to light, while the lamp of divine truth lay buried in oblivion, yet he made marvellous progress. "In the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek God," and in "the twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places and the groves and the carved images and the molten images." Neither was his reformation confined within the limits of Judah and Benjamin: it extended to "the cities of Ephraim and Simeon, even unto Naphtali," and "all the remnant of Israel[4]."

In order to account for the exercise of such wide authority, it is necessary to suppose that some political revolution had lately occurred, the effect of which had been to weaken the power of the Assyrians, and to restore the independence and extend the influence of the king of Judah over the northern confines of his kingdom[5].

Manasseh had been carried in chains to Babylon by the captains of the host of Assyria[6], and was probably restored to his throne as a tributary vassal of "the great king." But during the minority of Josiah the regency of the kingdom had joined with the neighbouring nations in that extensive defection which encouraged Phraortes[7], the second king of Media, to measure his

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[4] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6—9. Jos. Ant. x. iv. 5.

[5] I follow Jackson in assigning to this period the history of Judith. Mr Clinton agrees in this, but corrects the chronology. For the arguments in favour of this view and against other theories, see Jackson's Chronological Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 332, &c.; and for the Chronology, Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, Vol. I. p. 274, &c. and notes.

[6] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

[7] The Arphaxad of Judith, i. 1, &c. This twelfth year of Nabuchodonosor corresponds with the second of the reign of Josiah, the tenth of his life, B.C. 639. Clinton's Fast. Hell. i. p. 274. note y. and p. 328.

growing power against the declining strength of the Assyrians. His army was completely routed in a sanguinary battle near Ragau in Media, and himself taken and put to death[1].

Nabuchodonosor was now at liberty to punish the revolted provinces, and he accordingly sent a large army under his general Holofernes to reduce them to submission by the sword. Awed by the terrible examples of his indiscriminating vengeance, the maritime cities of Phœnicia and Palestine, which had also joined the confederacy, submitted without a blow, admitted garrisons into the dismantled walls, and contributed to swell the ranks of the Assyrian army on its desolating march[2]. The whole force, consisting of 170,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, was next directed against Judea, which still refused to return to its allegiance.

The mountain barrier of Samaria to the south of the great plain of Esdraelon offers but few passes practicable for a large army with its baggage and stores, and the most commodious of these was guarded by the strong city of Bethulia, which opposed an effectual check to the further progress of the invading army.

The high priest Hilkiah[3] and the other elders prepared to meet the approaching storm by a solemn humiliation at Jerusalem, and wrote to encourage the

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[1] Compare with Judith loc. cit. Herod. i. 102, which mutually reflect much light one on the other.

[2] For this invasion and its issue see the book of Judith throughout.

[3] So named in 2 Kings xxii. and 2 Chron. xxxiv. the Joacim of Judith iv. 6—14. The Eliakim of Josephus, x. iv. See the discrepancy explained by Prideaux, Connect. Vol. i. p. 53, and Jackson's Chron. Ant. i. 336, 7. The eighteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, when this invasion took place, would correspond with the eighth of Josiah's reign, B. C. 633, when he would be only sixteen years of age. Hence the conduct of the war devolved on the high priest and Sanhedrim.

inhabitants of the north to jeopardy their lives to the death in defence of their liberties and laws. Most nobly did they respond to the call, and rise to the emergency. The commanding eminences were occupied and strengthened, the passages through the deep defiles blocked up, and the champaign country embarrassed with artificial impediments. But the most determined bravery must yield to the pangs of famine, and when the enemy had contrived to seize the fountain of water which issued forth from the foot of the mountain on which their city was built, the inhabitants of Bethulia were reduced to the last extremity. Maddened by thirst, they tumultuously demanded of the governour and elders to open the gates to the besiegers, and were with difficulty persuaded to postpone this measure for five days in the prospect of some divine interposition.

At this critical juncture the heroic daring of Judith wrought the deliverance of her nation, and earned for her an imperishable name among the daughters of Israel. Panic-struck by the shameful death of their general, the Assyrians fled in dismay, and were chased with terrible slaughter by the Jews, reassured at this sudden and unexpected change of fortune.

The consequences of this defeat were felt even in Media, and the heavy loss here sustained by Nabuchodonosor emboldened Cyaxares, the son and successor of Phraortes, to contend with better success against his Assyrian rival[4]. Its immediate result in Judea was to extend the dominions of Josiah to the north, and we have already seen how he made his victory subserve the glory of God, by using his best endeavours to reduce

[4] Herodotus, I. 103, and Jackson's Chron. Ant. Vol. I. p. 339, note 76.

to the true religion the small remnants of the ten tribes of idolatrous Israel.

The earlier part of this reformation was conducted on such principles of pure religion as tradition had preserved; for such had been the abandonment of its precepts, since the time of Hezekiah, that the written depository of the Mosaic law had been lost and almost forgotten. It was recovered by Hilkiah the priest, while repairing the temple, in the seventeenth year of Josiah's reign. But the clearer understanding of its requirements created amazement and dismay in the tender heart of the young prince: he rent his clothes and wept at the remembrance of the contempt which had been poured upon the law, and from dread of the impending wrath which its transgressions had provoked, and sent to inquire of the Lord concernig it. The answer which he received from Huldah the prophetess was discouraging in the extreme. For the nation, a threat of speedy recompense for their aggravated sins—fiery indignation shortly to be poured upon Jerusalem; for Josiah himself, a promise that he should be taken away from the evil to come—removed by death from a participation in those judgments which might not now be averted, and only for a brief season delayed. Never did reformer prosecute his task under such gloomy forebodings, but never any with more fervent zeal than he. He built as for eternity, though he knew that a few years would lay all his labours in the dust, when the destroyer should come up with axes and hammers to break down the carved work which he was restoring, to set fire upon the holy places which he was renewing, and to carry away the living stones of the spiritual church to captivity in a heathen land.

The busy sounds of the workmen who were engaged in the repairs of the temple, or in the demolition of the high places and idol-altars from Geba to Beersheba, were but a prelude to the sounds which should accompany the devastation of the invading army, and the joyful acclamations of the assembled multitude at the feast of the Passover in his eighteenth year, were strangely contrasted with the swan-like strains of the Prophet Jeremiah, singing the dirge of the parting glory of Judah. Its doom was speedily consummated.

The situation of Judea between two powerful rival sovereignties has frequently exposed it to the horrors of war, and it now became the scene of the conflict between Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, and the formidable founder of the new Assyrian dynasty in Babylon[1]. The king of Judah was probably bound by his oath of vassalage to the Assyrians to guard their frontier against the aggressor, whom he encountered in the plain of Esdraelon[2], which has been the battle-field of

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[1] Necho II., the son and successor of Psammeticus, the fifth king of the 26th dynasty. Jackson's Chron. Ant. II. p. 339. Josephus says, that this expedition was "against the Medes and Babylonians, who had overthrown the dominion of the Assyrians." Ant. X. v. 1. The combined forces of Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, (father of the great Nabuchadnezzar), and Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares, king of Media, had taken Nineveh two years before this (i.e. in 612, B.C.) See Prideaux's Connection at this year.

[2] There is no necessity to suppose, with Milman (Hist. Jews, Vol. I. p. 313), that "the Jewish copyists may have substituted the more familiar name Megiddo for the remote Magdolum." It is much more probable that Herodotus was mistaken by the similarity of the name. Zechariah xii. 11, which is commonly taken to refer to this disastrous defeat—seems to fix it to Megiddo, in the tribe of Manasseh. See St Jerome, Comment. in Zech. loc. cit.; and for a satisfactory answer to the common objections, see Reland's Palestine, sub voc. *Megiddo.* This city is now represented by Leggûn. In the account given of these events by Josephus, all the extant Greek copies have Μένδην πόλιν; but there can be little doubt that he wrote Μέγδην, for

the world in ancient and modern times. In this engagement Josiah was mortally wounded, and died shortly after.

Well might the prophet lament the death of this pious prince, since his death was the knell of Jerusalem[1]; for as the destruction of Sodom was delayed until just Lot had effected his escape, so with the spiritual Sodom, its just judgments commenced as soon as Josiah had been removed. After a successful campaign in Syria, Necho led his victorious army against Jerusalem[2], where having deposed Jehoahaz[3], whom the people had made king in his father's stead, he carried him to Egypt, and placing Jehoiakim, his elder brother, on the

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he expressly says that it was in the kingdom of Josiah, and we nowhere read of such a city as Mendes within these limits. Ant. Lib. x. cap. v.

[1] 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, and Lam. iv. 20.

[2] The taking of Jerusalem by Pharaoh-Necho is not expressly mentioned in Scripture, but it is implied. Herodotus no doubt alludes to these events, II. 159: "Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν, ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἷλε." Whatever difficulty or ambiguity there may be in this historian's reference to Cadytis in III. 5, it can be hardly doubted that in this passage by Cadytis is intended Jerusalem. It must have been early called by a name corresponding to that by which alone it is now known among the Arabs—"el-Kuds," or "The Holy." See Neh. xi. 1—18; Isai. xlviii. 2; lii. 1; Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53. The passages from Isaiah prove that it was known to the Hebrews by the appellation of עִיר הַקֹּדֶשׁ before the time of Josiah, the Arabic pronunciation of which would come nearer to the form which it assumes in Herodotus. Reland, Palestina, p. 668, &c., states the arguments against this view. See on the other side Raumer's Palestine, under the article "Jerusalem." A memorial of the Ἰηνύσιος πόλις, in the passage of Herodotus last referred to, is still found in "Khan Yunas," about fifteen miles south of Gaza.

[3] Called Shallum in Jer. xxii. 11, not however the Shallum mentioned as the fourth son of Josiah in 1 Chron. iii. 15: because Zedekiah the third son was only ten years old at this time; but Jehoahaz or Shallum was twenty-three. 2 Kings xxiii. 31. He was probably the second son, as Eliakim or Jehoiakim, who was twenty-five years old, must have been the eldest. See Clinton, Fast. Hell. I. pp. 318, 319, and note w.

throne, condemned the land in a heavy tribute. The defeat of the Egyptian army at the Euphrates, a few years later[4], followed by their evacuation of all Syria and Palestine[5], brought another reverse of fortune. Jerusalem was now taken by the Chaldeans; the king and some of the royal princes were brought to Babylon[6], with part of the sacred vessels of the temple: but Jehoiakim was subsequently restored and confirmed in the kingdom, until a vain attempt to regain his independence resulted in his ruin, when, according to the testimony of Josephus, he met with the fate which Jeremiah the prophet had denounced[7]; being put to death by command of the conqueror, and thrown unburied before the walls of Jerusalem.

Jehoiachin[8], his son, succeeded for three months, when Nebuchadnezzar again came up and besieged the city: the king, with all the members of the royal family and the principal officers of state, having delivered themselves up, were carried into captivity, and Zedekiah,

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[4] Jer. xlvi. 2, &c. Pharaoh-Necho held Carchemish about three years, from 610 to 607, B.C.

[5] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. The events referred to in this verse must belong to the 4th year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 606.

[6] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. It was on this occasion that Daniel and his companions were carried captive. Dan. i. 1—7. From this year the 70 years' captivity are to be dated to the first decree of Cyrus. Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20—22. See Prideaux's Connection, B.C. 518 and 515, for three ingenious computations of this period. It is singular that Josephus passes over this first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in his first year. Indeed he says, that after he had vanquished Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish, "he passed over Euphrates, and took all Syria as far as Pelusium, *excepting Judæa*," which he did not invade until four years after. Ant. x. vi.

[7] Ant. loc. cit. Comp. Jer. xxii. 18, 19. Josephus says, that it was on this occasion that Ezekiel was carried captive with 3000 of his countrymen of the chief dignity.

[8] 2 Kings xxiv. 6—16. Called Jeconiah, 1 Chron. iii. 16; Jer. xxiv. 1; Matt. i. 11: and Coniah, Jer. xxii. 24, 28.

his uncle, was appointed by the king of Babylon to the throne of Judah[1]. It was now little better than an empty title; the domination of the foreign monarch and the insolence of the native princes had robbed it of all its real dignity[2].

Zedekiah was scarcely seated on his throne, when he was solicited to enter into a confederacy with the petty princes of the neighbouring nations, with a view to break off the yoke of the king of Babylon[3]; and although for a time he declined to join the league, yet when it was strengthened by the accession of the king of Egypt, he was induced to do so, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the effects of whose inspired denunciations were counteracted by a multitude of false prophets, whose only care was to assimilate their predictions to the wishes of the powerful.

At length the conspiracy having become formidable, Nebuchadnezzar again marched at the head of his army towards the devoted city, which was selected by lot to become the first example of his vengeance[4]. In the tenth month of the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the month, the city was besieged; and on the self-same day was revealed to the prophet Ezekiel, in the land of his captivity, the irrevocable destruction determined upon it[5].

Yet the delusive hopes of the rebellious princes were again revived by the approach of the Egyptian army under Pharaoh Hophra[6], who had lately succeeded

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[1] 2 Kings xxiv. 17, &c. His original name was Mattaniah.

[2] See Jer. xxxviii. 5. 24—26.

[3] Jer. xxvii.; which it appears, from the first verse, was spoken prophetically during the reign of Jehoiakim. See Lightfoot's Chronicle, A. M. 3399.

[4] Ezek. xxi. 20, &c.

[5] 2 Kings xxv.; Ezek. xxiv.

[6] The Apries of Herodotus. The

his father Psammis, the son of Necho, on the throne of that country. The siege was indeed raised for a time by this movement; but the predictions of the prophet Jeremiah were soon verified, when, on the retreat of the Egyptians, the Chaldeans again invested the fated city[7]. One only refuge now remained; submission might still have saved the kingdom, but the king dared not have recourse to this measure[8]. Accordingly, in the eleventh year of his reign, the city being reduced to the last extremity, its defence was abandoned; and the conqueror, provoked by the obstinate defence of the besieged, and wearied out by the frequent rebellion of these vassal kings of his own creation, determined to crush the spirit of revolt for ever.

Zedekiah, who had attempted to escape, was pursued and taken; his children were put to death before his eyes at Riblah; the principal officers, ecclesiastical and civil, shared the same fate, and he was sent blinded and in fetters to Babylon[9]. The Temple, with all the buildings of Jerusalem, were destroyed by fire, and the wall completely demolished. Those celebrated works in molten brass, executed by Hiram the Tyrian, with which Solomon had adorned his temple, the sea of ten cubits in diameter supported by twelve oxen, the bases,

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succession, according to this writer, was as follows: Psammeticus, who reigned 54 years, ending about 616 B. C. (Lib. II. 157); Necho, 16 years (c. 159); Psammis, 6 years (c. 161); Apries, 25 years (c. 161); Amasis, 44 years; Psammenitus, 6 months (Lib. III. 10), ending B. C. 525. See Jackson's Chron. Ant. Vol. II. pp. 236—243. Clinton's Fast. Hell. Vol. I. B. C. 616, 569; and Vol. II. B. C. 525.

[7] Jer. xxxvii. 5, &c.

[8] Jer. xxi. 8, 9; xxxviii. 14—23.

[9] The apparent discrepancy between Jeremiah xxxii. 4, and Ezekiel xii. 13, which was thus reconciled, is mentioned by Josephus as the reason of the disbelief of the king and the princes. X. vii. 2.

and the pillars Jachin and Boaz, each of them eighteen cubits in height and twelve in circumference, which stood in the porch, and had hitherto escaped the rapacity of native and foreign spoilers, were now broken in pieces, to facilitate the deportation of the valuable materials to Babylon.

It is remarkable that neither in any of the three inspired accounts which we have of the destruction of Jerusalem, nor in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, nor in any other part of canonical Scripture, is any mention made of the fate of that most sacred object of veneration in the Levitical worship—the Ark of the covenant, with its holy contents. Of the sacred vessels, we are distinctly told that part were carried away entire to Babylon, deposited there in the idol-temple, and afterwards desecrated to most unhallowed uses, while the remainder were broken to pieces, and their materials probably applied to the same purpose[1]: it were strange that the Ark should be passed over in silence, if it shared a like fate. We know, from Jewish tradition, that it had no place in the second temple, for in this chiefly consisted the inferiority of the latter house to the former, in their estimation[2]: an imitation of it was deposited in the most holy place, which subsequently fell into the hands of the Romans, was carried in the triumphal procession, and has been supposed by some to be represented in the arch of Titus[3]; but the fate

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[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7, 18; 2 Kings xxiv. 13; Dan. i. 2; v. 2, 3.

[2] See Johannis Buxtorfii Fil. Exercitationes ad Historiam Arcæ Fœderis, p. 181. Basil. 1659, and Prideaux's Connection, anno 534 B.C.

[3] Josephus, who was present at the triumph, mentions the candlestick, the Shew-bread Table, and the Law, as having been carried in the procession, &c. de Bell. Jud. VII. v. 5. As this last is not represented in the arch; it is supposed to have been carried in the Ark. Prideaux as above. It is now

of the veritable Ark, which had wrought such wonders in the idol-temple of the Philistines[4], is nowhere recorded on any certain authority; and we are left to adopt the most probable of the conflicting legends of the later Jews and of the early Christian Church.

The prevailing belief of the former has been, that this venerable relic of their religion is miraculously preserved in a secret chamber of most difficult access, prepared by Solomon in the sacred rock within the great Mosk at Jerusalem, where it was deposited by king Josiah, under the direction of Huldah the prophetess[5]; a tradition which is faithfully recorded by the chroniclers of the Crusades[6], but which they hesitate to adopt; inclining rather to the account contained in the ancient records referred to in the second book of Maccabees, which relate that it was concealed by Jeremiah the prophet, in obedience to a divine command, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, in a cave under Mount Nebo, where, with the tabernacle and altar of incense, it is preserved in safe custody, "until the time that God gather his people again together, and receive them unto mercy[7]." And however unsatisfactory these accounts may appear, it is surely a matter

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agreed, that it is the Table, and not the Ark, which is still to be traced, with the Candlestick, on this venerable and most interesting monument at Rome. Buxtorf, de Arcâ Fœderis, p. 201. Reland de Spoliis Templi, &c. Andricomius, Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, No. 77, on Jerusalem, takes it for the Ark.

[4] 1 Sam. v.

[5] For this they quote 2 Chron. xxxv. 3, in his Commentary on which passage, R. D. Kimchi gives the tradition of the Rabbies, as does Abarbanel on Daniel ix. 24. Other great rabbinical authorities think it was carried to Babylon. The curious reader may consult Buxtorf, de Arcâ Fœderis, capp. xxi. xxii.

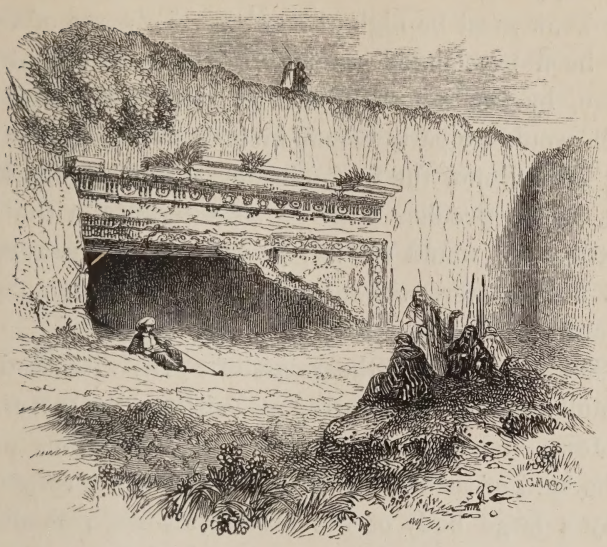
[6] See in the collection Gesta Dei, per Francos; Albertus Aquensis, Lib. VI. cap. 22. p. 280; Fulcheri Gesta Peregrin. Franc. c. xviii. p. 397, and Gesta Franc. Expug. Hierus. p. 573.

[7] 2 Macc. ii. 4—8.

of no little interest; and it is every way probable, that He who had honoured it as the seat of His glory for so many centuries, would preserve it from such desecration as it must have suffered had it fallen into the hands of the Chaldeans; and least of all is it to be believed that it was consumed in the conflagration of the temple[1], as the rapacity which prompted the spoliation of its other treasures would not have abstained from the precious materials with which this sacred depository was ornamented and overlaid.

The last invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, with its disastrous termination, all but extinguished the national existence of the Hebrew people, and the small remnant that was suffered to remain in the ruined country persisted in a series of rebellions, both against the majesty of heaven and their earthly rulers, which involved them in further trouble, and finally terminated in the entire depopulation of the land, which now lay waste and enjoyed her sabbaths until the period determined before by God, and declared by his prophets, had expired.

So Lightfoot; Prospect of the Temple, cap. xv. Vol. IX. p. 296. Pitman's edition.



CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

On his entrance into Babylon, the Median conqueror found the Jewish captives in possession of the highest offices of trust in the empire. They had been recommended to the monarchs of the old dynasty, not merely by their natural endowments, and by their stedfast allegiance to their heavenly Master—the best earnest of fidelity to His earthly delegates—but by special miracles, wrought for their deliverance from a death which their constancy had earned. The favourites of heaven would be recommended to their new lord by the same excellent spirit which had originally led to their exaltation[2]; and they, for their part, would regard him

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[2] Daniel iii. vi.

as the appointed instrument of their emancipation, which they knew must be nigh at hand[1]. The name of Cyrus had been proclaimed as their restorer two centuries before, by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah[2]; a fact which would be early communicated to him by the prophet Daniel, now the first minister of state in the kingdom, whose peculiar position, as a captive in the land of strangers, would allow him to transfer his services to a new master, without the suspicion or imputation of political infidelity.

The first year of the reign of Cyrus witnessed the promulgation of the decree permitting the return of the Jews, and the restoration of their religious polity in the land of their fathers[3]. It was heartily responded to by a large body of the nation, although obedience was in no way compulsory, and involved no small sacrifice. The children of the captivity in Babylon had been enjoined "to build houses and dwell in them, and to plant gardens and eat the fruit of them, and to seek the peace of the city, whither they had been carried captive, and to pray for it; for in the peace thereof should they have peace[4]." The favour and distinction enjoyed by their brethren, in the capital and in the provinces, would have procured for them a position of security and honour in their now adopted country, and a selfish feeling might have led them to prefer the ease and quiet of a settled land, to the confusion and distraction of a state of incipient civilization, in a land emerging from ruin. But the love of country—a

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[1] Daniel ix. 2.

[2] Isaiah xliv. 28. Josephus says expressly, that it was the reading of this prophecy that instigated Cyrus to issue his decree. Ant. XI. i. 3.

[3] Ezra i. 1, &c.

[4] Jeremiah xxix. 5—7.

country associated in their minds with all that was most sacred—was not to be counteracted by the love of ease; so that the leaders of this first national expedition were accompanied by more than fifty thousand persons, carrying with them large contributions from such of their brethren as remained behind, and armed with full powers to proceed immediately with the re-construction of the temple: and, what would be of no less importance to this devoted band, they had at their head a representative of the royal house of David, and the lineal descendant and legal successor of their last high priest, whose very name would be a hopeful remembrancer to the returning captives of their forefathers' entrance into the land of promise, under the guidance of the son of Nun[5]. Moreover, such of the sacred vessels as had escaped destruction were now brought back to Jerusalem, having been restored by the munificence of Cyrus, doubtless at the intercession of Daniel.

Arrived in their own land, the restored exiles did not wait for the re-edification of the material building, to provide the essentials of divine worship. The altar was forthwith built, the daily burnt-offering duly established, and materials for the fabric were speedily collected, conformably to the decree of Cyrus. Again the forests of Lebanon rang with the woodman's axe—unconsciously engaged in the fulfilment of ancient prophecy; again the ports of Tyre and Joppa swarmed

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[5] Zerubbabel (called in Haggai i. 1, "the governor of Judah,") was the son of Shealtiel, (called Salathiel, Matt. i. 12) the son of Jechoniah; compare 1 Chron. iii. 17, and Matt. i. 12. Jehozadak, the father of Joshua, was the son of Seraiah, who had been put to death at Riblah, on the destruction of the temple, 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15; Jerem. lii. 24—27.

with a busy crowd conveying the floats of timber to their destination, as in olden times; and the work sped so well, that in the second month of the second year of their return, the foundations of the temple were solemnly laid amid the shouts of the rejoicing multitude, strangely mingled with the sobs of the ancient men who had seen the Lord's House "in her first glory," and in whose eyes this second temple appeared "as a very little thing." The glorious reminiscences of bygone days might well produce mingled emotions, venting themselves in tears; and they who, while grateful for present mercies, have felt the melting, humbling influence produced by the contemplation of those gothic piles, which the piety of former ages—however faulty, and however despised—erected with earnest devotion in the land of their birth, and contrasted it with the "nicely-calculated" expenditure of a more enlightened age, will sympathise with that war of feelings which agitated these ancient men, and will feel comfort in being permitted to mingle their tears with this reverend and mournful company; while the vulgar—more happy in their ignorance—may contemplate with unalloyed satisfaction the lesser offerings of a wealthier age, more prodigal on self, more niggardly in the service of God.

The considerate conqueror had provided for the due observance of his decree by the appointment of a distinguished member of the royal house of Judah as Tirshatha or Governor of Palestine; but the rejection of the aid tendered by the half-idolatrous Samaritans, aggravated as it was by the denial of all affinity with them, exasperated these aspirants to a share in the religious privileges of Jerusalem, and enlisted all their prejudices against the undertaking in which the Jews

were engaged. It would appear that the conduct of the Jews on this occasion should have determined a question much debated in later times, as to the propriety of availing ourselves of the aid of infidels or heretics, for the promotion of designs of an undoubtedly religious character. All that the Samaritans asked was to assist in the restoration of the temple—a laudable object, without question—but the acceptance of the offer would have involved a recognition of their errors, utterly inconsistent with the exclusive principles of true religion, both under the Old and New Dispensation.

The Samaritans, provoked by the uncompromising firmness of the Jews, succeeded, by means of misrepresentation and bribery, in hindering the work during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses; and finally, on the accession of Smerdis, procured an order for the entire suspension of the building[1]. The conduct which provoked this hostility was not imputed as a fault to the Jews; but their easy acquiescence in the suspension of the work subjected them to the divine reproof[2]. Not that they were encouraged to act contrary to the decree of the king, to whom God's providence had subjected them: the fundamental law of the Medes and Persians, forbidding the reversal of any royal decree, must have frustrated the machinations of their adversaries, had it been urged at the right time and in the proper quarters. But the zeal which actuated the captives to undertake their pilgrimage had died down; they had turned aside to the consideration of their own comforts, and persuaded themselves that the time had

[1] That Cambyses is the Ahasuerus and Smerdis the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 6, 7, &c., see Prideaux's Connection. B.C. 522. Vol. I. p. 138, ed. 1717.

[2] See the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah throughout.

not arrived for the restoration of the temple; an obvious temptation to which "builders" in the spiritual temple, at home and abroad, are exposed, which may in some measure account for the tardy progress which the "holy house" has made, in an age of missionary exertion on an extensive scale.

Recalled to a sense of their duty, by the earnest remonstrances, and encouraged to the performance of it by the gracious promises of God by Zechariah and Haggai, the Jews, acting on the original decree of Cyrus, recommenced the building, in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, when a representation made to the seat of government, by the viceroy of Syria, resulted in a strong confirmation of that edict, which had been discovered in the archives.

In the sixth year of Darius, the twentieth after the return from Babylon, the temple was dedicated with burnt-offerings and sacrifices, the paucity of which contrasted no less strongly with the multitude of Solomon's, than the poverty of this building with the magnificence of that[1].

The removal by death of the leaders of those who first returned, and of the prophets, led to great confusion and disorder in the infant colony—especially in respect to the marriages which they contracted with the people of the land—so that when Ezra arrived, nearly sixty years after the dedication of the temple, with a considerable detachment of pilgrims, he witnessed a state of things which loudly called for contrition and amendment. A strong influence very near the throne of Persia had secured to him all the assistance which

[1] Compare Ezra vi. 17, with 1 Kings viii. 63.

government influence could afford, and his powers were very ample; but civil enactments could not reach the moral evil: fasting, and weeping, and prayer, accomplished what the commission could not effect, and the reformation of abuses proceeded much more speedily than could have been anticipated, where the affections of the people were so deeply involved.

But while the ready scribe was thus engaged in the chief seat of Jewish worship, a dark cloud gathered over his nation, which threatened the destruction, not merely of their civil and religious polity, but of their very existence[2]. The deep-laid scheme of the artful Haman, the hereditary enemy of the Hebrew nation, who would rid himself of the presence of a hated rival by the extermination of the whole race, had been provided against in a marvellous manner, by the watchful providence of God, and was frustrated through the instrumentality of a Jewish captive, raised to the dignity of queen by the favour of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the reigning king of Persia. The wonderful deliverance thus accomplished is still commemorated annually by the Jews, in the feast of Purim, as indeed are most of the events connected with the captivity, by the observance of festivals or fasts, according to the colour of the event commemorated.

But although the malice of Haman had been so graciously overruled that the Jews were placed on a better and more secure footing than before, by the exaltation of their countryman Mordecai to the chief management of the empire, yet would this threatened

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[2] See the book of Esther throughout; and for the chronology of her history and that of Ezra, see Prideaux, B.C. 465. Vol. I. p. 198, and B.C. 458, p. 204, &c.

destruction of their nation, which was averted instrumentally only by their own prowess, strongly impress upon Ezra and his coadjutors the defenceless condition of the restored remnant, inhabiting an unwalled city, in the midst of powerful and ever-watchful foes. But he had no authority to rebuild the walls; and to have attempted it without express permission would surely have been represented, and indeed would have worn the appearance, of an overt act of rebellion against the Median king. In this emergency unexpected succour was vouchsafed unsolicited from the very capital itself[1]. Nehemiah arrived with full authority from Artaxerxes to repair and restore the ruined fortifications of the city. He had learnt in Susa the desolate condition of his brethren in Judæa, and was too deeply afflicted to conceal his grief before his royal master, near whose person he held an office of the highest dignity and trust. Invited by the condescension of the king, and encouraged by the presence of queen Esther[2], he made known the cause of his grief, and preferred the bold request that he might "be sent to the city of his fathers' sepulchres, to build it." The petition was instantly granted, and written orders made out for the supply of all necessary materials, and under a strong escort, spontaneously granted by his master, the new governor set out on his joyful errand.

Three days after his arrival at Jerusalem he took a nocturnal survey of the walls, with all the secrecy rendered necessary by the peculiar position of his countrymen, and immediately afterwards proposed to commence

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[1] Nehemiah i., &c.

[2] The parenthetic clause in Neh. ii. 6, is no doubt emphatic.

their repair. He was warmly seconded by the priests and nobles, to whom he made known the full powers granted him by the king; but their intentions were no sooner discovered by their enemies, than they commenced a systematic opposition to the undertaking. Neither force nor fraud were wanting; the old accusation of disaffection and rebellion was revived and urged with greater vehemence than ever; but the work sped well notwithstanding. Watches were set against any sudden assault, the very labourers were armed, and all requisite precautions adopted, so that in the incredibly short space of fifty-two days, notwithstanding all hinderances, the whole work was accomplished[3]. The ancient foundations, it is true, with the materials of the old wall, were made available for the new, and were close at hand; for although the scanty population of the modern town might have been compressed within much narrower limits than those of the ancient city, yet Nehemiah and his companions in labour, who were building for future generations, looked forward in faith to a time when "the waste and desolate places, and the land of their destruction, should be too narrow, by reason of the inhabitants, and Zion's children should say in her ears, The place is too strait for me; give place to me, that I may dwell;" and their faith was expressed in their acts, while they built "from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner, and the measuring line went forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and compassed about to Goath[4]." The reform-

[3] Josephus, Ant. xi. v. 8, gives two years and four months to the building of the walls, which seems quite irreconcilable with Nehem. vi. 15.

[4] Isaiah xlix. 19, 20; Jerem. xxxi. 38, 39.

ation of various abuses, the devout observance of the feast of tabernacles, according to the Mosaic ordinance, and the solemn dedication of the wall, gave witness to the restoration of the civil and religious polity of the Jewish people; and the two principal actors in this blessed work would rejoice together in the good success of their labours, which they endeavoured to render permanent, by the revival of a strict discipline.

How long they were permitted to reap in joy what they had sown in tears, we are nowhere told; but Ezra was probably advanced in years at the time of Nehemiah's arrival, and did not long survive the completion of the reformation. The Christian Church has cause to remember with gratitude the literary labours of this blessed man; for to him is ascribed by universal consent[1] the collection of the canonical Scriptures, and the careful revision of the whole, with the addition of such notices as were necessary for the elucidation of the sacred text: and because the Babylonish captivity had rendered both the language and character of the Hebrew Scriptures unintelligible to the majority of those who returned, he provided for the present edification of the people, by the appointment of scribes, whose business it was to read and interpret the law in synagogues, which appear now to have been first erected; and for the safe transmission of the sacred books, by the transcription of them in the Chaldean characters, which have been ever since in use among the Jews, while the more ancient orthography has been continued to this day by

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[1] See St Irenæus apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. V. viii. for the tradition of the Church, and Prideaux's Connection, Part I. Lib. v. under the year 446, for a full and particular account of Ezra's labours, from Jewish authorities; and for synagogues, under the year 444 B. C.

the Samaritans, in which also their highly valued Pentateuch and all their sacred books are preserved[2].

The irregularities, which had been reformed with so much labour, required constant vigilance and active care to prevent them from again getting head. Even during the temporary absence of Nehemiah, who had gone to Susa after an absence of twelve years, to seek a renewal of his commission, they had taken root in the very courts of God's house; the sacred precincts were polluted, the tithes and other sacred offerings withheld, the sabbaths desecrated, and marriages again contracted with aliens. These abuses he corrected with a strong hand; but on his removal by death, the priests and people lapsed into their old evil practices. Then the peace, which had been secured by the wise measures of their civil and ecclesiastical rulers, met with a sad interruption from the violence of Jonathan, the grandson of Eliashib, who slew his own brother Jesus in the very Temple, while the latter was attempting to supplant him in his office under the protection of the Persian general Bazores, who, in revenge for this murder, polluted the Temple and oppressed the Jews for seven years[3].

But Manasseh, another brother of the high priest Jonathan, occasioned greater and more lasting mischief, by his wilful contempt of the Divine ordinances. During the life time of Nehemiah he had taken to wife the daughter of Sanballat, of Samaria, for which offence

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[2] See Prideaux, Part I. Book vi. and under the year 409, for an interesting account of this treasure of the Samaritans. This valuable MS., which professes to have been written by Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was seen by the writer and four other English travellers, in the summer of 1842, after it had been carefully hid for many years; the priest having amused other Franks with the view of a fictitious one.

[3] Joseph. Ant. XI. vii.

he was degraded from the priesthood. On the removal of Nehemiah and Jonathan he presumed again to exercise his sacred office, under his nephew Jaddua[1]; which so offended the prejudices of his countrymen, who had been effectually drawn away from this prohibited practice, by the earnest admonitions of the prophet Malachi[2], that he was required to divorce his wife, or to abstain from the performance of his sacerdotal functions. Unwilling to resign the emoluments of his office, but without any sense of its real value, he at first proposed to embrace the former part of the alternative; but his father-in-law proposed a measure by which he might retain both the priesthood and his wife.

The Samaritans having been instructed by the Hebrew priests in the law of the God of Israel, had grafted His worship on to their old idolatry[3]. But their polity was very imperfect without a high priest of the family of Aaron; and it was probably a sense of this defect that had led them to proffer their services in rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. Disowned by the Jews, and all affinity with them being strictly prohibited, the desire of revenge would furnish an additional motive to perpetuate the schism, which they had in vain attempted to heal. To this end it was necessary, as with the heretics in early Christian times, to secure by all means the lawful succession of the priesthood. A favourable op-

[1] I endeavour to reconcile Nehem. xiii. 28, with Joseph. Ant. xi. viii. 2: in vii. 2, ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἀδελφός· must refer back to ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ in the former section. Manasseh was uncle to Jaddua, not brother. Compare Nehem. loc. cit. with xii. 10, 11.

[2] The prophecies of Malachi throughout bear directly on the corruptions in the priesthood and people, noticed in the second reformation of Nehemiah, cap. xiii.

[3] 2 Kings xvii.

portunity for effecting this was now presented. Sanballat undertook to raise his renegade son-in-law to the highest dignity of the Samaritan secession, and to build him a temple on mount Gerizim, which should rival or eclipse that at Jerusalem[4].

The simple design of church discipline is to correct or to dissever the corrupt members of the orthodox body. The effect has frequently been to diminish for a time the forces of the faithful; but purity will always be considered far more important than mere numerical strength in a spiritual community. There were several among the priests and Levites who had imitated the practice of Manasseh, in taking to themselves foreign wives: it was nothing strange that they should follow him in his schism. Thus the temple on mount Gerizim, erected by express permission of the civil power, was consecrated under the auspices of this recreant band, with such ceremonials as they had been accustomed to observe in their ministrations at the Holy City, and the fire on its altars was doomed to burn long after the ashes on the altar at Jerusalem had been scattered abroad for ever[5]. During the continuance of the

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[4] For the involved chronology of this period, the reader is referred to Prideaux's Connection, under the year 409. He takes this Sanballat to be the old enemy of Nehemiah, and there is no occasion to imagine two of that name, as some critics have done. The statements of Josephus, inconsistent with historical accuracy, are first, that Sanballat was appointed satrap of Samaria by Darius *the last* (Codomannus) whereas it must have been Darius Nothus; and secondly, that he died during the siege of Gaza by Alexander, in which case he must have lived at least 130 years! And although Josephus does say of him, συνέβαινε πρεσβύτερον εἶναι, the words will hardly warrant such an age. Ant. XI. vii. viii.

[5] They were indeed quenched for a time on the destruction of their temple by John Hyrcanus, Ant. XIII. ix. 1, but only for a time. They still continue to sacrifice thrice in the year, on the great feasts, by night, amid the ruins of mount Gerizim. The writer arrived

Jewish polity "this mountain" became a refuge to the disaffected members of the Jewish church, and a constant subject of dispute and jealousy at home and abroad; and when their old rivals had been removed, the Samaritans turned their hatred against the Christians, until their violence called for the intervention of the emperor Zeno, who transferred to the Christians the Samaritan temple, in reprisals for the ruin and desecration of five churches in the city of Nablouse. In the reign of Anastasius it was recovered for a short time by the Samaritans, who were finally ejected by the emperor Justinian, when the mountain was more strongly fortified, many of the Samaritans converted to the faith of Christ, and the five churches which they had destroyed rebuilt by the munificence of the emperor[1].

While the infant colony at Jerusalem had been slowly advancing in strength, under the protection of the Persian monarchs, who allowed them to live under their own laws, and the free exercise of their national faith, the second kingdom of Daniel's prophetic vision had run its course,—the bear must give place to the leopard[2]. The Persian monarchs, who had tried the power of Grecian patriotism by sea and land, in Europe, during the preceding century, were now to succumb before the ambition of the Macedonian "barbarian," who had rolled back the tide of war across the Hellespont, which their vessels had hardened into a road to afford a passage to their countless hosts.

After the defeat of Darius in the battle of Issus, his

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at Nablouse on the very night of their feast of Pentecost, in 1842, but did not learn the fact until it was too late to be present at their worship.

[1] Procopius de Ædificiis Justiniani, Lib. v. cap. vii.

[2] Daniel vii. 6.

youthful conqueror proceeded to reduce those strongholds on the confines of his new acquisitions, which had either hitherto maintained their independence, or were disposed still to adhere to the fallen fortunes of their old masters. It was to be expected that Jerusalem would be found among the latter, considering how deeply its inhabitants were indebted to the Persian monarchs; nor was it strange that this fidelity should provoke the resentment of the Macedonian. Having reduced Tyre, after a tedious siege of seven months, he marched down the coast to the southernmost extremity of Palestine, to secure the important maritime city of Gaza, and then hastened to Jerusalem, to experience the first check which his victorious career had known[3].

In approaching Jerusalem from the south, the traveller obtains the first view of its walls from the convent of Elias, at about a league distance, across the plain of Rephaim. The old road, which is still to be traced, passed near the village of Beit-Sufâfa, the Sapha of Josephus, where Alexander encountered a host arrayed in other arms than he was accustomed to match; the whole multitude of the Jewish people, clothed in white, with garlands in their hands,—the priests in their sacred vestments of fine linen, headed by the high priest, arrayed in his robes of purple and scarlet, and the mitre with the golden plate emblazoned with the incommunicable name of the God of Israel:—the humbled monarch, to the amazement of all his retinue, approached alone, prostrated himself before that Name, saluted the representative of the Most High, and promised protection to the Holy City, where His

[3] Josephus, XI. viii.

Presence dwelt. Then proceeding as in a festive procession, he entered the sacred precincts of the temple to offer sacrifices to the Power which had subdued him, and to listen to his own history, dictated by the prophetic Spirit two centuries before his birth. Awed, or perhaps flattered, by the omen, he accorded to the worshippers of this strange God such privileges as they requested,—permission for themselves and their dispersed brethren to worship the God of their fathers, and release from tribute on the sabbatical year.

Josephus, who is the sole authority for this interesting narration, accounts for the successful policy of the high priest Jaddua, by a vision which he had seen when reduced almost to despair at the prospect of the impending ruin; and for the conduct of Alexander, by the remembrance of a prophetic dream in which the venerable form of the high priest had appeared to him, while he was still in Macedonia.

It is unfortunate that the silence of Arrian, and other heathen historians of the exploits of Alexander, affords what is considered a reasonable ground for scepticism[1], in a story which has nothing incredible even in the supernatural circumstances, if we allow that the Jews were under the special protection of the Almighty; the discrepancies of which may be surely accounted for by some means short of supposing it altogether a fabri-

[1] Mitford remarks that Dr Hales' "attempts to overbear the objections," (to which the former is disposed to allow full force,) "shews that he was highly desirous that the story should have credit;"—and what then? Who but a pagan would not desire it? See Hist. of Greece, XLVIII. sect. iv. near the end. Bishop Thirlwall says, "Josephus must have been mistaken as to the time of the occurrence...but in other respects the story, notwithstanding the silence of the Greeks, is probably well founded." Gr. History, vi. 207.

cation of the Jewish historian, who had access to contemporary records which have since perished, and whose national predilections would invest this event with more interest in his view than it would wear in the eyes of the panegyrists of the Macedonian monarch, who might regard this humiliation as unworthy of their hero: and indeed they who witnessed it are said to have imputed it to temporary derangement.

Thus much at least is certain, that the Jews from the time of Alexander, and under his successors for many years, were treated with much greater consideration than could have been expected, considering their political insignificance, and the exclusive character of their institutions, which would be far from recommending them to their new masters.

Ptolemy Soter, indeed, to whom Judea fell after the death of Alexander[2], is said to have seized on the city by treachery, and to have ruled over it with violence; but when he had carried away many of the inhabitants to Egypt, he there conferred on them such distinctions and privileges as induced many of their brethren voluntarily to offer him their services for those offices of trust to which he appointed them, in consideration, as is said, of their tried fidelity to the Persian kings, of which he had experience after the battle of Issus: and in the encomium on Simon, the high priest, the son of Onias, who flourished during this reign, we are told how "he fortified the temple, and built the high fortress of the wall about it, and fortified the city against besieging[3]," —a great privilege surely to be allowed to a vanquished nation.

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[2] Joseph. Ant. XII. i., &c.

[3] Ecclus. L. 1, 2.

But the liberality of Ptolemy Philadelphus went much beyond this, for he not only redeemed all the Jews who were in captivity in Egypt, by a large grant from his treasury, but further sent to the temple at Jerusalem magnificent presents for the sacred service, consisting of vessels of gold, a costly table for the shew-bread, and a considerable sum of money for sacrifices and other purposes.

The object of the king's munificence, if we may credit a writer of disputed authority, to whom we owe the narrative, was his desire to enrich his newly-formed library at Alexandria, with a faithful version of the Mosaic Law. The idea was suggested by Demetrius Phalereus the Librarian, and resulted in the celebrated translation known as the Septuagint.

The difficulties to the reception of the story of Aristeas have been often stated, and sometimes unduly magnified[1]: yet, considering that it is referred to by a Jewish Alexandrian author of the following century[2], as is granted even by those who deny its authenticity[3];

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[1] Dr Hody, in a dissertation "Contra Historiam Aristeæ," &c., Oxonii, 1684, and in his reply to Vossius, in the first book of his work on Original Texts, &c., 1705, states the objections with somewhat more than all their force. He was answered by Whiston in an Appendix to his "Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies," pp. 117—154. London, 1724. Prideaux (Connection, B.C. 277. Vol. II. p. 22, &c.) sides with Dr Hody. Is. Vossius, Bp. Walton, and others, had defended its authenticity.

[2] Aristobulus the younger flourished under Ptolemy Philometor, circ. B.C. 164. 2 Maccab. i. 10. The date is corrected by Jackson (Chron. Ant. Vol. I. p. 465, note) in a Chronological Dissertation on the Septuagint, where he incidentally answers many objections. The testimonies of Aristobulus, Philo, and many others, are appended to the letter in Gallandii Biblioth. Vet. Pat. Vol. II. p. 805, &c.

[3] Hody, cap. x. sect. 2, p. 176. Prideaux, pp. 30, 31. Both these writers however endeavour to weaken the force of this ancient testimony, by insinuating that Aristobulus's comment on the five books of Moses was also a forgery! An easy way of disposing of a difficulty!

that it is most probably the foundation of Philo's account of the version, though he omits some particulars of the earlier narrative and supplies others: considering further, that it is beyond all doubt quoted as genuine by the usually accurate Josephus, it seems scarcely safe to reject it as a forgery. In any case it must be referred to a period little later than that at which our history has now arrived, and, whoever be the author, heathen or Jew, furnishes us with a most interesting and valuable account of the aspect of the Jewish capital during the times of the Ptolemies: for there is a truthfulness about the descriptive part which proves it to have been written by an eye-witness, whose personal observations may be safely relied on, although he was subject, as are all travellers, to misunderstand, and so to misrepresent, the information derived from others.

The following account then professes to come from the pen of a heathen writer, Aristeas by name, a favourite minister of Ptolemy Philadelphus: by whom he was deputed, conjointly with Andreas, the chief of the body guard, as legate to the high priest Eleazar, at Jerusalem. The narrative assumes the form of a letter to his brother Philocrates, in which, after a most minute account of the sacred utensils dedicated by Philadelphus, the writer introduces a graphic description of the city and of its more remarkable curiosities, which had evidently made a deep impression upon his mind.

The city, he says, is situated in the midst of mountains, on a lofty hill, whose crest is crowned by the magnificent temple, girt with three walls seventy cubits high, of proportionate thickness, and length corresponding to the extent of the building. Its costly portals, with their jambs and lintels, were very worthy

of admiration: and the vail, resembling gates in appearance, was a pleasing object to contemplate as it perpetually waved to the passing breeze throughout its whole length. The altar, suitable to the place and to the burnt sacrifices which were offered thereon, had an ascent well arranged for the services of the priests, who ministered in garments of fine linen, reaching to the ancles. The temple had an eastern aspect: its spacious court, paved throughout with marble, covered immense reservoirs containing large supplies of water, which gushed out by artificial contrivance to wash off the blood of the numerous sacrifices offered there on the festivals.

The order and reverence of the ministering priests, and the undivided attention with which they waited on their respective duties, many of which were very arduous, was truly admirable. To some was assigned the charge of the wood, to others the oil, or the fine flour, or sweet spices; others exhibited great strength and dexterity in heaving and burning the holocausts of bullocks and sheep. Yet such deep silence prevailed that you would imagine the place to be void of men, although there were seven hundred ministering, and a vast multitude more bringing up the sacrifices. With such awe and reverence, worthy of a great Deity, were the proceedings conducted.

Nor did the high priest, Eleazar, inspire less veneration while performing the sacred service, setting off to the best advantage his vestments of glory and beauty[1], adorned with precious stones, and surrounded at the skirts with golden bells alternated with pomegranates;

[1] This whole description should be compared with Exodus xxviii.

girt about with a richly variegated girdle; bearing on his breast the oracle set with twelve different stones, according to the names of the tribes of Israel; and on his head the mitre, worn over the linen bonnet and exhibiting the name of God engraven on a golden plate over the forehead.

Aristeas and his companion were allowed to view the sacrifices and services of the temple from a contiguous fortress, which is described as occupying a commanding eminence, fortified with numerous towers even to the summit of the hill, constructed of enormous stones, and designed for the protection of the temple in case of insurrection.

This passage, as much perhaps as any in the narrative, might at first sight appear to furnish an argument against the genuineness of the letter, for the following reason.

It cannot, I think, admit of a doubt that the point from which, according to this description, the two foreigners were allowed to view the Temple worship, was near the present Seraîyá, or government house, from whose roof the Frank traveller in these days is permitted to enjoy the magnificent prospect of the Mosque of Omar and its spacious courts. This building is universally allowed to occupy, in part at least, the site of the Baris of the Asmoneans, the Antonia of Herod the Great, from whose commanding height Titus watched the conflict between his soldiers and the Jews in the Temple-court below[2]. Further, we shall find reason to believe that this was nearly identical in situation with the Acra, or fortress which Antiochus

[2] See Vol. II. cap. ii. towards the end for fuller particulars and references.

Epiphanes erected on the Temple-mount. But the mission of Aristeas dates more than a century earlier than the time of Epiphanes; have we any warrant for believing that there existed a castle in this situation prior to that of his construction?

Now it is an interesting fact, that in this interval we actually have distinct notice of a fortress existing at Jerusalem under the same name as that which was so celebrated in the history of the Maccabees. We shall presently read of the expulsion of an Egyptian garrison from Acra, in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes [1], and this Acra was probably identical with "the fortress of the wall about the temple" which Simon the son of Onias "built up from the foundation a double height[2]." There appears indeed to be a still earlier notice of this same fortress, in the book of Nehemiah, as "the Castle of the House[3];" and if we are at liberty to believe that the towers of Hananeel and Meah[4] formed part of this castle, we should be able to fix it with a great degree of certainty to the north of the temple area, where it is clear that those towers were situated. In any case no more probable site can be assigned it about the temple, which it was built to protect, than that afterward occupied by Acra; and I would suggest whether the original Castle of Nehemiah may not have been enlarged and strengthened, first by Simon, the son

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[1] Below, p. 80; this was B.C. 198, i.e. thirty years before the building of the Acra by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168. See Prideaux.

[2] Ecclus. l. 2. ἀνάλημμα ὑψηλὸν περιβόλου ἱεροῦ. We have seen above, p. 24, note 1, that ἀνάλημμα and ἄκρα are sometimes used interchangeably by the LXX.

[3] Nehem. ii. 8. הַבִּירָה אֲשֶׁר לַבַּיִת: "the castle belonging to the temple." So Gesenius renders it, and identifies it with the Baris of Josephus. Lexicon, sub voce בִּירָה.

[4] Nehem. iii. 1; xii 39.

of Onias, and afterwards by Antiochus Epiphanes; as the Baris of Hyrcanus was subsequently by Herod. At least it has been made to appear, that the mention of the tower by Aristeas need not necessarily discredit the genuineness of the letter.

Another difficulty arises from what is said of the custody of the fortress, which is scarcely consistent with the state of dependence in which the Jews now were to the kings of Egypt. Its towers were furnished with numerous missiles and military engines, and garrisoned by a force of five hundred men of approved fidelity, who were allowed no egress except on festivals, and then only in small numbers. They were sworn not to admit more than five visitors at a time; and although the two unarmed strangers from Egypt had an order of admittance from the commander of the garrison, yet could they hardly make good their entrance, and were carefully watched during their visit.

But however improbable it may appear that such a dangerous power should be left in the hands of a conquered nation, which they might at any time turn against their masters; yet should it be remembered that if the Jews had been permitted to fortify the Temple, as is stated by an independent witness, the same policy which accorded this privilege might have judged it wise to leave the local government in the hands of responsible officers appointed from the subject nation. Supposing the letter a fabrication, the inconsistency would have been too glaring to escape the observation of the writer.

I proceed to describe the general aspect of the city, as it presented itself to them from the fortress. It was of moderate extent, being about forty furlongs in

circuit[1], as near as they could conjecture. The disposition of the towers resembled the arrangement of a theatre. Some of the streets ran along the brow of the hill, others lower down, but parallel to these, followed the course of the valley, and they were connected by cross streets. The city was built on the sloping side of a hill, and the streets were furnished with raised pavements, along which some of the passengers walked on high, while others kept the lower path; a precaution adopted to secure those who were purified from the pollution which contact with anything unclean would have occasioned.

The first founders of the city had happily adapted its extent to the surrounding country, which was large and good, consisting in part of champaign, in part of highlands, which required much diligence and care in their cultivation; but as the inhabitants were devoted to agricultural pursuits, the whole land was under tillage, and the country, in consequence, exceedingly productive; abounding in olives, and corn, and vegetables; in vines and honey; besides an innumerable quantity of palms and other fruit-trees. A large number of all kinds of cattle fed in the luxuriant pastures: so that the city and villages had been built proportionate to the population which the country required for the developement of its resources.

The place too was well adapted for mercantile pursuits, and abounded in artificers of various crafts. Its market was supplied with spices, and gold, and precious stones, by the Arabs, in whose neighbouring mountains

[1] This is strangely at variance with Josephus, who states that the whole circuit of the city including Bezetha (which was not built until upwards of three centuries after) was only 33 stadia. Jewish War, V. IV. 3.

there had formerly been mines of copper and iron, but the works had been abandoned during the Persian domination, in consequence of a representation to the government that they must prove ruinously expensive to the country. It was also richly furnished with all such articles as are imported by sea; since it had commodious harbours, as Ascalon, Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais, from none of which it was far distant, being situated in the midst, securely fortified, in a well watered country.

The river Jordan flowed through a well cultivated plain of considerable extent, which was irrigated by the periodical overflowing of the river, about the time of harvest, as Egypt is watered by the Nile. There were also other streams, called torrents, in the vicinity of Gaza and Azotus. The country was by nature strongly guarded; being impracticable to a numerous army, owing to its narrow passes through deep defiles, overhung by the steep and rugged precipices of the surrounding mountains.

This description of Jerusalem and Judea, with the interesting notices of the character and pursuits of its inhabitants, fills up an important gap in the Jewish annals, which are very scanty and unsatisfactory from the time of Nehemiah until the author of the first book of Maccabees takes up the narrative.

The Seleucidæ of Asia were not behind the Ptolemies of Egypt in their favourable disposition towards the Jews: Nicator allowed them equal privileges with the Macedonians and Greeks, not only in the new cities which he built within his dominions, but in the very capital itself, and granted them other immunities, which

continued even under the Roman emperors: and although their country could not but suffer severely from the political revolutions to which it was exposed by the struggles between two conflicting powers, yet had they no cause to regret their old masters during the time that they were subject to the domination of Antiochus the Great. For,—to adopt the simile of the Jewish historian, who compares the nation at this period to a ship in a storm, tossed by waves on either side,—those who were at the helm of affairs at Jerusalem seem to have understood well how to direct the vessel through the dangerous sea, and to trim their sails so as to catch the breath of royal favour whether from the north or the south.

Judea, which had been seized by Antiochus during the reign of Philopater, was recovered to Egypt by Scopas, the general of Epiphanes, the son and successor of Philopater. On this occasion the Jews averted the vengeance of the conqueror by a voluntary surrender, and with no worse grace passed over again to Antiochus on the revival of his broken fortunes, when by their hospitable entertainment of his army, and the assistance which they rendered him in ejecting the Egyptian garrison from the citadel in Jerusalem, they merited his favour, and were liberally requited for their services by his permission to re-edify their temple and city, and a considerable grant from his treasury to enable them to do so. And because the city had been much depopulated by the late calamities, he granted freedom to those families which had been carried away, and remitted for three years the taxes to all its inhabitants, in order to induce them to return and settle in their old capital. He even went so far as to grant, not merely a toleration,

but a full recognition of their national worship in a manner that no former king had done. The precincts of the temple were, by royal edict, declared inviolable and guarded from the approach of all but the true worshippers; and the pollution of the Holy City by any ceremonial defilement was prohibited, under heavy penalties, payable to the high priest.

Shortly after this, Judea, with the neighbouring provinces, of Cœlesyria, Samaria and Phœnicia, were ceded to Egypt, by Antiochus, as the dowry of his daughter Cleopatra, whom he gave in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, on condition however that the revenues should be equally divided between the two kings.

The fiscal management of Judea during this period is well illustrated by the narrative here introduced by the Jewish historian, though properly belonging to the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (B. C. 247—222). And it is a curious fact, that the system of finance, perhaps introduced by the Persians, continued under the Egyptian and Syrian kings, and perpetuated by the Romans, is identically the same that is now dissipating the resources of the government and impoverishing the subjects in that part of the Turkish Empire.

Onias, the son of Simon the Just, who had succeeded his uncle Manasseh in the high priesthood, was a person of a sordid disposition, whose love of money induced him to withhold the tax of twenty talents of silver, which it had been customary for his predecessors to pay to the royal treasury. Euergetes sent to demand payment, with a threat that, if it were refused, he would seize the land and colonize it with soldiers. The Jews were much alarmed, but Onias was as little disposed as ever to satisfy the demand. At this conjuncture appeared a spirited young man, named Joseph, maternal nephew of

the high priest. Having reproved his uncle for his reckless selfishness, he offered to go as ambassador to Egypt to pacify the resentment of the indignant monarch. Onias accepted the proposal with indifference, the people with the liveliest gratitude; and the youthful diplomatist set forth on his mission (*cir.* B.C. 226).

It was the practice of the government to farm out the revenues, by the year, to the principal inhabitants of the various cities of Syria and Palestine; and Joseph travelled to Egypt in the company of some of the public farmers, on their way to the annual auction at Alexandria. The scanty retinue of the young Jew, and his mean appearance, was a subject of merriment to these haughty rulers; who, having no cause to fear him as a competitor, probably spoke of their affairs more freely than was prudent in his hearing. If these public farmers were not more honest than those who at present administer the revenues of Palestine, it may be safely concluded, that scarcely a tithe of the revenues collected by them found its way into the royal treasury; and there was a mutual understanding among them to screen one another in this iniquitous traffic.

On the day appointed for the sale, the highest sum bid for the taxes of Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, Samaria and Judea, was eight thousand talents. Joseph, having made the best use of his time in Egypt in ingratiating himself with the king and queen, through the mediation of their favourite minister, Athenion, whom he had entertained at Jerusalem, had already averted the royal resentment from his countrymen, and he now availed himself of his position to confer on them another benefit. He accused the public farmers of conspiring to defraud the treasury by depreciating the revenue, and himself offered double the sum at which it then stood.

Being asked for his securities, he named the king and his royal consort. His pleasantry suiting the king's humour, he was actually confirmed in the appointment, and provided with a military force to aid him in the collection of the taxes, which he administered for two and twenty years, in his own and the neighbouring countries, to the entire satisfaction of his employers, and to the great relief of the Jews, no less than to his own aggrandizement.

The latter part of his life was embittered by the jealousies of his children, which after his death distracted and divided the people; while dissensions, which arose at the same time relative to the high priesthood, further excited the bad passions of the multitude, and called for the correction of Divine chastisement, which shortly followed in a terrible form.

Onias, the son of Simon the Just, died about the same time as his nephew Joseph, and was succeeded, during the minority of his son, by his brother Jesus, who was removed from the dignity by the king of Egypt, and a third son of Simon, also named Onias, substituted in his room.

The deprived Jesus, who was also surnamed Jason, now raised a party against his brother Onias or Menelaus, whose faction being outnumbered by that of his rival, retired to Antioch. Here they met a favourable reception from Antiochus Epiphanes, who would no doubt regard them as useful instruments for the accomplishment of his ambitious projects[1]. They, on their

[1] Here the first book of Maccabees takes up the narrative, and confirms Josephus, who seems to have consulted it throughout the period which it comprehends.

part, entered with all readiness into the alliance, renounced the religion of their ancestors, and proposed to build a Gymnasium in Jerusalem. The consequence of these proceedings was soon apparent. The Syrian monarch, when he advanced upon the city after his retreat from Egypt, forced upon him by the intervention of the Romans, who now appear for the first time on the stage of Oriental diplomacy, found within its walls a powerful and influential party, prepared to second his views, even at the sacrifice of their national institutions, which they had in fact already abandoned. Thus were the gates of the city thrown open to the worst enemy they had ever encountered. At this time however he satisfied himself with the sacrifice of several of the opposite faction, and the seizure of considerable booty, which he carried off to Antioch.

It was not until two years after, that this terrible scourge was let loose for the execution of the divine judgments in the correction of abuses in the Jewish nation. Marching on Jerusalem under the pretext of peace, he possessed himself without difficulty of the city, and then commenced an indiscriminate massacre of friends and foes. The temple was stripped of its sacred vessels and other costly ornaments; not even the vails were spared; the palaces were burned, the city-walls demolished, and a strongly fortified citadel erected on an eminence commanding the temple, and garrisoned with apostate Jews and Macedonian soldiers. These calamities would have been tolerable to the Jews, their ancestors had suffered the same; but the profanation which followed was so worthy of a Jewish Julian, that we are forced to conclude that the studied barbarity of it was suggested by a renegade.

On an idol-altar, raised over the very altar of the Lord, the abomination of the pious Israelite was offered up; and daily sacrifices of swine were ordered to be observed in temples of idol-worship to be erected in every city and village throughout the Holy Land. The practice of circumcision was prohibited, and frightful examples were made of those courageous mothers who dared to disobey the impious decree; the reading of the law and the observance of all other religious duties was forbidden, under the severest penalties; while the destruction of the sacred books threatened to bring the precepts themselves into oblivion. The greater part of the nation yielded to the severe temptation, and fell from their allegiance to their fathers' God; but many continued stedfast, resolved to part with their lives rather than abandon that which was infinitely more precious. The sufferings of these righteous souls were protracted by the ingenuity of their executioners; and the description of multiform torture given by the apostle to the Hebrews seems to be drawn from the history of these worthies—illustrious examples of the power of faith under the old dispensation[1].

But this wonderful nation was true to its type, "burning with fire, and not consumed[2]," under this visitation also. "When Israel is in the brick-kiln then cometh Moses." This characteristic proverb was illustrated in this case, and the triumphant Psalm of David was to be sung with a deeper intensity of meaning by this generation: "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say: many a time

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[1] See Hebrews xi. 35, &c.

[2] See Exodus iii. 2, and the beautiful commentary on it in the "Christian Year," 5th Sunday in Lent.

have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not prevailed against me. The plowers plowed upon my back: they made long their furrows. The Lord is righteous: He hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked[1]."

The instruments ordained by God for this deliverance were the priestly family of Mattathias, the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamoneus, from whom they are designated "Asmoneans" by Josephus, being better known in the Christian Church as "the Maccabees," a name of doubtful origin[2]. Mattathias was a priest of the order of Joiarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem, but resided with his five sons at a place called Modin, which appears to have been situated on a conspicuous eminence, where the mountain-region of Judea descends to the great western plain of Sharon, and at no great distance from Lydda[3].

His indignation was aroused by the visit of the government officer, charged with the execution of the penal laws against the Jews. Being required to sacrifice as the royal edict directed, he not only refused, but took summary vengeance on a fellow-citizen who

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[1] Psalm cxxix.

[2] I am quite satisfied with the Rabbinical derivation from the initial letters of Exodus xv. 11: מִי כָמֹכָה בָּאֵלִם יְהוָה "Who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Lord?" Reland proposes מקב the final letters of the names of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But this supposes that the Asmoneans were of the tribe of Dan, (which they were not), who are said to have carried this on their standard—which is uncertain.

[3] So Eusebius, (Onomast. sub voce, quoted below, p. 96, note 1.) The tradition of its site was preserved so late as the end of the 16th century. Radzivil, who travelled A.D. 1583, places it in the plain, between Latrûn and Ramleh. After speaking of the former as "Castellum boni latronis," he proceeds: "In ipsa verò planitie ad partem dextram prope viam publicam, est ecclesia propemodum integra quæ Machabæorum dicitur, quos eo loco ferunt sepultos." Ierosol. Perig. p. 122.

apostatized in his presence, and put to death the officers and some of the soldiers. This was a signal for revolt; the family retired at once to the desert, whither they were followed by many of their countrymen with their wives and children, who were compelled to take up their abode "in dens and caves of the earth."

It is instructive to remark how far the principle of obedience to their heathen lords was carried by the Jews, after their return from the captivity, and where the limit of submission was drawn. It has been already remarked, that the prophets who denounced the judgments of God on their countrymen, for their delay in rebuilding the temple, were far from encouraging them in opposition to the edict of the Persian king; for a decree had been enacted, which was irreversible, not only allowing, but making ample provision for the work; and the Jews were guilty of most culpable negligence in making no effort to procure its enforcement. The temple being finished, they would not proceed to the fortification of the city, until new powers had been granted; and in the same spirit they seem to have acted, in obedience no doubt to prophetic instruction, under the Persian and Macedonian domination; desiring only the free exercise of their religion, and submitting to any other inconveniences which a state of submission involved.

But when the liberty of their worship was violated, the observance of the law prohibited, idolatrous observances required and enforced, they had no alternative left but an appeal to arms, in support of their character as God's peculiar people; and God blessed them in their national rebellion. The precept of passive resistance, teaching "obedience, and suffering where we

cannot obey," is a precept of Him whose kingdom is not of this world; whereas the lower economy sanctioned, if it did not even command, the use of carnal weapons, for the extirpation of idolatry and the establishment or defence of the true faith. Yet the fugitives, when they retired to the desert, seem not to have contemplated a systematic revolt from the Macedonian yoke, intolerable as it was; this course was forced upon them by the measures of their adversaries.

The officers of Antiochus, in command of the garrison at Jerusalem, pursued the fugitives to the desert, where, having surprised a large number in their hiding-places, they first endeavoured to gain them over by persuasion. Failing in this, they had recourse to more stringent arguments. It was the sabbath-day, and these zealous Jews, who had already sacrificed so much for the law, were resolved to lay down their lives rather than violate its precepts. They abstained therefore even from defensive measures, and the unresisting victims were barbarously smothered alive in the caves, to the number of a thousand men with their wives and children.

Such as escaped the pursuit of the soldiers betook themselves to Mattathias, who was chosen leader by common consent, and the lamentable fate of their companions in misfortune having been considered, it was ruled that the law contained in the fourth commandment was not intended to prohibit the defence of life, in a case of necessity, on the sabbath-day; and this rule ever afterwards obtained.

Now commenced the renowned exploits of these champions in the noblest cause. They scoured the

country far and wide, demolishing the idol-altars, rescuing the law from destruction, and enforcing circumcision and other legal observances; until the terror of their arms, which were directed with unsparing rigour against their apostate countrymen, more than counterbalanced the dread of foreign vengeance.

At the expiration of a year from the outbreak of the revolt, Mattathias feeling that his end was approaching, summoned his five sons, and when he had set before them the glorious examples of their righteous ancestors, exhorting them to emulate their zeal for the law, and "to give their lives for the covenant of their fathers," he committed the direction of their counsels to Simon his second son, and to Judas, the third brother, the command of the forces in battle. So when he had blessed them, he died, and was buried in the sepulchres of his fathers, at Modin.

The ready acquiescence of all in his arrangement, and the perfect unanimity which continued to subsist among the brothers of this devoted family, is a token that the high religious principle by which they were actuated furnished a bond of union more powerful than that of friendship or of blood. Happy for their country that it was so; for they had great need of that strength which unity alone could impart.

Apollonius, the Syrian governor of Samaria, was the first to feel the vengeance of this warrior-band. Having advanced to quell the insurrection, with an army augmented by Samaritan volunteers, he was defeated and slain.

Seron, who held the chief command in Cælesyria, next marched against them with a very superior force, consisting in part of renegade Jews. The engagement

took place at Bethoron, where the small and dispirited army of Judas, undisciplined, ill-armed, and worse provisioned, animated by an harangue of their valiant captain, gained a decisive victory.

At the intelligence of these proceedings, Antiochus was filled with fury, and meditated a terrible revenge. He enlisted a large army of mercenaries, and set out for Judea; but was obliged to desist from his undertaking until he had improved the state of his finances, by collecting his revenues in Persia. While absent on this expedition, he appointed Lysias, one of the blood-royal, viceroy of the kingdom, with whom he left half his army, ordering him to repress the insurrection in Judea, to destroy the capital, and to exterminate the rebels.

A force, consisting of 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, under three experienced generals, invaded the country, and encamped in the great plain of Sharon, near to a city called Emmaus[1], where they were joined by Syrian and Jewish auxiliaries: and so confident were they of victory, that the slave-merchants resorted to the camp provided with money for the purchase of the intended captives, and with bonds for their safe keeping.

Judas and his devoted followers prepared for the unequal struggle by a solemn humiliation at Mizpeh, an ancient holy place of the Israelites[2], for Jerusalem was

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[1] Distinct from the Emmaus of St Luke, of which see above, p. 10, note 3. This Emmaus, which came afterwards to be called Nicopolis, is placed by the Jerusalem Itinerary 176 stadia from Jerusalem. It is still shown on the right of the road to Jaffa, near Latrûn, and is called by its old name —pronounced 'Amwus.

[2] See Judges xi. 11; xx. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5; x. 17. Now *Nuspah.*

in the hands of aliens, and the temple inaccessible to Jewish worshippers. Then, having dismissed to their homes such as were engaged in building houses or planting vineyards, such as were betrothed, and the faint-hearted, thereby reducing his force to 3,000 men without accoutrements, he marched to meet the enemy, and encamped over against them to the south of Emmaus.

A night attack on their encampment was attempted by a detachment of 5,000 of the enemies' foot, with 1,000 horse, under the command of Gorgias. Judas, having knowledge of their intentions, left the fires burning in his position, and under cover of the darkness managed a counter movement with such dexterity and success that at day-break he appeared before the Syrian camp, weakened by the division of their forces, and notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, completely routed them in a pitched battle, and pursued them with great slaughter, towards the south. Meanwhile Gorgias, deceived by the watch-fires, had arrived at the deserted tents, and supposing that the Jews had retired to the mountains, he went forward in quest of them. From the heights he witnessed the discomfiture of his comrades, and the victorious return of Judas; and so panic-struck were his soldiers at this unlooked-for reverse, that they dispersed without striking a blow, leaving their tents and baggage to be spoiled by the conquerors.

The following year Lysias himself headed a fresh army of 60,000 foot and 5,000 horse, who were routed with a loss of 5,000 killed, by the army of Judas now augmented to 10,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Bethsur, which was situated in that southern part of

Judea which came now to be comprehended under the name of Idumea[1].

Success had thus far attended the arms of the patriots; but nothing was effected, in their estimation, until the temple had been purified from its pollutions, and the daily sacrifice restored. This measure was no sooner resolved on than executed. Judas allowed no time to be wasted in useless lamentations over the sad spectacle of desolation which awaited them in the hallowed precincts. Having appointed a detachment to occupy the garrison in the citadel, that they might not interfere with the work of restoration, he vigorously set his hand to the pious labour; and exactly three years after the interruption of the service, the lamps lighted in the candlestick, incense smoking on the altar of incense, the shew-bread set in order on the table, and the sacrifices burning on an altar of unhewn stones, declared the restoration of the temple-worship, and rewarded the zealous loyalty of the warrior-band. An annual commemoration of this day was appointed, and the feast of dedication was honoured by our Saviour Himself in the days of his flesh[2], and is still observed in the Synagogue as the Feast of Lights.

The next care of Judas was to rebuild the city-walls, which he further strengthened with towers, and to fortify a strong position on the borders of Idumea, which might serve, not only as a protection to the frontier, but also as a place of refuge in the event of another expulsion from the city.

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[1] As is apparent from 1 Maccab. iv. 15, 29; vi. 31; Joseph. Ant. v. i.; xii. ix. 4.; Bell. Jud. v. vii. See Reland's Palestine, pp. 68—70, 154, 305.

[2] John x. 22.

The restoration of the Jews to a state of independence was the signal for a general assault of their inveterate enemies on all sides, and the tabernacles of the Edomites and the Ishmaelites, the Moabites and the Hagarenes, the Philistines, with them of Tyre, were again confederate against the chosen people. But the God of Abraham was among them still as the Lord of hosts, and His presence secured them the victory. The Idumeans and the Amorites, in the south, had been already vanquished, when Judas learnt that the northern division of the country was endangered by the inhabitants of the coast, and that large hostile forces of the Arabians were assembled in Gilead.

Having detached his brother Simon to prosecute the war in Galilee, he crossed the Jordan with Jonathan, leaving Judea in charge to two of his officers, with directions on no account to hazard an engagement during his absence. The neglect of this salutary counsel involved them in a defeat, attended with considerable loss, while the valiant brothers were entirely successful in their respective expeditions, and Judas returned in time to repair the damage occasioned by the rashness of his generals.

But the presence of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, contiguous to the temple, was a constant source of annoyance to the worshippers at Jerusalem, and Judas now resolved to direct all his efforts to its expulsion; he accordingly formed the siege of the castle, and erected bulwarks and engines of war against it. The renegades, who had good reason to apprehend the vengeance of their injured countrymen, should they become masters of the place, effected their escape by

night, and flying to Antioch, represented the dangerous position of the small force at Jerusalem.

Eupator had now succeeded his father Epiphanes, who had died a death of dreadful torment, while contemplating, in Persia, a repetition of the atrocities which he had committed on the Jews; and the Christian will feel little difficulty in choosing between the account of the Jewish writer, who ascribes the visitation to the slow but certain vengeance of that Majesty which had there been violated, and the heathen historian, who refers it to the sacrilege on the temple of Diana which he was then meditating. Incensed at the intelligence communicated by the fugitives, the young king raised a large army—consisting, according to the Jewish account, of 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 32 elephants—for the subjugation of Judæa. After an engagement, which cost Judas the life of his brother Eleazar, who perished in a deed of heroic daring, he returned to Jerusalem, and defended himself in the temple, where he was attacked by the enemy, and reduced to the last extremity, by the failure of his stores and the consequent desertion of many of his followers. At this critical juncture intelligence was brought to Eupator, that a formidable rival, who had risen in Persia, was threatening his throne at Antioch, and he was compelled to conclude a peace with the Jews on most advantageous terms to the latter. He demolished, however, the fortifications of the temple, and carried away Menelaus the author of all the calamities which had befallen the Jews, among whom he had exercised the office of high priest for the last ten years. He was subsequently put to death; and the dignity was con-

ferred by the Syrian general on Alcimus, a member of another family, while Onias, the rightful successor, took refuge in Egypt, where he procured permission to build a temple at Heliopolis, which attained considerable celebrity.

The Jews were not destined long to enjoy the liberty for which they had struggled. Demetrius Soter, who had been delivered as a hostage to the Romans by his father Seleucus Philopator, and had been detained in Italy during the reign of his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes, having now effected his escape from Rome, succeeded in wresting the kingdom out of the hands of his cousin Eupator, soon after the latter had obtained the mastery of his rival, Philip. At the instigation of Alcimus and other renegade Jews, he lost no time in sending his general Bacchides, and subsequently Nicanor, to curb the growing power of Judas. Neither fraud nor force were spared for the accomplishment of this design; but the watchful Providence of God enabled His servants to guard against both. The blasphemy of Nicanor was visited by a signal defeat, in which he lost his life, and Alcimus was suddenly smitten by God while meditating innovations in the temple at Jerusalem, and died soon after, when the high-priesthood was conferred on Judas by the election of the people, and the command of the army devolved on his brother Simon[1].

The short interval of peace which followed on the

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[1] The death of Alcimus and election of Judas to the high priesthood is related by Josephus, but there is no notice whatever of it in the Maccabees, which records the death of Alcimus after that of Judas; but as Josephus seems to have had the authority of the public documents preserved in the archives at Rome, he was probably better informed on this point.

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rout of Nicanor's army, was seized on by Judas to form an alliance which might hereafter be advantageous to his country. The Romans, who had been for some years extending their influence in the East, would naturally be averse to the proceedings of Demetrius, which were so opposed to their policy, that they had twice rejected his petition to be restored to his father's throne. His escape from Rome, and his successes in Syria, must have incensed his masters greatly, and prepared them to entertain with favour the offer of alliance with a nation in open hostility to him. But the treaty was of little present advantage to the Jews, who were left to their own resources, when their country was again invaded by Bacchides with a numerous host. The warrior-priest exchanged the tiara for the helmet, and marched to confront his old enemy, whom he engaged with very unequal forces. On the first assault he completely routed the right wing of the enemy, but pursuing his advantage too hotly, he was surrounded by the unbroken left wing, and, after a valiant defence, fell with many of his followers. His dead body was given up to his brothers, and honourably buried in his father's tomb at Modin, where a stately sepulchre was afterwards erected, which was still to be seen in the fourth century of the Christian era[1].

In the incessant struggles which agitated Syria during the long and dubious contentions of the various aspirants for the throne of that country, the aid of the warrior-princes of the house of Mattathias could not

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[1] Modim vicus juxta Diospolim unde fuerunt Machabæi, quorum hodieque ibidem Sepulchra (μνήματα) monstrantur. Eusebii et Hieronomi Onomasticon, sub voce Modim.

but be eagerly sought by the rival parties, and large bribes were offered, in the form of immunities from taxes, with other civil and religious privileges, to attach them to their opposite interests[2]. By what principle the Jewish leaders were governed in their conduct to their different suitors it would be difficult for a politician to discover; but perhaps not difficult for a diplomatist to justify such inconsistency as was necessary to keep them in favour with the dominant party, as fortune shifted from one side to the other.

The successes of Jonathan, who succeeded his brother Judas in the high-priesthood and supreme command, were very brilliant in many campaigns; and he was highly honoured by the pretender Alexander Bala, and his father-in-law, Ptolemy Philometor, the king of Egypt. On the death of Alexander, he conferred singular services on Demetrius, and was rewarded with base ingratitude instead of the princely honours which had been promised. At length, during the ascendancy of the son of Alexander, or rather of his general Trypho, who used his sovereign as a stepping-stone to his own exaltation, he was taken prisoner by treachery, and basely murdered.

His brother Simon now assumed the ecclesiastical and civil direction, and for him it was reserved to reap the fruits of all the deeds of noble daring exhibited by his heroic family. He freed his people altogether from the Macedonian yoke after they had worn it for 170 years, and was written in the contracts and public records, "Benefactor and Ethnarch of the Jews." One signal service of immense importance was,

[2] Ant. XIII. i. &c.

the reduction of the garrison in the tower at Jerusalem, which had been a thorn in the side of the Jews since its erection by Antiochus Epiphanes. Occupying a commanding position on the very mountain of the temple, the worshippers were perpetually exposed to observation, sometimes even to interruption, and very persevering had been the efforts of Judas and Jonathan to dispossess their enemies of this post, which served as a rallying place for their discomfited legions. Failing to accomplish this, Jonathan had converted the siege into a blockade, by building a wall in the midst of the city to shut off the garrison from the market, so as to reduce them by famine. The same plan was pursued by Simon, with better success, and the garrison was forced to capitulate[1]. The account given by Josephus of the proceedings of Simon on the evacuation of this fortress by the Macedonians, is singularly at variance with that of the author of the first book of Maccabees; the latter relating that it was converted into a fortress for the temple, and much strengthened, and afterwards inhabited by Simon and his troops; while the former asserts that it was levelled with the ground, and the very mountain on which it stood removed with incredible labour. An attempt will hereafter be made to reconcile these conflicting statements. At present it will be sufficient to remark, that the tower Baris, afterwards called Antonia, soon afterwards occupied nearly the same site, and was probably commenced by Simon, and finished by his son Hyrcanus.

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[1] 1 Maccab. xiii. 49, &c. Comp. Josephus, Ant. XIII. vi. 7; and see above, pp. 75—77, and more fully in Part. II. cap. ii. towards the end.

The peace and prosperity enjoyed by the Jews under the mild reign of Simon, is very poetically described in the book of Maccabees, and we seem now first to read the fulfilment of the prophecies relating to their restoration from the Babylonish captivity; for "then did they till their ground in peace, and the earth gave her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy; for every man sat under his vine and fig-tree, and there was none to fray them[2]." These halcyon days he sought to perpetuate by renewing the alliances with the Romans and Lacedæmonians which his brothers had formed, and by strengthening the defences of the temple, the city, and the country, which they had not neglected: and though his latter days were disturbed by another invasion from Syria, yet through his own vigour, which was noway abated, and that of his sons, he defeated his enemies, and returned covered with laurels to Jerusalem[3]. But none of the sons of Mattathias were to be allowed a tranquil end; he was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law Ptolemy at a feast at Jericho, where his wife and two of his children fell into the assassin's hands.

John, surnamed Hyrcanus, his third son, was happily not present: he was informed of a plot against his life, and effected his escape to Jerusalem, where being appointed to succeed his father, he sought to avenge

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[2] 1 Maccab. xiv. 8, &c.

[3] 1 Maccab. xv. xvi. Josephus only relates that Simon marched in person against them, vii. 3.

the treachery of Ptolemy, and besieged him in a fortress, to which he had retired. Here the vengeance threatened to his relatives, and the cruel tortures inflicted on his mother in his sight, while with heroic firmness she exhorted him to the attack, shook his courage. His heart failed him, and the siege was protracted until the Sabbatic year led him to abandon it. Ptolemy then murdered his captives, and fled from the country.

Hyrcanus was scarcely settled in his principality, when the king of Syria, indignant at the defeat of his general, marched in person against him, and after ravaging the country, shut him up in Jerusalem, which he then surrounded with seven encampments, but was at first deterred from an assault by the strength of the walls. His army suffered greatly from drought, until they were relieved by a seasonable and abundant shower[1]; and the siege was pressed with renewed vigour. The weakest point in the fortifications was on the northern quarter of the city, where the wall stood on even ground; here Antiochus cut a double trench, deep and wide, and erected a hundred lofty towers, hoping thus to effect a breach. The besieged meanwhile were not idle; they made frequent sallies, fell upon their enemies unawares, and having killed many, retired within their walls in security. The scarcity of provisions at length forced Hyrcanus to exclude from the city such as were unfit for war. These wretched beings, whom Antiochus would not suffer to escape, wandered about

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[1] This is one of the two notes of astronomical time given by Josephus. This drought and shower occurred at the setting of the Pleiades, which would be, at that period, about February, the time of the latter rain in Judea.

between the city-walls and the works of the enemy, and many died miserably of famine. The survivors were received again into the city on occasion of the feast of Tabernacles, which afforded a breathing-space in the siege, and led to the ultimate adjustment of a treaty. Hyrcanus had requested a truce of seven days to celebrate the solemnity; he had a generous enemy to deal with, the Pious, not the Illustrious Antiochus, who not only granted what was asked, but sent in a magnificent sacrifice to do honour to the festival—bulls with gilded horns, an abundance of sweet spices, and cups of gold and silver for the sacred services.

The king of Syria had been recommended by those about him to destroy the nation, as unsociable and rebellious, but he inclined to the side of mercy, and proposed the following terms: the Jews should deliver up their arms, pay tribute for Joppa and other cities which bordered on Judea, and receive a garrison into the city. To this last term the Jews, who had had such bitter experience of its effects, would by no means consent, and it was generously dispensed with. The conqueror satisfied himself with breaking down the walls of the city; and having received hostages, among whom was another brother of Hyrcanus, he departed, and soon after lost his life in an unsuccessful expedition against Arsaces, king of Parthia, on which he was accompanied by his Jewish ally.

From this time the Macedonian princes had but little influence in Judea; and the valiant exploits of Hyrcanus against the Idumeans, Samaritans, and others, preserved the country in peace during his long reign of thirty-one years, the close of which was marked by his

defection from the Pharisaic sect, to which he had been attached through life; a step to which he was provoked by the calumny of one of its members, too lightly visited, in the estimation of the injured party, by the body to which he belonged[1]. With John Hyrcanus departed the glory of the Asmonean race; it would have been well, perhaps, for the nation had the family become extinct in him.

He was succeeded by Aristobulus, the eldest of his five sons, who first assumed a kingly diadem. He favoured his second brother, Antigonus, but imprisoned the others, and starved his mother to death. Through the intrigues and calumnies of his wife and others he was alienated also from Antigonus, and became an unwilling partaker in the guilt of his assassination, which afterwards affected him very deeply; and an accident which immediately followed, whereby his own blood became mingled with that of his brother which he had just now shed, struck him with such horror, that he died of remorse after a brief reign of one year, in the course of which he had conferred many benefits on his country, and extended its limits over great part of Iturea, whose inhabitants he compelled to receive circumcision, and in other respects to conform to the Mosaic law, as Hyrcanus had done to the Idumeans on the subjugation of their country[2].

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[1] Ant. XIII. x. 6. It forms no part of the plan of this work to enter into the tenets of these well-known Jewish sects. They first appear in Josephus a little earlier than this, v. 9. In both these passages he refers to the fuller account in the War, Lib. II. viii. 14. See also Ant. XVIII. i. 3.

[2] A comparison of Ant. XIII. ix. 1. which speaks of the conquest of Idumea by Hyrcanus, with xi. 3, which relates the subjugation of Iturea by Aristobulus, will not allow us to substitute Idumea for Iturea in the latter passage, as has been proposed, (Reland, Palest. p. 106.) It is however

His widow Salome now released his brothers from prison, and conferred the kingdom on the eldest, Alexander Janneus, the greater part of whose reign was passed in the camp; and the tide of war again rolled around Judea, though it did not reach to Jerusalem. But one whose hands were stained with a brother's blood, and whose many defeats were less disgraceful than his excesses in the hour of victory, was not popular among his own countrymen; he was publicly insulted while offering sacrifice in the temple on the feast of Tabernacles, and was subsequently engaged for six years in a sanguinary war with his own countrymen, in which no fewer than 50,000 fell a sacrifice to his vengeance. His fury was checked for a time by a foreign invasion, invited by his subjects, but it was only to break out into more frightful acts of cruelty, by which he earned for himself the name of Thracian. The ingenious barbarity of the punishment inflicted on his rebellious subjects is almost unparalleled in the annals of crime. While feasting with his concubines, in sight of the whole city, he commanded eight hundred of his captives to be crucified alive; and while they were writhing in agony on the cross, ordered the throats of their wives and children to be cut before their eyes! He died after a reign of twenty-seven years, having advised his wife, on his death-bed, to seek reconciliation with the powerful party of the Pharisees, from whom he had been estranged, after his father's example. Alexandra was not slow to profit by his politic counsel, the wisdom of which was soon manifest,

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remarkable that this is the only passage in Josephus in which he thus designates the country which he usually calls Auranitis, a name still in use.

in procuring for himself a splendid burial, with a fame far beyond his merits; and for his widow the quiet possession of the kingdom for nine years, notwithstanding the restless ambition of her younger son Aristobulus, while her elder son Hyrcanus administered the priesthood, being a lover of quiet, and little likely to cause her any uneasiness by attempts at political innovations. But such a character as his was altogether unqualified to cope with the bold spirit of Aristobulus, who aimed to succeed his mother in the kingdom; and the peace-loving Hyrcanus proposed an accommodation on terms satisfactory to both parties[1]. He was to retain the priesthood, relinquishing the crown to his younger brother, to whom also he ceded the tower Baris, which he had hitherto occupied. Peace would have been secured on this basis, but for the interference of one whose family is now first introduced on the stage to play a conspicuous part, until the tragic close of this act of the history of Jerusalem.

The father of Antipater, an Idumean by birth, had been appointed prefect of his native country by the Jewish king, Alexander Janneus, and had administered it during the reign of Alexandra. His son, who was a man of enterprising spirit, enjoyed the friendship of the young Hyrcanus, whose easy surrender of his worldly honours did not suit the ardent temperament of the aspiring stranger. He made it his business to stir up the minds of the most powerful Jews of the dominant faction, and to work on the fears of the gentle Hyrcanus, as though his brother was plotting against his life. He succeeded so well in his plans that he at last prevailed

[1] Joseph. Ant. xiv. i. &c.

with him to flee for protection to Aretas the king of Arabia, at Petra, whom he had already prepared to act his part in the plot. An invasion of Judea now followed, and after a disastrous defeat, Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem, and was besieged in the temple, where the priests only held with him, the multitude of the people being warm partizans of Hyrcanus. Civil dissensions are always attended with more animosity than foreign warfare. The feast of the Passover occurred during the siege of the temple. The party of Aristobulus requested their countrymen without to supply them with such sacrifices as the law required, offering to pay whatever price they should demand. An exhorbitant sum was agreed on, and the money was lowered in baskets from the walls of the temple; the perfidious Jews received the money, but broke their engagement; presenting a striking contrast to the conduct of the heathen king, whose generosity has been lately recorded.

The siege of the temple was raised by command of Scaurus, Pompey's general in Syria, whose services had been solicited by both parties; but as Aristobulus was in possession of the temple and its treasures, the Roman was disposed to favour his advances rather than those of Hyrcanus, who had the city to win, and whose case would require more vigorous measures than that of his brother. The Arabians had scarcely retreated when the mighty arbiter of nations himself appeared to settle the dispute of the rival brothers, who, by their ambassadors, pleaded before him at Damascus, without any decisive effect. The crisis was hastened by the intemperate rashness of Aristobulus, who might well mistrust the justice of his cause, and with characteristic precipitation flew to arms. Pompey invaded the country on his march

to Arabia, and having extorted a submission from Aristobulus, would have allowed him to retain at least a shadow of power, had not his wounded pride urged him on to fresh acts of hostility. He retired to Jerusalem, and prepared for a second siege.

Terrified however at the advance of the Roman army, he met the general at Jericho, tendered his submission, and again experienced the forbearance of the conqueror, who detached Gabinius with some soldiers to accompany the fallen monarch to Jerusalem, in order to receive the money and the city. On their arrival they found the gates shut, and the city fortified against them; nor had Aristobulus sufficient influence with his party to induce them to admit him. This was too much for Pompey's equanimity; he imprisoned Aristobulus, and marched his army to Jerusalem. The councils of its inhabitants were divided, the more moderate party advising to open the gates, the more reckless utterly refusing to do so. The former admitted the soldiers into the city and palace; the latter fortified themselves in the temple, and cut off the communications with the city. The Roman general having offered terms of accommodation, which were rejected, vigorously undertook the siege, in which he had the benefit of Hyrcanus's counsel, who had before been similarly employed. The temple was only assailable on the north, the parts on the west being rendered precipitous by the precautions of the besieged. A wall was drawn round the exposed quarter, within which the army encamped; but in proportion as the temple was by nature more practicable on this quarter, had it been more strongly fortified by art; solid towers and a deep fosse defied the assaults of the legions. With

infinite trouble the fosse was filled in, at least enough to allow of the erection of the engines and battering rams, which had been brought from Tyre; even this would not have been accomplished had not the besieged made a practice of remitting from any defence on the Sabbath, except such as was rendered imperatively necessary by an armed attack of their enemies. When this was understood, the Romans desisted from such assaults on the day of rest, and occupied themselves without molestation in raising the banks and carrying forward the engines.

Meanwhile the priests, undeterred by any accidents from the stones and other missiles of the besiegers, waited on their respective offices, ministering the accustomed services with the utmost precision, and offering up the prescribed sacrifices morning and evening, until the breach was effected by the fall of one of the principal towers, battered by the powerful engines, and the hallowed precincts were carried. Many Jews were slaughtered, others precipitated themselves into the deep valleys, or burnt their houses over them; twelve thousand in all perished.

The conqueror now entered the holy house, and intruded even into the Holy of Holies, but abstained from the rich spoils of the temple: he restored the daily burnt-offerings, and having reinstated Hyrcanus in the priestly office, he carried off Aristobulus, with his wife and family, to grace his triumph at Rome. His elder son however effected his escape on the way, and occupied the arms of Gabinius, the new Roman prefect, in a fruitless attempt to recover his father's kingdom.

Judea was now to all intents a Roman province, and any independence which its princes or its people

fancied themselves to possess from this time was purely imaginary; the crown and sceptre of their future kings were merely toys which the great republic could well afford to leave in their hands, if it made their yoke less galling and more tolerable. At present Gabinius appointed five sanhedrims or councils, for the direction of the nation, parted off into so many divisions. This form of government could not but be most acceptable to the Jews, as being so conformable to primitive practice; and the wise and merciful policy of the Roman government, satisfied to consult the national prejudices, so far as might be safely done, challenges our admiration.

The restless Aristobulus had not yet relinquished the hope of recovering his crown. Having effected his escape from Rome, he gathered a small army in Judea, where he was soon taken by Gabinius, and sent back to his bonds in Rome, while his children were allowed to return to their own country. He was finally released by Julius Cæsar, and died by poison in his native land. His son Alexander was put to death by Pompey's orders soon after. Meanwhile Hyrcanus continued in the exercise of the high priesthood at Jerusalem, aided always by the shrewd Antipater, who was well skilled in such diplomacy as became one in his position.

The moderation of his predecessors was not imitated by Crassus, who now succeeded to the command of the eastern provinces. On his Parthian expedition he paid a visit to Jerusalem, where his cupidity was excited by the costly treasures of the temple, enriched as it was by the pious offerings of devout Jews in all parts of the world. The guardian of the sacred

treasures sought to satisfy his avarice and save the temple by an enormous bribe, a wedge of gold of the value of nearly a million pounds sterling, which the villain took and then stripped the temple! No marvel that the pious Jews should regard his disasters in Parthia as a signal judgment on his perfidy and sacrilege.

At the conclusion of the civil war Julius Cæsar sailed into Syria, where an attempt of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, to injure the position of Hyrcanus and Antipater in his estimation, resulted, through the tact of the latter, in the renewal of all their powers, and permission to repair the breaches made by Pompey. On his return to Jerusalem Antipater appointed his eldest son Phasaelus to the government of Jerusalem, and Herod to the more distant district of Galilee. Here the enterprising spirit of this remarkable man began to display itself in his first public command. The country had been long infested by formidable banditti, having for their captain one Hezekiah, the terror of whose name had spread throughout the country. The robber-chief, with the greater part of his band, was taken and slain by Herod, and loud were the praises which this daring exploit called forth from the peacefully disposed inhabitants of the district: well would it have been had he never, during his long administration, stained his hands with more innocent blood!

The growing power and influence of the family of Antipater had for some time excited the jealousy of the Jewish party at Jerusalem; for although the Idumeans had been forced to adopt the Jewish worship[1], on their

[1] Ant. XIII. ix. 2.

conquest by Hyrcanus the First, yet they were still regarded as strangers and aliens from the Jewish commonwealth. Antipater and his sons were charged before Hyrcanus with tyrannical usurpation, or unlawful abuse of delegated power; and Herod in particular was accused of having acted contrary to law in putting the bandits to death, without a formal sentence of the sanhedrim. The high priest, not daring to follow his own inclination, which would have led him to disregard these complaints, summoned the youthful offender to answer for his conduct before the council at Jerusalem. He appeared in their chamber in arms, surrounded by an armed retinue, backed moreover by the protection of Sextus Cæsar, then president of the province. The timid judges were awed, his accusers dared not appear. One only of all the assembly was above the fear of man, and he spoke boldly out. The members of the sanhedrim, reassured by his firmness, would have pronounced sentence of death, had not Hyrcanus, dreading the wrath of the Roman prefect, adjourned the proceedings, and afforded the culprit an opportunity of escape. Smarting under this insult, and further strengthened by the official appointment of general of the Roman army in Cœlesyria, conferred on him for money by Sextus Cæsar, Herod meditated vengeance on his adversaries at Jerusalem, and actually marched his legions towards the city. His father and brother with difficulty persuaded him to milder measures, and he desisted from his purpose, thinking it enough at this time to have made a show of his determination to quell the refractory sanhedrim by force.

The murder of Julius Cæsar, and the consequent distractions of the Roman empire, involved Judea in

new troubles, during which the levy of the enormous taxes exacted by Cassius gave Herod a fresh opportunity of showing his address, and of ingratiating himself in the favour of his new master; so that when his father had been poisoned by the treachery of one Malichus, the leader of the Jewish party, he was able, after a period of dissimulation, to take vengeance on the murderer, and to establish more firmly the authority which he had already acquired. He succeeded also in expelling from the country Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, who, having strengthened himself with new alliances, had ventured again to try the fortune of war against his more powerful rival. Returning from this expedition, the conqueror was received with open arms by Hyrcanus, whose granddaughter he had espoused, thereby contracting an alliance with the Asmonean family, which rendered him for a brief season more acceptable to the people; but on the arrival of Marc Antony in Syria, the old complaints were revived, and a large deputation of the most influential Jews waited on the Roman general to prefer their accusations against the detested house of Antipater. The triumvir's judgment had been already purchased by the accused; Phasaelus and Herod were declared tetrarchs, the government was confirmed in their hands, and it was only at the intercession of the latter that the lives of their accusers were spared. The representations of a much more numerous deputation, which met Marc Antony at Tyre, experienced a like reception, and on this occasion some of the number paid the penalty of their persevering persecution with their blood.

But a terrible reverse of fortune was now at hand, a season of severe trial, which was to form the character of the future king. Antigonus once more appeared in

Judea with a detachment of Parthian troops, who, under the command of Pacorus the king's son and Barzapharnes his general, had invaded and conquered Syria. Herod and his brother were shut up in the palace at Jerusalem, supported by Hyrcanus and his adherents; but the partizans of Antigonus outnumbered the opposite faction, and a formidable army was at hand to second his claims. For some time the Holy City was the scene of confusion and bloodshed, especially when the feast of Pentecost had assembled a multitude from the surrounding country; and the defence of the brothers against such vast odds, vigorous as it was, could scarcely have had a successful issue. The dispute however was not to be decided with arms, but, as usual, by treachery. Hyrcanus and Phasaelus were prevailed on, much against the better sense of Herod, to go on an embassy to the Parthian commander-in-chief, with a view of negotiating terms. As he had foreseen, they were captured and imprisoned. A nocturnal flight with his betrothed wife, the lovely but unfortunate Mariamne, and his female relatives, under the escort of a small retinue, scarcely saved him from a like fate. His flight was discovered, he was pursued, and overtaken; and so deep was his distress on this occasion, that he was only prevented from committing suicide by the earnest entreaties of those about him. He succeeded however in effecting his escape, and retired first to Massada, a strong fortress on the Dead Sea. Leaving here the females in safe custody under the protection of his brother Joseph, and a select few, he disbanded his army, and departed to Petra to seek succour from the king of Arabia, where he met with a less courteous reception than he had anticipated.

Meanwhile the Parthians plundered Jerusalem, An-

tigonus using his victory with such moderation as might be expected from an unprincipled man, who had treasured up in his heart the recollection of long years of misfortune and defeat. Phasaelus, condemned to death, sought to prevent the execution by dashing out his brains against his prison-wall. He failed in his attempt, and only fractured his skull. The wretch Antigonus sent his physicians to dress the wound, and ordered them to pour poison into it! The last moments of the unhappy man were consoled by the intelligence of his brother's escape. Hyrcanus was maimed by his nephew, and so disqualified for the priestly office; but his life was spared.

Rejected by Malchus king of Arabia, Herod now resolved on an attempt to repair his shattered fortunes by a personal appearance at Rome. He went down to Egypt, sailed thence for Italy, was shipwrecked off Rhodes, and scarcely escaped with his life, the freight being entirely lost. His success at Rome exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The old friendship which had existed between Octavius and Antipater, who had been companions in arms in Egypt, the remembrance of the costly presents made by the suppliant to Antony in the East, the hatred of Antigonus, and the hope of finding a valuable ally against the Parthians—all conspired to recommend his cause to the favourable consideration of the triumvirs and the senate. Seven days after his arrival, he left the shores of Italy, honoured with the title of king, by those who had power to enforce their decrees. He had intended to prefer his suit in behalf of Mariamne's brother, Aristobulus, who, as the son of Alexander, and grandson of Aristobulus on the father's side and of Hyrcanus by his daughter

Alexandra, was the undoubted heir to the dignity; and who would have been the puppet of his crafty brother-in-law, as Hyrcanus had been of Antipater. But now a grander prospect opened before him; he could act undisguisedly in his own name.

Arrived at Ptolemais, the first care of the new king was to enlist an army of mercenaries, and march to the relief of Massada, which had hitherto maintained a long siege against Antigonus and his Parthian allies. Strong as the position was[1], and well stored with all kinds of provisions, Joseph had once resolved to abandon its defence, for want of water, when a timely shower filled the cisterns, and enabled him to hold out until his brother's arrival. Having released his family and friends from their confinement, Herod next marched to Jerusalem, and pitched his camp on the west part of the city, hoping by the assistance of the Roman general Silo, who had been instructed to forward his views, to make himself master of the city. But this officer, who had been bribed by Antigonus, got up the appearance of mutiny in his army, and Herod was forced to abandon the siege and place the legions in winter-quarters. Yet his active spirit could not rest; the robbers in Galilee had again got head, after his removal from that government, and he occupied the interval in chasing them

[1] This site has been lately identified by Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. II. 240. It is now called "Sebbeh." The writer only viewed it, as Dr Robinson did, from the high cliffs above 'Ain Jidy: but it was visited in 1842 by Mr Woolcott, whose interesting account of it is published in Dr Robinson's Bibliotheca Sacra, Pt. I. p. 62, &c. It occupies a position of immense strength on the top of a perpendicular rock, approachable only by a steep and narrow pass, and there not without considerable difficulty. Extensive ruins still remain there. It is situated towards the southern end of the Dead Sea, on its western shore.

from their dens. Then, leaving his brother Joseph to represent him in his kingdom, he marched to his friend Marc Antony, who was now engaged in the siege of Samosata, to prefer his just complaint at the conduct of the Roman officers in Judea. Their old friendship, and an important service which Herod had the good fortune to render him, ensured a favourable reception from his faithful ally, and he returned to his kingdom, where he found that his brother had fallen a victim to his own rashness; having been entangled and attacked by the soldiers of Antigonus, and perished with his whole force, consisting of six cohorts of newly-raised recruits. Herod hastened to avenge his brother's death, aggravated by the mutilation of his body by Antigonus; and success attended his arms. He was, however, obliged to wait until the severity of the winter was past, to renew his attempt upon Jerusalem; meanwhile he lay at Jericho.

As soon as the season was sufficiently advanced, he again took the field, and marching to Jerusalem, prepared for the reduction of his capital, three years after his appointment to the kingdom. While the works were in progress, he departed to Samaria, where he solemnized his marriage with Mariamne, to whom he had been long espoused. Returning to the city with fresh forces, he vigorously pressed the siege, directing his chief efforts against the north quarter of the temple enclosure, as Pompey had done before him; and having the able assistance of the Roman general Sosius, whom Antony had detached for this service. The same vigorous resistance was made by the Jews as on the former occasion, although the scarcity of their provisions (it was a Sabbatical year)

reduced them to great distress. The first wall was carried in forty days, the second in fifteen more, and the Romans were put in possession of the Lower City, and of the outer temple. Antigonus was fortified in the royal palace of Baris, but his forces occupied the Upper City and the inner court of the sacred inclosure. The former of these was taken by storm, and a frightful massacre ensued, while the rapacious soldiery flew upon the spoil, and were hardly restrained by the remonstrances of Herod, who repeatedly inquired of his ally if the Romans were about to clear the city of money and men, and leave him king of a desert?

Antigonus surrendered at discretion; he was abused and insulted by the Roman general, and afterwards sent in chains to Marc Antony, who put him to death at Antioch, at the solicitation of Herod, with a view to confirm him on his tottering throne. In him the royal line of the Asmoneans ceased, after it had continued for 126 years, and Herod was left in undisputed possession of Judea.

The dark annals of the sanguinary reign of this splendid monster, whose suspicious jealousy stuck at no inhumanity, would be distressing alike to recite and to peruse[1]. That he should wreak his fury on the adverse party was to be expected; worldly policy might plead necessity as a law; but the treacherous murder of the youth Aristobulus, his kinsman; the cruel butchery of the old Hyrcanus—the tried friend of his family; and above all, the ruthless slaughter of the high-spirited Mariamne, whose only crimes were, that she could not submit without a murmur to the murder of her grand-

[1] Ant. xv.

father and brother, and dared to question the tenderness of a husband's love who had twice ordered her immediate execution in the event of his own death;—these acts, not to mention the other innocent victims of the earlier half of his reign, have left a blot upon his character which all his magnificence, and the real glory of his public administration, cannot for a moment obliterate from the memory. After the battle of Actium, followed by the death of Antony, he repaired in person to the conqueror at Rhodes, in whose presence neither his address nor good fortune forsook him. He honestly avowed his attachment to Marc Antony, his earnest desire to serve him, his conviction that had he followed his advice he would not have succumbed to his rival. Octavius, who could now afford to be generous, was not offended with the candour of the avowal; and Herod was confirmed in his kingdom, whose limits were enlarged by the favour of the emperor. His vigorous measures having secured the tranquillity of the country, and awed the bordering tribes into submission, he was at leisure to devote his thoughts and his wealth to the adornment of his capital and the erection of cities, whose magnificent ruins testify to this day the costly liberality of Herod the Great. Samaria was converted into Sebaste, and Strato's tower enlarged to Cæsarea, to flatter the pride of his august benefactor; while Herodium, erected on the remarkable hill, now known as Jebel Furdeis, or the Frank Mountain, within sight of Jerusalem, served to mark the scene of his victory over Antigonus on the memorable night of his escape from Jerusalem. Neither was his reign unmarked by one proof at least that he had a human heart; and the really affecting account which the his-

torian has left of his thoughtful solicitude and paternal care, not merely in behalf of his own people, but of the neighbouring nation, on occasion of a severe famine, when he opened his granaries and his treasury, imported corn from Egypt, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and succoured the distressed, might well change the disposition of the multitude towards him, and dispose them, at least, to forget his past barbarities in the benefits which they were now receiving, and incline them to think that he had been from the beginning, not such an one as they had found him by experience, but such as the care he had taken of them, in supplying their necessities, proved him now to be.

But the introduction of foreign customs and amusements into the Holy City was an unpardonable desecration in the eyes of the zealous Jews, and the impiety of his acts would be aggravated, rather than excused, by his profession of their worship. A conspiracy against his life was entered into by ten citizens of Jerusalem: they were betrayed, and punished with death. But the builder of a theatre and circus, the president at quinquennial games, instituted in honour of a pagan emperor, might well be suspected, when he proposed to rebuild the Jewish Temple; and the religious part of the community had good reason to fear a further and more dreadful violation of their national customs. But in this, his chief work, he acted with much more consideration than could have been expected, however policy might have taught the inexpediency of further provoking the hostility of his subjects. Neither labour nor expense was spared to render this Temple a worthy successor of that which the wealth and wisdom of Solomon had originally erected on the Holy

Mount; and the fragments of columns, built into the modern walls of the Haram, exhibiting most rare specimens of porphyry, with a variety of precious marbles, still testify to the glory of this latter house, which was magnificently adorned within and without, and surrounded with stately cloisters,—of which a further notice will be necessary in a subsequent chapter, as also of the Tower Antonia, at the north-east corner of the outer area, which he had already rebuilt or greatly enlarged during the life of his friend, by whose name it was designated. The Temple was completed in nine years and a half.

But the last days of Herod were to witness a repetition of the terrific acts of its commencement, and family feuds were again to embroil his house in trouble and to embrue his hands with blood[1]. The two sons of the murdered Mariamne, who had been educated at Rome, were brought back by their father when age and polite education had perfected them in such graces and accomplishments as they had inherited from their mother. They became the idols of the people. Their popularity excited the envy of Pheroras and Salome, the brother and sister of Herod, who had indeed too just cause to dread their displeasure for the part which they had acted towards the unhappy Mariamne, which her children were too generous not to feel, too frank and noble-minded to conceal; and as the king was now advanced in years, and the accession of the young men to power was probably not far distant, no time was to be lost in getting them out of the way. The alliance of Aristobulus, the elder of the two brothers, to the

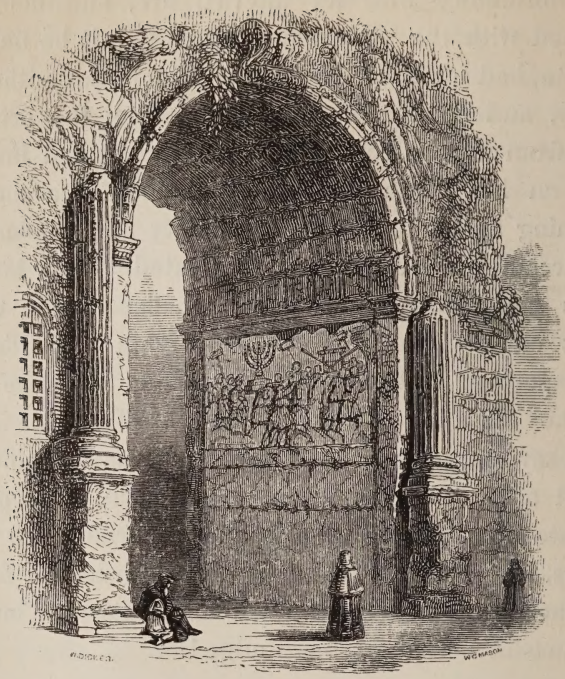
[1] Ant. xvi. i. &c.

daughter of Salome, tended in no measure to reconcile her to the child of the woman whom she had so deeply injured; and falsehood and calumny were incessantly plied, until the father's affections were completely estranged from his darling boys. Antipater, a son of Herod by his first wife, was introduced at court, and entered into the evil councils of his designing aunt with all the eagerness of one bent on his own advancement. The counter influence thus strengthened was too powerful for the two brothers. Being accused before the tribunal of Augustus, as plotting against their father's life, they pleaded their defence with all the simplicity of conscious innocence, were honourably acquitted, and a temporary reconciliation with their father was the result. But on their return to Judea the attempts of Salome were renewed, and seconded by letters of Antipater, who was now at Rome, and by the treacherous villany of a foreign spy; until the king, worked up to a pitch of phrenzy, was at last not only prepared to believe, but forward to invite accusations, so that the very servants were tortured or bribed to calumniate them. The young men, wearied out with this incessant persecution, resolved to retire from the country, and to seek refuge first with Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, and finally at Rome. Their intentions were discovered, and represented as an overt act of treason; and Augustus was prevailed upon to allow the victims to be put on trial for their lives, before a Roman court at Berytus. The wretched father here appeared in person as the accuser of his sons, and so ably did he advocate the cause of injustice and inhumanity, with such vehemence and violence did he press the suit against them, that the

judges were absolutely prevailed upon to return a sentence of condemnation, and the two brothers were strangled at Sebaste.

Justly might the odium of this deed of blood attach to the villanous Antipater, and most righteous was the vengeance which speedily overtook him[1]. Having removed these rival claimants for his father's crown, nothing now remained but to bring to the grave, no matter how, the hoary head which it now encircled. Herod had cherished a nest of vipers in his own house, and was doomed himself to be the next victim. Salome his sister, Pheroras his brother, and Antipater his cherished son, conspired together to poison him. The success of this plot was hindered by the death of Pheroras; and an investigation which ensued on the suspicion of his having met a violent death, led to the discovery of the whole of the dark design, in which Antipater had taken part with the most diabolical determination. He was immediately summoned from Rome, where he was now awaiting the explosion of the mine to which he had laid the train, in a letter full of affection, and arrived at Jerusalem without suspecting the cause of his recall. His salutation was repulsed with horror by his indignant father, who now threw off the mask, and on the following day he was put upon his trial before Quintilius Varus, the president of Syria, whom Herod had already called to Jerusalem to act as his assessor on this occasion. The eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus was counsel for the prosecution; witnesses flocked forward in crowds, judging it a righteous act to expose such monstrous wickedness. The most

[1] Ant. xvii. i. &c.



CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

The history of the troubled period which intervened between the death of Herod the Great and the closing scene of the Jewish commonwealth, is invested with peculiar interest, from the fact of its running parallel to the record of those events which, however overlooked at the time, and lost in the blaze of this world's show, exceed in an infinite degree all that earth can boast of awful and sublime, and have exercised, as they do at this day exercise, a paramount influence on the present and eternal happiness of myriads of the human race.

True it is that the two histories have little in common; for the Church and the world must ever move in distinct orbits: influencing each the other, it may be, by mutual attraction or repulsion; but governed by different laws, and working out ends diametrically opposite.

The sacred history in these early times trenches little upon the secular, the secular not at all, necessarily, on the sacred; until the struggle between the Church and the world became more fierce, and men marvelled to see "the stone cut out of the mountain without hands," becoming a great mountain, and filling the whole earth[1]. Yet the few scattered notices which occur in the New Testament, concerning the political condition of Judea, are so well illustrated by the Jewish historian, and a fuller detail will reflect so much light on the sacred narrative, that it will be worth while to enter upon it[2].

Herod had altered his will for the last time shortly before his death, and had finally divided his dominions according to the following distribution. To Antipas, whom he had formerly named successor to the regal title and dignity, he bequeathed the tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea; to Philip, that of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas; and to Archelaus, the remainder of his kingdom, with the empty honour of a crown[3]; besides enormous bequests in money, vessels, and garments to Augustus, to the empress Julia, and to his own sister Salome. The provisions of the will were all subject to the approval of Cæsar, pending which, family feuds

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[1] Daniel ii. 34, 35, 45.

[2] Josephus, Ant. xvii. viii. &c., and Jewish War, II. i. &c., mutually illustrate one another during this period.

[3] Matt. ii. 22.

and political intrigues embarrassed the settlement, and embroiled the country and the court in dissension.

The execution of Judas and Matthias with their disciples was rankling in the bosoms of the disaffected people; and they demanded satisfaction for the outrage, at a time when Archelaus was meditating a voyage to Rome, in order to plead his cause before Augustus, whose ear he had reason to fear would be preoccupied by the rival claims of his brother Antipas, supported as they were by his eloquent cousin Antipater, the son of Salome. Chagrined at this unseasonable importunity, he did not adopt the most pacific measures to suppress the seditious spirit of the refractory people; and on occasion of the feast of the Passover the smouldering fire of revolt broke out into flame. It was found necessary to employ an armed force to suppress the tumult; three thousand Jews were slain, and the remainder dispersed. These violent measures were vehemently urged against Archelaus by the adverse faction, and by a deputation of fifty Jews from Jerusalem, who prayed for liberty to live according to their own laws, under the government of a Roman procurator. This strong opposition he was enabled to defeat through the powerful advocacy of his father's friend, Nicolaus of Damascus, and he was appointed ethnarch of half of his father's kingdom, with a promise of the regal dignity if he administered his government discreetly in this subordinate capacity.

Meanwhile affairs continued in a disturbed state at Jerusalem; where Varus, the prefect of Syria, had left one legion of soldiers with Sabinus, whom Augustus had sent as his steward to watch his interests in the disposal of Herod's property. The feast of Pentecost, which brought together from all parts an innumerable com-

pany of worshippers, was judged a fitting opportunity for taking vengeance on the steward for the cruelties which he had practised. The Jews accordingly divided into three parties; whereof one occupied the north of the temple; a second seized the hippodrome on the south of the same; while the third invested the royal palace on the west of the city, occupied by the Roman garrison which was thus completely encompassed on all sides. Sabinus, alarmed at the number and determination of the seditious, dispatched a letter to Varus, imploring instant aid, and retired for security to the strong tower of Phasaelus which was attached to the royal palace. From this position he commanded a sally to be made, in which the Jews were repulsed with considerable loss. They then retired to the temple, and manned the roof of the cloisters which surrounded the outer area. From this advantageous eminence they greatly distressed the Romans, until the latter contrived to set fire to the cloisters. The flame was immediately communicated to the roof, which was composed of most inflammable materials, being constructed of fir overlaid with gilded wax. The devouring element quickly consumed those admirable works: their defenders perished in the flames, or were cut off in their precipitate retreat by the Romans, who had taken advantage of the panic to occupy the temple and seize the sacred treasure, which they divided among them.

Exasperated rather than intimidated by the destruction of their sacred buildings, and the havoc among their brethren, the infuriated Jews again rallied, and besieged the royal palace, which they attempted in vain to undermine. The siege was raised by the approach of Varus with two legions, and four troops of cavalry,

reinforced by auxiliaries from various cities on his march. But the revolt was now no longer confined to the capital; ten thousand other disorders were distracting the unhappy country; the prefect's route had been marked by the smoking ruins of towns and villages, and by the mangled corses of their slaughtered inhabitants; and the ghastly spectacle of two thousand crosses awakened the terror or inflamed the fury of the rebels. Such was the distracted condition of the country when Archelaus returned from Rome, to assume the reins of government; and the gloomy apprehensions inspired by his tyrannical acts at the commencement of his public career, were fully realised during his administration of nine years; in the course of which he contrived still further to alienate the affections of his subjects, by the contemptuous violation of the law, and by his arbitrary interference with the succession of the high-priests, whom he appointed and deposed at his pleasure. In consequence of a representation made to Augustus, he was summoned to Rome, deposed for mal-administration, and banished to Vienne in Gaul; when Judea, reduced to a Roman province, was added to the prefecture of Syria, under a subordinate governor, to whom the power of life and death was entrusted. This appointment was first held by Coponius, under the prefect Cyrenius, who came himself to Judea on a special service[1]. This was

[1] Ant. XVIII. i. 1. ἀποτιμησόμενος αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας, and below, ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς. Various attempts have been made to reconcile this taxing with the enrolment or census (ἀπογράφεσθαι . . . ἀπογραφή) of Luke ii. 1, 2. The question is fully discussed by Lardner, Credibility, Book II. cap. i. Vol. I. pp. 327—434. See again, Paley's Evidences, Pt. II. cap. vi. 3. 1. Hales (Chronology, Vol. II. pp. 705—710) proposes another solution; and, finally, the duke of Manchester (Times of Daniel, pp. 326—340) has attempted to prove that Josephus has purposely post-dated the taxa-

an assessment of property with a view to taxation; a measure very unpalatable to the Jews, as reminding them of their subjection to Rome; and they were with difficulty persuaded to submission by the representations of Joazar the high-priest. It was on this occasion that Judas of Galilee[2] headed a band of insurgents, and became the founder of the ascetic sect of the Jews, known as the Essenes: whose inviolable attachment to liberty, based as it was on the religious principle of acknowledging no master but God, led them to encounter death with unshaken resolution[3]. In them was revived the constancy, and something of the faith, of the Asmoneans; and a spirit of patriotism, such as theirs, might yet have delivered their country, had it been any way possible. As it was, their uncompromising loyalty to the Theocracy, and their determined bravery, could but involve themselves and their country in more complicated disasters.

The only act of the first procurator recorded by the historian, is the substitution of Ananus the son of Seth, in the place of Joazar the son of Boethus, the high priest, who had been formerly deposed from the dignity, by Archelaus, but restored by the populace after his

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tion of Cyrenius, in order to falsify the Gospel narrative. Gresswell (Dissertations on the Harmony, XIV. Vol. I. pp. 466—549, and Appendix, Diss. XV. Vol. IV. pp. 1, &c.) has, in my opinion, succeeded in shewing that the proposed solutions of the difficulty are inadmissible, and has, by anticipation, cleared Josephus from this heavy imputation; but I am not so sure that he has succeeded in establishing his own view of the passage in St Luke. He would render it, "This enrolment took place *before* Cyrenius was governor of Syria," (as proposed by Paley, loc. cit. note), and adduces numerous instances of this use of πρῶτος, but none, I think, at all parallel to this of St Luke, with a genitive participle.

[2] Referred to by Gamaliel. Acts v. 37.

[3] Ant. XVIII. i. 5; and much more fully, J. W. II. viii.

removal. The administration of Coponius was of short duration, as was that of his successor, Marcus Ambivius, who was superseded by Annius Rufus, under whose procuratorship Augustus died.

The policy of Tiberius, more considerate in this respect than his predecessor, was averse to the frequent change of provincial governors[1], and Valerius Gratus, whom he first appointed, continued in office for eleven years; in the course of which he changed the high priest no less than four times, having early removed Ananus, and leaving his son-in-law, Joseph Caiaphas, in possession of the dignity.

Gratus was succeeded by Pontius Pilate, whose violent disposition soon revived the spirit of insubordination which had slumbered awhile under his more mild and moderate predecessors. The former procurators had so far indulged the national prejudice against images, founded on the literal interpretation of the second Commandment, as not to bring into the Holy City either the effigies of the emperors on the standards, or any other emblems of their polytheistic superstition and idolatry. Pilate however, from no desire to honour the emperor, but solely from enmity to the Jews, first introduced into the royal palace of Herod, golden shields[2], bearing no image, but simply inscriptions with

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[1] Josephus, however, ascribes his dilatoriness to indolence. Whatever the cause, it would be well for the oppressed subjects of the Porte, if the Sultan would follow his example. In his account of the provincial governors of his day, Tiberius exactly describes the conduct of the ephemeral pashas of the Turkish provinces. Ant. VI. 5.

[2] So Agrippa, loc. cit. but Josephus (Ant. XVIII. iii. 1, and J. W. II. ix. 2) speaks of the busts of the reigning emperor on the military ensigns. Gresswell, indeed, says that the two attempts must not be confounded; but I cannot help suspecting that both writers allude to the same transactions. Dissert. XIII. Vol. I. p. 449, and see Mangey's note on Philo, l. c.

the name of the god to whom, and of the person by whom, they were dedicated. When the fact was noised abroad the multitude were much excited, and a deputation, headed by four sons of king Herod, themselves also of regal dignity, with other members of the royal family and persons of chief distinction in the country, waited on the procurator to implore that the shields might be removed, and no innovation attempted contrary to former precedent. When he harshly rejected their petition—for he was naturally inflexible, and obstinately self-willed[3],—they took a higher ground, and threatened to appeal to the emperor, who they were confident had not commanded, nor would countenance, his arbitrary proceedings. This last threat greatly troubled the governor, who had too good cause to dread that the proposed embassy would expose the many crimes of his administration[4], which he knew that the emperor would visit with the utmost rigour. On the other hand, his obstinacy would not suffer him to remove the shields, nor to do what would be acceptable to the Jews.

A representation at Rome procured immediate redress. Tiberius had no sooner read the letters, than, without a day's delay, he wrote to rebuke the procurator for his daring innovation, and to order the shields to be immediately carried back to Cæsarea, and there dedicated in the temple of Augustus: which was accordingly done.

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[3] So described by king Agrippa, *ἦν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπὴς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθάδους ἀμείλικτον*: Philo-Judæus, de Virtutibus. Works, Vol. II. p. 590, which I here follow in preference to the later account of Josephus.

[4] Thus detailed by Agrippa: *τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἁρπαγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόνους, τὴν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτην ὠμότητα.* Philo, l. c.

But the angry feelings of the populace were soon again excited by this most impolitic and tyrannical governor. He seized upon the sacred treasure, called Corban, and applied it to the construction of an aqueduct, by which he brought water into the city, from a distance of two hundred stadia[1]. The sedition was only quelled by the indiscriminate massacre of a large number of Jews, in executing which the ferocious soldiery even exceeded the orders of their unprincipled commander.

The perpetration of similar outrages, on the Samaritans, resulted in an embassy to the prefect Vitellius, who ordered the governor to answer to the charges at Rome, and sent his friend Marcellus to administer the affairs of Judea in the interim. Pilate had held office ten years, and Tiberius died before his arrival at Rome. He was however put on his trial by Caligula, and banished to Gaul, where, falling into many miseries, he died by his own hand[2].

Soon after his departure Vitellius himself visited the Jewish capital, where his considerate policy went far to heal the wounds which his subordinate had opened. He arrived about the time of the feast of the Passover, and was magnificently received and entertained. He remitted, for the occasion, the duty on all the fruits which were brought to the market, and restored to the Jews the custody of the priestly vestments, of which they had been deprived since the days

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[1] So the Antiquities, l. c. The War, l. c., states the distance as 400 stadia, and Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. vi.), professing to quote Josephus, writes 300 stadia.

[2] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. II. vii., and Chronicon in Olymp. 204, appeals to the testimony of Greek and Roman historians.

of Herod the Great. Then, after deposing Caiaphas from the high priesthood, and appointing in his stead Jonathan, the son of Ananus, he departed for Antioch. He acted with like consideration for the national feelings on a subsequent occasion. He was marching with his army against Aretas, the king of Arabia, when he was met by a deputation of the principal Jews, who represented that it was contrary to their laws to allow the images with which the ensigns were adorned to be carried through their land. He therefore ordered his army to march down the great plain of Phœnicia and Palestine, while he himself went up to Jerusalem in company with Herod the tetrarch, and his staff, to offer sacrifices to God, on occasion of a festival which was then approaching. Here he remained three days, in which time he appointed Theophilus to supersede his brother Jonathan in the high priesthood, and having received intimation of the death of Tiberius, he administered to the people an oath of allegiance to Caius Caligula. Their fidelity was soon to be tested to the utmost.

During the mild and impartial administration of Augustus, the Jews had lived in comparative security, and had been allowed the free exercise of their national religion, at Rome and in the provinces, unmolested by any arbitrary enactments of the government, and protected from any lawless aggressions of their fellow-subjects[3]. But the spirit of enmity, inspired by their exclusive habits, and by the uncompromising maintenance of their peculiar religious tenets, only slumbered in the

[3] I here follow Philo's narrative of the embassy to Caius, which he conducted, (referred to by Eusebius under the title of *περὶ ἀρετῶν*· Hist. Eccles. II. vi.) Vol. II. p. 545, et seqq. of Mangey's edition of his works.

Gentile heart until a favourable opportunity occurred for venting it in full fury. Such an occasion was furnished by the monstrous impiety of Caligula. The wisdom and moderation which he had displayed in a private capacity, and at the commencement of his reign, had won the hearts of all classes of his subjects, and led them to look forward with joyful anticipations to a new era of peace and prosperity. And when, shortly after his occupation of the purple, his life was threatened by a long and dangerous sickness, the whole empire was filled with dismay at the prospect of his death, which was universally apprehended as the severest calamity. But he rose from his sick bed to exhibit to the world the wildest excesses of which an insatiable ambition is capable, and to earn for himself the detestation of his people, a tyrant's death, and the execration of posterity. Having practised himself in wickedness by the murder of those whom he feared as rivals to his throne, and by the tyrannical oppression of his unhappy subjects, he proceeded to greater impieties, by assuming the character, and challenging to himself the worship, of the immortal Gods. He required altars and temples to be consecrated to his name; sacrifices to be offered to his image; and other divine honours to be paid him, as was customary to the most highly venerated deities. To the pagans his will was law, and the Alexandrians, subservient beyond all others, made no scruple to admit him to a place among their many gods. They shewed, moreover, a special jealousy for his divinity, by their persecution of the Jews who refused to recognize this new god, or to countenance the impious fooleries of the tyrant. They had dwelt securely in Alexandria for centuries, and formed no small proportion of

its inhabitants; they had numerous synagogues and prayer-houses in the city, with full toleration of their worship; and the cupidity of their implacable persecutors was probably excited by the wealth which they had amassed during the palmy days of Augustus and Tiberius. The storm at length broke with all its violence, and the Jews were subjected, alone and unprotected, to its fury. Their houses were broken into, and pillaged; the occupants driven into the streets, and exposed to the scorching heat by day, and to the cold by night. These acts of violence were committed, not under cover of darkness, but in the broad face of day; and the pillaged property was divided among the shameless robbers, in the open forum, before the eyes of the injured parties. The unhappy creatures were then driven together, and pent up like sheep in a confined space, where many died from famine or suffocation; and the survivors did but escape to wander solitary on the sea-shore, or to conceal themselves in tombs. Such as fell into the hands of the pagans were subjected to all kinds of barbarity. Many were stoned; others burnt or smothered to death; others dragged alive by their heels through the city, or cut up piece-meal, to lengthen out their tortures.

Meanwhile the governor, who might have checked the outrage in an hour, had he so pleased, looked on with indifference, or rather lent countenance to the persecutors. They next directed their fury against the sacred buildings of the Jews, which were found in great numbers in all the districts of the city. Some of them they overthrew from the foundations; others they reduced to ashes, little heeding whether the flames spread to the contiguous buildings; and such as they

could not ruin, they profaned with idolatrous images or statues of the emperor. The unhappy victims, at length worn out by the severity of this long-continued persecution, determined to seek redress from the emperor; and Philo, with his four colleagues, set sail for Italy; nothing doubting that they would find in him a just judge, not an implacable but deceitful enemy, whose mind had been poisoned against them by the representations of their pagan fellow-citizens. When he first encountered the deputation, he returned their salutation with a semblance of courtesy and good will, and sent one of his suite to promise them an audience at his earliest leisure: but they were deferred from day to day, and from week to week; subjected to all kinds of indignities and ridicule, by the capricious tyrant and his associates[1]; dragged in his train to Puteoli[2], sometimes trembling for their lives, at other times fretful or indignant at this vexatious delay; until intelligence, which they received from the East, fell like a thunder-bolt upon them.

An unprincipled officer, named Capito, had been sent to Judea to collect the tribute: having here enriched himself by boundless extortion, he naturally conceived a strong antipathy against the provincials whom he had injured; and fearing that their complaints might reach the capital, he sought to pre-occupy the emperor with accusations against them. A favourable opportunity soon occurred. In the populous city of Jamnia a small gentile population had established itself

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[1] The first interview of the deputation is graphically described, towards the close of the narrative, p. 597, &c. where the emperor takes malicious pleasure in perplexing them with insulting questions; e. g. Why do they abstain from pork? &c.

[2] Ibid. p. 573.

among the more numerous Jews, to whom they occasioned no little annoyance by the wanton violation of their cherished customs, received by tradition from their fathers. Capito had here at hand fit agents for his purpose, and he was the chief mover in the drama which followed, though he contrived to move his puppets without appearing himself on the stage. An altar of mud was raised in the town, for the deification of the emperor. The Jews, as had been anticipated, indignant at the profanation of the Holy Land, assembled in a body and demolished the altar. This was what Capito had desired. He forthwith wrote home a report of the proceedings, as honest as might be expected from a person of his principles. The incensed emperor, irritated already by what had occurred in Egypt, resolved to have full satisfaction for the slight thus offered to his divinity. He little knew with whom he had to deal. The unhappy Jews had seen their country wasted with fire and sword; the streets of Jerusalem, and the court of the temple, deluged with blood; they had seen the buildings of the sacred inclosure reduced to ashes, and two thousand of their countrymen barbarously crucified before their eyes; they had seen their high-priests deposed and set up at the will of pagan generals, and the idolatrous standards, the abomination of desolation, introduced within the walls of the Holy City; and yet they could flatter themselves with the dream of liberty. "We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man[3]." But when they learnt that it was the deliberate intention of Caius Caligula to set up a colossal statue of himself in the

[3] John viii. 33.

Holy of Holies[1], in their temple at Jerusalem, as soon as horror allowed them utterance, one fierce and unanimous cry echoed from all parts of the world where Jews were found, invoking death rather than such dreadful desecration.

The imperial rescript was the result not of headstrong passion, but of calm and deliberate forethought. Caligula reckoned on a determined resistance from the Jews, with a view to which he directed, that half the eastern army should be called from the frontier, to enforce the idolatrous edict, or to take vengeance on those who opposed it. It was soon apparent that the legions must march to Jerusalem over the prostrate bodies of an entire nation, every individual of which would submit to a thousand deaths rather than witness such gross violation of their law. Most happily for them Publius Petronius, the prefect of Syria, was of a different temperament from their former governor Pilate[2]. But he knew full well that the emperor would brook no delay in the execution of his orders, although he was fully sensible of the difficulty of executing them. He proceeded therefore to Sidon, and gave the necessary orders for the work.

Here the whole nation came together as one man, to deprecate the sacrilege. Clouds of Jews, from all parts of the country, covered the roads to Phœnicia, leaving towns and villages deserted behind them; creating amazement to such as knew not the populousness

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[1] Josephus says simply, ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ant. XVIII. ix. 2; but in Agrippa's letter it is ἐσοτάτω τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατ' αὐτὰ ἄδυτα ... εἰς ἃ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς εἰσέρχεται, κ.λ. Legat. 727.

[2] Philo, who seems to have written while P. Petronius was still living, says of him: ἐστι γὰρ καὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμενὴς καὶ ἥμερος.

of the land, and exciting the alarm of the president's friends, who foreboded hostile intentions. But the countless multitude were unarmed: tears, and groans, and entreaties, were their only weapons, plied incessantly by old and young of both sexes and of all conditions, until the sympathies of the compassionate officer were awakened. He determined to defer the dedication of the statue, on various pretexts, and to write meanwhile to the emperor, to represent, in as gentle terms as possible, the certain consequences of persisting in his endeavour; and to recommend, not so much on account of the Jews as for his own personal convenience, that the enforcement of the edict should be suspended; for he was now meditating a journey to Egypt by way of Syria, and might be materially inconvenienced on his route, should he find the country desolate and unable to furnish provision for himself and his numerous suite. Such a contingency was far from improbable, for it was now harvest-time, and the fields were wholly neglected, and the prefect feared lest the people, driven to desperation, might burn the standing crops, and desolate the whole country[3].

The indignation of the emperor, at the perusal of these despatches, knew no bounds. He stormed against the unhappy prefect, as conspiring with his most determined enemies to thwart his designs and hinder his deification; as weak and pusillanimous, corrupted with bribes, and favourable to the Jewish laws. Then checking himself, he addressed him a reply full of moderation,

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[3] It should be remarked, that the excitement occasioned by the attempt of Caligula providentially acted as a diversion in favour of the persecuted church. The "peace" in Acts ix. 31, synchronises with this attempt of Caligula. See Gresswell, Diss. xv. Vol. II. pp. 39, 40.

commending his providence, but at the same time insisting in most pressing terms on the immediate dedication of the statue. His dissimulation was prompted by fear lest the prefect should take advantage of his position to defy the power of his imperial master; a course much to be apprehended from such provincial officers as had large forces at their command.

At this critical juncture a Prince, who had inherited some of the Asmonean blood, ventured to interpose in behalf of his afflicted countrymen.

Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, and so the grandson of Herod by Mariamne, after a youth of contempt and poverty, had come a beggar to Rome; where he was disgraced for debt, and afterwards imprisoned on suspicion of treason, by Tiberius. Immediately on the accession of Caius he was set at liberty, and shortly afterwards appointed to the tetrarchy of his deceased uncle Philip, with the title of king. This distinction he owed to an old friendship with the emperor, whose favour he continued to enjoy, and on the disgrace and banishment of Herod Antipas, his kingdom was augmented by the grant of his tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea.

It happened that the king Agrippa, having sailed from Syria about the time of the issuing of the edict, arrived at Puteoli, ignorant of the emperor's intentions, and of what had occurred in Judea. He came, according to custom, to pay his respects to the emperor, probably on occasion of the favour lately bestowed upon him. Caligula had just despatched his inhuman rescript to Petronius[1]. His disordered mien and restless eye

[1] Philo de Virtutibus, p. 584. And for the dates, see Gresswell's Dissert. VI. Vol. I. pp. 299, 300.

indicated the war that was raging in his heart; and the king was at a loss to imagine in what he had offended his august patron, who continued to eye him alone with a ferocious expression of countenance. His doubt was soon removed by Caligula, who thundered forth the sarcasm, "that his good and worthy citizens, who alone of all men refused to recognise Caius as a god, appeared ambitious of the honour of martyrdom in opposing his orders for the dedication of his image in the temple of their Jupiter." It is difficult to believe that the intimate friend and constant associate of such a monster as Caligula could be actuated by any deep religious feeling; yet so horror-struck was Agrippa at the intelligence, that he turned deadly pale, trembled in every limb, and would have fallen lifeless on the floor had he not been supported by the by-standers. He was carried home, and continued insensible through great part of the following day, when he awoke to a full consciousness of his own misery and of the deep affliction of his fellow-countrymen, which he nobly set himself to relieve, at the risk of his own life; for the emperor was more furious than ever, at the exhibition that had just taken place, which augured so ill for the success of his measures.

The petition of Agrippa, as preserved by Philo[2], is every way worthy of his position, and of the pressing emergency of his nation. It is much too long to be given entire, and would suffer from analysis; but there are some passages of special interest which deserve to be extracted, as bearing more immediately on our subject. To it we are indebted for the account above

[2] See Philo, l. c. pp. 586—594.

given of the proceedings of Pontius Pilate, with reference to the shields, differing in so many material particulars from the later account of Josephus. They are referred to by Agrippa as one proof among many of the veneration in which the Holy City had ever been held by the emperor's predecessors, and of the respect paid to the national prejudices by its former conquerors; so that not one of them all, whether Greek or barbarian, had ever yet dared to violate the sanctity of the temple there dedicated to the Most High God; while, on the contrary, many had been filled with admiration and awe at the solemnity of its ritual[1].

In the same connection we find a record of a visit paid by the emperor's maternal grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, to the writer's grandfather, Herod the Great, at the Jewish capital[2]. Here the distinguished Roman had derived the highest gratification from all that he had seen of the temple, and of its ministering priests, so that he could speak of nothing else to his attendants. During the continuance of his sojourn in the city, he daily frequented its court[3], and took pleasure in viewing

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[1] He mentions a remarkable fact, among other proofs of Augustus' friendly disposition towards the Jews and their religion; viz. that that emperor, although he knew that there was no image in the temple, ordered victims for daily sacrifice to the Most High God, to be furnished out of his privy purse;—they were a bull and two goats. The empress Julia dedicated in the temple golden cups and chalices, with many other valuable offerings. p. 592.

[2] p. 589. Mentioned more briefly by Josephus, (Ant. XVI. ii. 1), immediately after the completion of the temple. The time is fixed by Gresswell to the Feast of Tabernacles, A. U. C. 739. Dissert. XIV. Vol. I. p. 491, notes.

[3] From this it appears that the Jews were more tolerant than the present occupants of Mount Moriah, and allowed Gentiles to enter the outer court, as is indeed expressly affirmed by Philo, l. c. p. 577: θάνατος ἀπαραίτητος ὥρασται κατὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐντὸς περιβόλους παρελθόντων (δέχονται γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἐξωτέρω τοὺς πανταχόθεν πάντας) τῶν οὐχ ὁμοεθνῶν. Conf. Acts xxi. 28.

the building, the order of the sacrifices or other sacred ministrations, and the majestic bearing of the high-priest, when, arrayed in his sacred vestments, he presided at the services. He had moreover dedicated in the temple such offerings as were lawful; conferred certain privileges on its inhabitants; and filled the country with admiration of his piety.

But alas, the examples of his ancestors, and the precedents of former emperors, weighed little against the self-willed obstinacy of the frantic autocrat; yet was he gratified by the honesty and candour of the suppliant, and so far moved at the time, by his earnest entreaties, as to return him a gracious answer. In fact he promised, as the greatest boon he could confer, that the dedication should not take place, and ordered letters to that effect to be addressed to Petronius; yet with such reservations as promised speedily to revive the agitation of the question, and to involve the Jews in fresh troubles.

Indeed Caligula himself soon repented of his lenity, and returned to his former resolution. He accordingly ordered a colossal statue to be prepared in Rome, instead of that which was in progress at Sidon; intending, when Judea was tranquillized and all suspicion lulled, to introduce the idol into the country secretly, by sea, and to erect it suddenly in the temple; and he promised himself the high gratification of conducting the proceedings in person, on his way to Egypt.

The narrative of Philo, contained in the Legation, ends abruptly, and his other works[4], which may have con-

[4] To wit, that mentioned by himself at the conclusion of the De Virtutibus, under the title of παλινῳδία, and the first of those referred to by Eusebius. Hist. Eccles. II. vi.; compare xviii., where is a full catalogue.

tained the sequence of the history, are not extant; but it is perhaps possible that the account of Josephus, which certainly does not harmonize with any part of the foregoing relation, may refer to a later period, and supply the last act of the tragedy[1]. In this case it will be necessary to suppose that Herod Agrippa again ventured his life for his religion, but under different circumstances, and with better success, than before.

He had one day invited his imperial benefactor to a magnificent banquet, in the management of which no one could rival Agrippa. Caius, pleased with his entertainment, flattered with the constant assiduous attentions of his host, and having drunk more largely than usual, promised to grant him any request within his power. The king had piety and generosity enough to prefer his religion, and the interests of his persecuted brethren, to his own private aggrandizement; and when, after an attempt to evade the generous offer, Caius persisted in his making a demand, he nobly staked not merely the imperial favour, but his own life also, to request a revocation of the fatal edict for the dedication of the statue at Jerusalem.

The emperor had pledged himself too publicly to allow him to recede from his engagement; and the edict was revoked before he received intelligence of the threatened revolt, which again stirred up his wild passions to a flame. He did not indeed renew his attempt, but turning all his wrath on Petronius, he sentenced him to die by his own hand. Happily, the ship which conveyed this merciless sentence was detained by contrary

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[1] Gresswell has supported this theory by some very forcible arguments, Diss. VI. Vol. I. p. 296—301. The account is contained in Ant. XVIII. viii. 7, 8.

winds, so as not to arrive at Antioch until after the joyful news of the tyrant's death, which had travelled with greater expedition.

The accession of Claudius was most favourable to the fortunes of king Agrippa, who had been the companion of his youth; for their mothers were united by the closest bonds of friendship. The address and diplomacy of the king, which had been very serviceable to his friend in the confusions which followed the murder of Caligula, were liberally rewarded by the still further enlargement of his kingdom, which thus became co-extensive with his grandfather's dominions, with the addition of two districts in the north; while his brother Herod, at his intercession, was set over the kingdom of Chalcis. On their joint petition the emperor issued those favourable edicts, by which the Jews were restored to the rights and privileges of which they had been deprived by the animosity of his predecessors.

Jerusalem was now again, for a season, subject to a Jewish king, and Agrippa set an edifying example of conformity to the legal requirements, during his residence in his capital; for he offered the prescribed sacrifices, went to charges with many Nazarites[2], and dedicated in the treasury a golden chain, presented him by Caius on his release from prison, equal in weight to that of iron with which he had there been bound. He also released the inhabitants from the house-tax which it had been customary to pay; and during a reign of three years administered the kingdom with great moderation, to the satisfaction of his Jewish subjects; and well would it have been had he confined himself to such

[2] Ant. xix. vi. 1. Compare Acts xxi. 24, 26.

means of securing their approbation, as his partial historian records[1].

His greatest work affords an opportunity of introducing a description of Jerusalem, which will be necessary to render intelligible such an account of the siege as is here contemplated, and such topographical notices as will follow in a subsequent part of this work. This was the erection of a wall round the newly-built part of the city, undertaken at the public cost.

Jerusalem, as we have seen, was originally composed of two distinct cities, incorporated by David, and enlarged by Solomon and subsequent kings. It is situated geographically in latitude north 31°. 46′. 30″, and longitude east of Greenwich 35°. 12′. 30″, in the heart of the mountain district, which commences south of the great plain of Esdraelon, and is continued through the whole of Samaria and Judea, to the southern extremity of the promised land. The city occupied two hills, separated by a valley, (called by Josephus the Tyropœon) and confined on three sides by two other valleys of considerable depth, those of Jehoshaphat and Ben-Hinnom; the former of which, commencing on the north, divided it on the east from the Mount of Olives; while the latter, commencing at the north-west, encircled its western and southern quarter, and was united to the former at the south-east of the city. Of the two hills occupied by the city[2], one was much higher than the other, and is called the Upper Market, which is Sion, in distinction

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[1] See Acts xii. 1, &c. It should be remembered that Josephus speaks of the acts and character of king Agrippa, as represented to him by his son, Agrippa II., with whom he was on terms of intimacy. See Life, sect. 65.

[2] Josephus, J. W. v. iv. The importance of this description will appear in the Second Part, and it is given in the original, in the Appendix, No. 2.

from the Lower City, or Acra. The Temple-mount had been a third hill over against Acra, originally separated from it by a wide valley, which however was filled up by the Asmonean princes, so that these two hills became one, and are generally so reckoned by the historian.

The walls are described as follows. The Hippic tower, at the north-west angle of Sion, being assumed as a starting point, the first wall extended along the northern brow of Sion, to a place called the Xystus, passed the Council-chamber, and was joined to the western cloister of the temple, which was completely surrounded by a wall of its own. In the opposite direction it extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of Essenes; then turned, and ran with a southern aspect above the fountain of Siloam, made another angle at the pool of Solomon, extended thence as far as a certain place called Ophel, and was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. This wall must have twice crossed the Tyropœon, in order to reach the Temple, and from the fountain of Siloam there was a wall along the eastern brow of Sion[3], to meet the wall which bounded it on the north; so that the Upper City was strongly fortified on all sides, both by nature and by art.

Of the second wall we are only told, that it com-

[3] The important passage of Josephus which declares this is overlooked by Dr Robinson, who only conjectures it. Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 461; but J. W. v. vi. 1, Simon is said to have held "as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, (i. e. as usual, facing the east) and went down to the palace of Monobazus;" which is distinct from the palace of his mother Helena, mentioned in the same context, and situated in the middle of Acra. (See J. W. VI. vi. 3.) The palace of Monobazus was perhaps identical with that occupied by Agrippa, on Mount Sion, at the causeway. J. W. II. xvi. 3; IV. ix. 11.

menced at a place called the Gate of Gennath, a point in the first wall east of Hippicus, and encircling the northern part of the city, was joined to the fortress Antonia, which occupied a considerable space at the north-west of the temple-area. In process of time the population of this part, north of the temple, had overflowed the limits of the old city, and had occupied a third hill to the north, which is known as Bezetha, or the New City. Up to the period which we have now reached, the new-built part of the city had been unprotected[1], and Agrippa determined to add to its security by the erection of a strong wall, which he resolved to extend much further than was now required, to allow for a further increase of population. Commencing then at the Hippic tower, it was extended far to the north, and passing by the monuments of Helena, it reached the upper part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, at the Tombs of the Kings, from whence it followed the course of the valley, bending with it at the Fuller's monument, where was a corner tower, until it was joined to the temple-wall at its north-eastern angle[2]. This wall was intended by Agrippa, who inherited his grandfather's magnificent ideas, to be a lasting monument of his reign, and an impregnable defence to the city. It was commenced on a massive foundation, ten cubits in

[1] So says Josephus, J. W. v. iv. 2; but Ant. xix. vii. 2, implies that a wall had existed before, which was only repaired by Agrippa.

[2] It appears to me very plain that this must be the meaning of Josephus, where he says, that it joined the old wall at the valley of Kedron. The old wall, he had before said, joined the eastern cloister at the temple: now he says nothing about the cloisters, but looks upon the temple-wall as a continuation of the old wall, as indeed it was. The idea of a wall in the valley is both absurd in itself and expressly contrary to Josephus, who says that on such parts of the city as were encompassed with impassable valleys, (and surely the east was, if any) there was but one wall.

width, and was constructed of stones twenty cubits long and ten broad, flanked with ninety square towers of like solid masonry, pre-eminent above which rose Psephinus, at the north-west corner, over against the Hippic tower. It was an octagon, seventy cubits high, commanding an extensive view, ranging from Arabia on the east to the Mediterranean westward. The Jewish historian is of opinion, that if this wall had been completed according to the original design, the city could never have been taken. But the suspicions of Marcus, the new president of Syria, being awakened, a representation was sent to Claudius, who suspended the works until the death of Agrippa led to their entire abandonment. The circumference of the city, as inclosed by this outer wall, was 33 stadia, equal to nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ geographical miles[3].

The liberality of Agrippa was not confined to Jerusalem, although that was his ordinary residence. He laid out large sums on public buildings in various cities; and especially he adorned Berytus with a magnificent theatre and amphitheatre, which he dedicated at a vast expense, with exhibitions of gladiators and musical performances[4]. He kept a large court, which was at one time honoured with the presence of no less than five kings, whom he entertained at Tiberias. But this gathering of crowned heads excited the jealousy and suspicion of Marcus the prefect, who gave just cause of offence to Herod by ordering his guests to disperse to their homes. Such was the dignity and independence of the Jewish king! After a reign of three years he went down to Cæsarea, to celebrate games in honour of the emperor[5]. On the second day of the shows he

[3] J. W. v. iv. 3, and Bib. Res. i. 467.

[4] Ant. xix. vii., &c.

[5] Gresswell supposes, on occasion of the emperor's birth-day, circ. August 1, A.U.C. 796. Dissert. xv. Vol. ii. p. 49.

entered the theatre, early in the morning, arrayed in a gorgeous robe of silver texture; and taking his seat on a royal throne, made an oration to the assembled multitude, on occasion of his reconciliation to the Tyrians and Sidonians, with whom he had been at enmity[1]. The rays of the rising sun, reflected back from his glittering garments, dazzled the amazed spectators; and loud acclamations, in response to his oration, were echoed round the theatre; "It is the voice of a god, not of a man." The impious adulation was allowed to pass unreproved; but it was falsified that very hour, when a violent internal pain warned the king of his approaching dissolution. He was carried to his palace, and after five days of excruciating suffering, died in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

He left behind him three daughters, but only one son, a youth of seventeen. He was at Rome at the time of his father's death, an inmate of the Imperial family. The long friendship which had existed between Claudius and the deceased king, would have induced the former to appoint the young Agrippa to his father's throne, had he not been dissuaded by the representations of his more cautious friends, who feared that the youth and inexperience of the prince might disqualify him for so large a government. He accordingly resolved to send Cuspius Fadus to Judea as procurator, and, from regard to his departed friend, appointed Cassius Longinus to supersede Marcus, who had made himself obnoxious to Agrippa.

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[1] Acts xii. 20—23. Josephus does not mention an oration, nor allude to the quarrel; but "the royal apparel," which he describes, on the *second* day of the games, points to an occasion of more than ordinary interest and importance: and the cry of the multitude, as he gives it, may refer to the difference which had before existed: εὐμενὴς τε εἴης.

The new governor, having appeased the tumults which had arisen in the country, after the death of Agrippa, attempted to extend his authority over the Jews by resuming the custody of the sacred vestments, worn by the high priest, only on the most solemn festivals[2]. These vestments had been laid up in safe custody in the citadel, from the time of the Asmoneans. There Herod found them, and kept them under his own control until his death, when they passed with the Antonia into the hands of the Romans. They were deposited in a secure chamber, under the seals of the high priest, the treasurer of the temple, and the Roman commander of the garrison, and the chamber could only be opened by their joint consent. Vitellius, a former prefect, with the consent of Tiberius, had relinquished their sole custody to the Jews, on their own petition, and thus they had continued until the death of Agrippa; and Fadus expected such opposition on his attempt to interfere with this arrangement, that he had summoned Longinus, with a large force, to Jerusalem, to support him. The Jews requested permission to appeal to the emperor, which was granted, on their giving hostages for their good behaviour in the interim: and the case was referred to the capital.

Here the petition of the Jewish deputies was warmly seconded by the young Agrippa, who did not yield to his father in his interest for his fellow-countrymen. The request was granted at his entreaty; and his uncle, Herod king of Chalcis, was, on his own petition, appointed guardian of the temple, with the control of the sacred treasure, and the appointment of the high priests. This last power he proceeded at once to

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[2] Ant. xx. i., &c. Compare xv. xi. 4, and see above, p. 132.

exercise, by the deposition of Cantheras in favour of Joseph, the son of Camus[1].

It was during the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus that the terrible visitation, predicted some years before by the prophet Agabus, commenced in Judea[2]. This was a famine which continued also under Tiberius Alexander, the successor of Fadus. The sufferings of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were much alleviated by the munificence of Helena, dowager queen of Adiabene, a religious proselyte, who, after the death of her husband Monobazus, had taken up her residence at Jerusalem, with the consent of her son Izates, the successor to his father's throne, and himself also a proselyte of righteousness. The widowed queen devoted her large fortune, liberally granted by her son, to the importation of corn from Egypt, and dried figs from Cyprus, which she distributed gratuitously to the starving poor: and her son had no sooner received intimation of the distress, than he forwarded large sums on his own account, for the same benevolent object.

The procurator, Alexander, was a renegade Jew, son of a celebrated Alexandrian of the same name, who had enjoyed great distinction among his brethren for his family, wealth, and piety, and held the office of Alabarch[3] in the Egyptian capital. This governor was

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[1] So Josephus, Ant. xx. i. 3. Yet the last appointment of Agrippa was Elioneus, son of Cantheras (xix. viii. 1) in place of Matthias, who, on the refusal of Jonathan the son of Ananus to resume office, had been chosen to succeed Simon Cantheras (vi. 4) the son of Boethus, whom Agrippa had first placed in the room of Theophilus the son of Ananus. (2) These frequent changes of the high priest might well explain Acts xxiii. 5, especially when taken in connection with xxiv. 17. See below, p. 158, note 1.

[2] Acts xi. 27—30. Ant. xx. ii. and v. 2.

[3] Lightfoot derives this title of the Jewish ethnarch of Alexandria, with great probability, from the Arabic definite article ال and the Egyptian word אַבְרֵךְ (see Gen. xli. 43): evidently

removed about the time that Herod of Chalcis appointed Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, to succeed Joseph the son of Camus in the high priesthood; soon after which the king died, in the eighth year of Claudius, who bestowed his kingdom on the young Agrippa.

The removal by death of their royal protector left the Jews exposed to the violence of Cumanus, the new governor; and the city and country were soon again disturbed with tumults. The chief cause of this was the unrestrained licence of the soldiers, whom Josephus charges as the source of all the subsequent calamities. Their disgraceful conduct, on the death of king Agrippa, had so provoked the displeasure of Claudius, that he ordered them to be transferred to Pontus: but the order had been rescinded on their own petition, and the emperor was persuaded, by a promise of good conduct, to allow them to continue in Judea[4].

The feast of the Passover, which brought together vast multitudes of Jews to Jerusalem, was always dreaded by the peaceably disposed inhabitants as likely to disturb the peace of the city[5], and the precautions of the governor were redoubled in case the turbulent people should manifest a disposition for innovation. It had been usual therefore for the Roman guard to parade the cloisters under arms, at such seasons, and the Jews submitted to an intrusion which they could not prevent. Now it happened that one of the soldiers on duty excited the disgust and indignation of the people, by the indecent exposure of his person, within the con-

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a title of distinction, as to the precise meaning of which commentators are not agreed. Lightfoot, Comment. on Acts, A.D. 37, pt. III. sect. 2. For the office, see Gresswell, Dissert. XV. Vol. II. p. 41, 42, and notes.

[4] Ant. XIX. ix.

[5] Matt. xxvi. 5. See War, I. iv. 3.

secrated precincts, and the city was set in a blaze. Cumanus having endeavoured in vain to quell the tumult by persuasion, occupied the Antonia with his whole force; the multitude, terrified by his menacing aspect, fled in dismay, and twenty thousand were crushed to death in the narrow streets of the city.

This was the prelude to other outrages. The ring-leaders in this disturbance, on their return from the festival, fell in with one Stephanus, a servant of Cæsar, whom they robbed on the high road. Cumanus sent a detachment to apprehend the offenders, and to plunder their villages. A copy of the law fell into the hands of the soldiers and was destroyed in public, with aggravating expressions of scurrility and ridicule. The Jews, indignant at the sacrilege, repaired in large numbers to Cæsarea, and demanded satisfaction. Cumanus, dreading a national insurrection, took the advice of his friends, and ordered the soldier to be beheaded.

But the calm was of short duration. The road from Galilee to Jerusalem passed through the village of Ginea[1], situated on the confines of the great plain, and inhabited by Samaritans. The people of this village fell on a party of Galilean pilgrims and killed many[2]. Satisfaction was demanded; but Cumanus had been bribed by the murderers. The more turbulent Jews resolved to take the law into their own hands, and with the assistance of a robber-chief, plundered and burnt many villages of the Samaritans. They were dispersed with great slaughter by an united force of Romans and Samaritans; and, at length, persuaded

[1] Ant. xx. v. 1. No doubt identical with the modern Jenîn, still lying on the great north road to Jerusalem from Galilee.

[2] Luke ix. 52, 53, is strikingly illustrated by this event.

to disband. The dispute was referred to Ummidius Quadratus, the prefect of Syria, who, after taking summary vengeance on the Jews most deeply implicated in the riots, sent Ananias the high priest and Ananus the commander of the temple in chains to Rome, with the procurator and the tribune, that the cause might be determined by the emperor himself, in the hearing of the principal Samaritans and Jews.

Here the young Agrippa again interposed, and succeeded in obtaining a verdict for his countrymen. The Samaritans were executed, Cumanus banished, and Celer the tribune delivered over to the vengeance of the Jerusalem rabble, to be insulted and put to death.

Felix succeeded Cumanus in the government of Judea[3]; shortly after which, Agrippa was deprived of the kingdom of Chalcis, and received instead the tetrarchy of Philip, with the addition of Batanea, Trachonitis and Abila; but he continued to exercise authority over the temple at Jerusalem, as his uncle had done before him[4]. This king contracted an alliance of no very creditable character with the new procurator. He had given his sister Drusilla in marriage to Azizus, king of Emesa, who had become a proselyte on her account. Felix saw her, was captivated with her beauty, and persuaded her to leave her husband, in order to marry him[5]. Indeed, Agrippa himself was suspected of an incestuous connection with his sister Bernice, the widow of her uncle, Herod of Chalcis. She sought to falsify the impu-

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[3] Ant. xx. vii.

[4] This is evident from Ant. xx. viii. 8, 11; ix. 1, 4, 6, 7; indeed, it is expressly asserted in this last passage, that Claudius had given him that authority. But this is inconsistent with i. 3.

[5] Ant. xx. vii. Compare Acts xxiv. 24, 25.

tations by a matrimonial alliance with Polemo, king of Cilicia, whom she soon after deserted for her former criminal attachment[1].

About this time Claudius died, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Nero, who enlarged the kingdom of Agrippa by the grant of certain cities in Galilee[2]. But the state of the nation was rapidly becoming worse, and is not unaptly compared to that of a diseased body, in which inflammation is repressed in one quarter only to break forth with greater virulence in another[3]. Bands of daring robbers filled the country; and numerous impostors, starting up on all sides, deluded the fickle multitude: nor could the activity and severity of Felix[4] avail to keep them under; though he did succeed in apprehending some of the more notorious chiefs, whom he put to death. There was now an Egyptian false prophet, who persuaded a multitude to follow him into the wilderness, promising them miraculous evidence of his divine mission. He led them to the Mount of Olives, from whence they were to see the walls of Jerusalem fall flat at his word, as the walls of Jericho at the blast of the trumpets. Perhaps before the magic words were uttered—certainly before the walls had fallen—a large division of cavalry, with some infantry, fell upon them. Four hundred were killed, two hundred taken prisoners, the impostor himself with the greater part of his followers effected their escape[5].

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[1] Ant. xx. vii. Compare Acts xxv. 13, 23.

[2] Ant. xx. viii. 4.

[3] J. W. II. xiii. 6.

[4] Ant. l. c. There is allusion to this by the orator Tertullus, Acts xxiv. 2, 3.

[5] Ant. l. c. 6. This is he for whom St Paul was mistaken by Lysias. Acts xxi. 38.

But the most terrible scourge of the city was a secret band of assassins[6], who now appear for the first time, and Felix was not ashamed to employ them for his own nefarious ends. These *sicarii*, so named from a short curved dagger (*sica*) which they concealed under their garments, carried on their trade of blood without detection, under the open day, in the public streets, or in the crowded temple; especially during the great festivals. One of their first victims was the high priest Jonathan, who had incurred the serious displeasure of Felix by his firm remonstrances against the iniquities of his administration.

The troubles thickened apace. A serious disturbance arose between the Jewish and Syrian inhabitants of Cæsarea, on the question of equal privileges; the former claiming precedency on the title of its second founder, the latter on their anterior and exclusive occupation of Strato's tower[7]. The procurator stepped in as a partial arbitrator, many Jews were slain, more apprehended, and their houses pillaged of their treasures: and when Felix was removed from the government, a representation made to Nero, in the hope of obtaining justice, did but result in a confirmation of the Syrian claims—sentence having been purchased as usual by a bribe to the emperor's Greek secretary.

But the insurrectionary spirit was fanned by this decision; and when Festus arrived in his province he found the country in a state of the wildest anarchy; and the oppression practised by the high priests on their poorer brethren is a new item in the catalogue of crime. After

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[6] The "murderers" (Greek σικάριοι) in the passage referred to in Acts, who also probably formed the secret conspiracy against the life of St Paul. Acts xxiii. 12, &c.

[7] Ant. l. c. 7, 8. See above, p. 117.

some considerable interval[1], Ishmael the son of Fabi, had been appointed by Agrippa to succeed the murdered Jonathan. This man put himself at the head of a turbulent anti-popular party, of whose services he availed himself to plunder the threshing-floors of the tithes due to the priests, many of whom died of starvation.

King Agrippa himself gave occasion to a disturbance, which threatened fatal consequences, by an indiscretion of which he was guilty, at Jerusalem. He occupied a palace on the north-east angle of the Upper City, near the Xystus, where the Temple-Mount was joined to Mount Sion by a causeway. It was originally built by the Asmoneans, and standing high on a steep rocky brow, commanded a fine view of the city. The king enlarged this palace by the addition of some chambers, which overtopped the opposite temple-cloister, and afforded him a view of the sacred precinct, and of the services. The principal Jews of the city, aggrieved at this intrusion, ran up a high wall over the western portico of the inner-temple, thereby intercepting the view, not only from the guest-chamber of the palace, but also from the western cloister of the outer-temple, where the Roman sentinels kept guard on the festivals. Thus the king and the procurator were equally offended by the obstruction, and orders were given for its demolition. But an appeal was allowed to Rome, where the Jews were befriended by Poppea, the religious wife of Nero, and the wall was allowed to stand; Ishmael the

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[1] The interval is marked in Josephus between sect. 5, and sect. 8. It was during this interregnum that St Paul came to Jerusalem, and found Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, holding the office ad interim. Acts xxiii. 2, 5; xxiv. 1. See Gresswell, Dissert. xix. in the Appendix. Vol. iv. pp. 118—126.

high priest, and Helcias the treasurer being detained in Italy, as security for the good behaviour of their countrymen.

On the death of Festus, Albinus succeeded to the government of Judea, and Joseph Kabi the son of Simeon, whom Agrippa had appointed to the high priesthood, was in his turn replaced by Ananus, a Sadducee[2], the fifth son of a father of his own name that had held this dignity. In the brief space of three months he was deposed, and Jesus, the son of Damneus, succeeded to the precarious distinction.

The vigorous measures of Albinus for the pacification of the country and the suppression of the assassins, were defeated by the policy of the latter, when he had captured many of their associates[3]. Ananias, the son of Nebadeus, a former high priest, had purchased the favour of the procurator by the liberal presents, which his enormous wealth, the fruit of his rapacity and oppression, enabled him to offer. The assassins then contrived to seize first the son, and, subsequently, the servants of this Ananias, whom they prevailed on to use his influence with the governor for the release of ten of their number in exchange of each one of their captives, so that the country was again overrun with robbers; while the high priests with their retainers kept the city in perpetual commotion by their violent altercations, which frequently led to blows.

Meanwhile Agrippa had rendered himself still more unpopular by diverting the public revenues to the en-

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[2] As were the other members of this family. See Acts iv. 1, 2, 6, and v. 17.

[3] Ant. xx. ix. The account here given of this procurator is very inconsistent with that of the War, II. xiv. 1, which may perhaps refer to a later period of his administration.

largement or adornment of foreign cities, and to the exhibition of annual shows, on a magnificent scale, in a new theatre which he built at Berytus. And now it was that the repairs about the temple at Jerusalem, rendered necessary by the conflagration in the time of Sabinus[1], were brought to a completion. They had furnished employment for 18,000 men, who were thus thrown out of work; and it was proposed to apply the sacred treasure of the temple to the re-construction of the eastern cloister, in order to make it uniform with the others[2]; but as it was an undertaking of immense labour and difficulty the king thought fit to refuse his consent.

He then deprived Jesus the son of Damneus of the high priesthood, and conferred it on one of the same name, the son of Gamaliel; and, on the petition of the Levites, assembled a sanhedrim to license them to wear the linen garments, peculiar to the priests; an innovation in the Mosaic institution which greatly scandalized the more zealous Jews, and provoked, as they thought, the divine judgment.

The venality of Albinus, towards the close of his administration, had entirely nullified the acts of its commencement, and impunity for crimes of the blackest dye was freely sold by the mercenary governor. Yet the nation had to regret his removal, when he had been replaced by Gessius Florus, whose tyrannical proceedings, more than any, served to hasten the fatal crisis[3]. He acted rather as a ruthless executioner of condemned

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[1] See above, p. 127.

[2] I can conceive no other reason, as it is evident that the old cloisters were still standing. Ant. xx. ix. 7. Comp. xv. 11. 3.

[3] Ant. xx. xi. 1. J. W. II. xiv. 2, &c.

malefactors, than as judge of a subject province; and his grasping ambition desolated entire districts of the country; nor did he care to dissemble his flagrant enormities, for he was so well supported and matched by his superior, Cestius Gallus, prefect of Syria, that no complaints against the subordinate officer were for a moment entertained.

On one occasion when the president had come to Jerusalem, about the time of the Passover, the whole multitude, consisting of no fewer than three millions[4], came about him imploring him to commiserate the sufferings which they endured from this plague of their country. Florus was standing by the president, and secure of his protection, ridiculed the complaints, and immediately on the departure of Cestius resumed his persecution, and soon kindled the fires of revolt.

His sacrilegious attempt to seize upon part of the sacred treasure, set Jerusalem in a blaze, which he sought in vain to extinguish in the blood of three thousand six hundred victims of both sexes and all ages; the city was given up to be pillaged by the lawless soldiers, and what was the greatest indignity of all, and without precedent, enfranchised Jews of equestrian rank were publicly scourged and crucified.

Agrippa was absent from Jerusalem at the time; but his sister Bernice interceded for mercy, first through the officers of her household, then in person, standing bare-foot as a suppliant before the tribunal of

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[4] J. W. l. c. 3. It was probably on this occasion that the computation was made by Cestius, for the information of Nero, J. W. VI. ix. 3, when it was ascertained that the number of sacrifices was 256,500; which, allowing ten to each lamb, and sometimes there were twenty to a company, would give more than two millions and a half, excluding the ceremonially unclean, &c.

Florus[1]. Her entreaties were vain; a second massacre followed: and the governor, being for the time satiated with blood, retired to Cæsarea, but not until he had succeeded in irritating the people to such a pitch that all prospects of accommodation were from thenceforth utterly hopeless.

A special commissioner was sent by Cestius, to inquire into the cause of the insurrection. He met the king Agrippa on his return from Egypt, and accompanied him to the city, where he was well received, and allowed to pass unmolested, though unattended, through the streets and about the court of the temple. It was but a deceitful calm, and he had no sooner departed than the insurrection broke out with fresh violence. In vain did king Agrippa summon all his eloquence to point out the madness of the attempt to shake off the Roman yoke, and the certainty of the ruin which must ensue[2]; in vain did the more moderate part of the citizens recommend patience and submission; the "dogs of war" were now let slip, and nothing could restrain them. The counsels of peace were rejected; the king, insulted, stoned, and excluded from the city, departed in disgust to his own dominions.

The first open act of rebellion, suggested by Eleazar the governor of the temple, son of Ananias the high priest, was the rejection of the customary sacrifices provided at the charge of the imperial treasury[3]. Again did the chief priests and men of highest authority among them convoke a solemn assembly in the court of the

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[1] J. W. II. xv.

[2] Ibid. xvi.

[3] Ibid. xvii. The refusal must have had reference to the victims mentioned by Philo: see above, p. 142, note 1. They were not simply sacrifices for the emperor, but furnished by him.

temple, and adjure the multitude, by all that was most sacred, not to involve their country in ruin by this unjustifiable departure from the established custom, for which they quoted ancient precedent. Reason and persuasion had lost all influence; and to prevent worse calamities, the moderate party sent to entreat Florus to come with his army and crush the insurrection in its bud. But the savage governor was too well satisfied to let it take its course, until it could only be extinguished by the extermination of the entire people. Agrippa, however, who was anxious on every account to preserve peace, dispatched three thousand cavalry to assist in maintaining order; and the peace-party, thus strengthened, seized and occupied the Upper City, leaving the seditious in possession of the Lower City and Temple. Now commenced a series of engagements between the two parties; Eleazar, being supported by the assassins, whose intrepidity more than counterbalanced the discipline of Agrippa's troops; so that they at length succeeded in making themselves masters of the Upper City, which they completely sacked. The house of Ananias the high priest, the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice, and the council-chamber, where the archives and contracts were deposited, were burnt down: the soldiers, with Ananias and others, scarcely saved themselves by a precipitate retreat to the upper palace of Herod, while other dignified citizens took refuge in subterranean vaults and sewers.

The fury of the insurgents was next directed to the fortress Antonia, which yielded to an assault of two days. It was burnt, and the garrison put to the sword. Then commenced an attack on the upper palace, which was stoutly defended by the soldiers, until the insurgents,

reinforced by a fresh party of assassins, became too strong for them. This party was headed by one Manahem, son of Judas the Galilean. He had already taken Massada by treachery, slaughtered the Romans, and occupied it with his own creatures. Then arming his followers from the well-furnished armoury of Herod, he marched to Jerusalem, to take an active part in the perils and profits of the insurrection. The siege of the palace was pressed with redoubled vigour, and the dispirited garrison, despairing of succour, desired to capitulate. Terms were granted to the king's soldiers, and to the citizens, who accordingly went out: the Romans, weakened by this defection, deserted their camp in the palace garden, and retired to the three strong towers which stood on the northern wall of the palace. The camp was fired, the high priest Ananias[1] with his brother Hezekiah, who had concealed themselves in an aqueduct, were discovered and put to death by the sicarii: and the towers were closely blockaded to prevent the escape of the Romans.

The ring-leaders of the revolt next turned their arms one against the other. The party of Eleazar prevailed, and Manahem was hunted out from his place of concealment in Ophla, to be tortured and put to death, with the principal part of his adherents; a few effected their escape to Massada. And now the attack on the towers was renewed, and the Romans were forced to surrender on condition that their lives should be spared. They had no sooner laid down their arms than they

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[1] Thus was fulfilled St Paul's prophecy concerning him, Acts xxiii. 3: not less remarkably verifying the words of Psalm vii. 15, 16; for he was one of those who had endeavoured to bring St Paul under the daggers of the sicarii, Acts xxiii. 14, 15.

W.T. Witts del. A. Picken lith.

Day & Haghe, Lith.rs to the Queen.

JERUSALEM, FROM THE NORTH.

were inhumanly slaughtered, in violation of the oaths pledged for their security; and that on the Sabbath-day. Metellius the commander consented to receive circumcision[2], and he alone was permitted to live.

At that selfsame day and hour, as if by the direction of a retributive Providence, twenty thousand Jews were slain by the Syrian inhabitants of Cæsarea, and the survivors were caught and sent in chains to the galleys. And now the fury of the Jews knew no bounds; the revolt became general; the principal cities and villages of the Syrians were taken and reduced to ashes, and the inhabitants slaughtered. A sanguinary retaliation naturally followed, until Cestius himself marched with an army to the scene of action, under the guidance of Agrippa. Having reduced the northern districts, he proceeded down the coast to Antipatris, then by way of Lydda, Bethoron, and Gibeon, towards Jerusalem[3]. It was about the Feast of Tabernacles; and the Jews, confident in their numbers, marched to meet the enemy. They checked them for a time at the ascent of Bethoron[4], but the Romans rallied and pursued the Jews to Jerusalem.

Cestius pitched his camp on Scopus[5], seven furlongs from the city, and waited three days in the hope that his appearance might awe the rebels. Then he entered the city; for the Jews had abandoned the outer and second wall, and retired into the inner parts of the for-

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[2] This illustrates their zeal in proselytism, even in their greatest corruption; see Matt. xxiii. 15.

[3] J. W. II. xviii. xix.

[4] Josh. x. 10, 11.

[5] Mr Rowlands has called my attention to the interesting fact, that the village which now occupies this height retains its very name. There can be no doubt that σκοπός is a translation of Shâfât. r. שׁפה, *became visible.* Arab. شفا *apparuit*, etiam *imminuit.* Vid. Lee et Gol. sub vocc.

tifications. Having fired the New and part of the Lower City, he advanced against the Upper City, occupied by the rebels, and encamped before the royal palace of Herod, where was a space unoccupied by buildings, between the outer and the second wall. A well-sustained attempt to carry the Upper City, at this time, would probably have been successful: but Providence had ordered it otherwise. After five days he relinquished the endeavour, and turned his exertions to the northern part of the temple, whence he was several times repulsed by the Jews, fighting, as usual, from the roof of the cloisters. At length the front division of the Romans succeeded in reaching the wall, which, under cover of their shields, they undermined, and made preparations for firing the gate of the temple.

And now it was that a strange and unaccountable panic seized upon the seditious; they abandoned the defence, and fled from the city. The peace-party, reassured, would have set open the gates, and received Cestius as their benefactor; and had he continued the siege a little longer he must have made himself master of the city. "But God," the historian suggests, "by reason of their wickedness, already so abhorred even His sacred things, that He would not permit the war to be thus brought to a termination." Despairing of success, and ignorant of the friendly disposition of the people towards him, the prefect, without any apparent cause, raised the siege and retired to the Scopus, from whence he commenced a disastrous retreat along the road by which he had come, which was followed by the Jews, and ended in a complete rout.

No time was now lost in making preparations for the war. The Jews, on their side, appointed Joseph

the son of Gorion, and Ananus the high priest, governors of the city, and despatched generals to conduct the operations in the various districts of the country; of whom Josephus the historian was entrusted with Upper and Lower Galilee, with the strong city of Gamala[1]. The fortifications of Jerusalem were strengthened, under the direction of Ananus and his colleague, and Agrippa's wall completed, though not on the grand scale that he had designed. Recruits were levied and drilled; military engines constructed; and arms, offensive and defensive, forged on every anvil in the city[2]. But the preparations were conducted amidst the gloomy forebodings of the moderate party; and inauspicious omens awed such as were peaceably inclined, insomuch that, even before the Romans came against it, the city resembled a place doomed to destruction[3].

Already had their three great feasts been signalized by monstrous prodigies[4]. The multitude assembled to celebrate the feast of the Passover had been filled with amazement at the sight of a supernatural light shining about the altar and the holy House, at the ninth hour of the night, so as to illuminate them with meridian splendour, which continued half an hour. Still more startling was the spontaneous opening of the large brazen gates before the inner court of the temple, so ponderous that they could with difficulty be shut by twenty men, and secured by bolts of iron to the floor. This happened

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[1] J. W. II. xx. 3, 4.

[2] Ibid. xx. and v. iv. 2.

[3] Ibid. II. xxii.

[4] These are all mentioned by the historian subsequently to the war, but date before it, or during its progress. See J. W. VI. v. 3. Compare Tacitus, Hist. v. 13. "Evenerunt prodigia. Visæ per cœlum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores; et audita major humana vox, 'excedere Deos:' simul ingens motus excedentium."

at the sixth hour of the night; the affrighted watch informed the captain of the temple, whose utmost exertions could scarcely avail to close them. These wonders were shortly followed by strange signs in the heavens: fiery forms of chariots and armed soldiers were seen before sunset, marshalled for battle and hemming in the devoted city. More terrible still was that witnessed by the priests, as they waited on their appointed service by night, during the feast of Pentecost; they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise as of a multitude, saying, "Let us depart hence." Moreover, a star resembling a sword, stood over the city; and a comet, which was visible a whole year: and a cry was heard continually through the streets and lanes of the city, night and day, denouncing woe unto Jerusalem and to the people, and to the holy House. This voice had been first raised by one Jesus, the son of Ananus, a plebeian rustic, at the feast of Tabernacles, four years before the war broke out. Being apprehended, dragged before the tribunal of Albinus, and whipped until his bones were laid bare, he only answered to every lash of the scourge, "Woe, woe, to Jerusalem." Dismissed as a mad-man, he went on his unwearied round; night and day, uttering no other sound than this; speaking neither evil to those who beat him, nor good to those that fed him, but, "Woe, woe," alike to all:—only raising his voice to a higher pitch at the solemn festivals. For seven years and five months did he continue to utter these lamentable words, until his voice was stilled in death, by a stone from a Roman engine, during the siege, as it had proclaimed "Woe, woe, to myself also." Thus, and with such omens, did the defensive measures of the Jews progress.

The most vigorous exertions were made by the Romans to quell the insurrection, and the grand scale of their preparations implies how formidable they considered it. Vespasian, the most renowned general of his day[1], who had been crowned with laurels in Germany and Britain, was charged by Nero with the conduct of the war. He was ably supported by distinguished officers, commanding a force of sixty thousand men, including the quotas contributed by the vassal kings of Asia; of whom Agrippa sent a thousand foot, and an equal number of cavalry. Ptolemais was the place of rendezvous[2].

The exertions of Vespasian were first directed against the cities of Galilee, which one after another opened their gates to the discipline and valour of the Roman legions. Gadara was first taken; Jotapata, after a spirited defence, was betrayed[3], when its gallant commander, the future historian of the war, fell into the enemy's hands, and experienced the lenity of the conquerors, to whom he became eminently serviceable as interpreter during the siege of Jerusalem. Subsequently, Joppa, Tiberias, Taricheæ[4], Gamala and Gischala[5], in rapid succession, were taken by assault or fraud, and the army rested at Cæsarea for the winter.

The following campaign was opened early in the spring, by the subjection and desolation of the country bordering on the great western plain, as far as Idumea;

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[1] His qualities are described by Tacitus, Hist. ii. 5, and his troops in the preceding section.

[2] J. W. III. i. ii. iv. 2. The force comprehended the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth legions; besides 23 cohorts, all choice and well-disciplined troops; the flower of the Roman army. Each legion may be reckoned as containing 10,000 men.

[3] Ibid. vii. viii.

[4] Ibid. ix. x.

[5] Ibid. IV. i. ii.

then the valley of the Jordan, with its flourishing capital, Jericho, was overrun with fire and sword[1]; last of all Gerasa was taken by Lucius Annius; and Vespasian was preparing to march on Jerusalem, when intelligence of the death of Nero checked his career of conquest, by opening to him a wider prospect[2]. He therefore remained inactive at Cæsarea, watching the progress of affairs in Italy, during the brief occupation of the imperial purple by Galba and Otho. During the civil commotions which ensued on the attempts of Vitellius, he again took the field, subjugated the remainder of the country, even to the very walls of Jerusalem; then returned to Cæsarea, where he was saluted emperor by his devoted legions[3].

Meanwhile internal dissensions had paralysed all the defensive operations of the Jews at Jerusalem, and had deluged their streets and the pavement of their once holy House with blood. Ananus the high priest, the governor of the city, had endeavoured in vain to persuade the zealots to more moderate counsels[4]; and house was divided against house on the momentous question of war or peace; until the arrival of an unprincipled agitator from the north turned the scale in favour of war[5]. This was John of Gischala, who had been actively engaged in embarrassing the proceedings of Josephus in Galilee, until the superior tact and sagacity of the latter had enabled him to defeat the cunning knavery of his rival. John then confined himself to his native city[6], until it was on the point of yielding to the Romans. He then persuaded the general, by a

[1] J. W. viii.
[2] Ibid. ix. 1, 2.
[3] Ibid. x.
[4] Ibid. II. xxii. 1.
[5] Ibid. IV. iii.
[6] Ibid. II. xxi.

promise of submission, to withdraw from the walls, when he effected his escape with some of his followers to Jerusalem[7]. Here he headed the violent faction, and fomented the discord which reigned among the people, who had fled thither from the terror of the Roman arms. Thus strengthened, the zealots proceeded to more daring acts of violence[8]: they first imprisoned, then put to death three distinguished members of the royal family, under pretence that they were plotting with the Romans against the national liberty. They then fortified themselves in the temple, and endeavoured by intrigue and calumny to sow dissension among those who were united. They further prostituted the high priesthood to the lowest of the people, and proceeded to such intolerable lengths in their tyranny and impiety, that, at the instigation of Ananus, the well-disposed of the people rose in a body against them, and attacked them with such fury that they were forced to retire to the inner court of the temple, and to close the gates. Ananus, restrained by reverence from violating the sanctity of the temple by an armed attack on its sacred enclosure, placed numerous guards in the surrounding cloisters of the outer court, to prevent the escape of the imprisoned zealots.

This advantage was defeated by the villanous treachery of John. He contrived, by dissimulation and duplicity, to gain admittance to the councils of Ananus and his friends, and bound himself by a most solemn oath on no account to divulge their secrets. On the faith of this bond he was sent to treat with the besieged, and counselled them to seek aid from the Idumeans, a

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[7] J. W. IV. ii.

[8] Ibid. IV. iii. iv. v.

turbulent people, ever ready to take part in strife. Messengers were accordingly despatched, and the country speedily roused by gross misrepresentations of the facts of the case, and unfounded imputations of disloyalty and treason against Ananus. Twenty thousand men, under four commanders, marched to Jerusalem, and encamped before the walls, where they were so incensed to find the gates closed against them, that they rejected all offers of accommodation with the party of Ananus.

A tremendous storm of hail, accompanied with lightnings and thunders, and terrific shocks of an earthquake, that night threatened the Idumeans with destruction, but resulted in the accomplishment of their designs. The vigilance of the guards in the outer court of the temple was remitted; for they trusted to the war of elements to guard them from a surprize. Thus the zealots escaped detection, when under cover of the darkness they sallied forth, furnished with saws belonging to the temple, with which to cut through the bars of the city-gate opposite to the encampment of the Idumeans. The howling of the storm favoured their operations, and the Idumeans were admitted. And now began a frightful carnage in the outer court of the temple; for the Jews, panic-struck and amazed, lost all power of resistance, and fell an easy prey to the ferocious Idumeans. The dawn of the succeeding day saw eight thousand five hundred slaughtered bodies on the ensanguined pavement of the outer court; and many had prevented the swords of their enemies, by throwing themselves headlong from the temple walls. The Idumeans now sallied forth into the city, ravished the houses, and slaughtered all whom they encountered: Ananus and Jesus, two high-priests of the highest dig-

nity, were slain, and their dead bodies thrown unburied before the walls.

Wearied at length with this dreadful pastime, they enacted a new drama. There was one Zachariah, the son of Baruch[1], a person of great influence and probity, who was specially obnoxious to them on account of his love of liberty and detestation of wickedness. This man was put on his trial before a tribunal of seventy of the principal men of the people, appointed by the zealots and Idumeans, who thought to over-awe them by terror. He was accused of traitorous correspondence with the Romans, of which not a shadow of proof was adduced. His judges, though at the peril of their lives, agreed in acquitting the righteous man; but his sentence had been resolved on before his trial, nor could his declared innocence reverse it. He was slain in the midst of the temple, and his dead body was thrown down into the valley beneath[2].

By this time the Idumeans, informed of the real position of affairs, repented deeply of the part which they had acted, under a misapprehension[3]. They there-

[1] Some commentators have supposed that this is the "Zechariah the son of Barachiah" of Matt. xxiii. 35, alluded to prophetically by our Lord as one of the latest victims of lawless violence. Indeed, it is difficult to understand why one so early as Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, (2 Chron. xxiv. 20–22) or even as the grandson of Iddo (Zech. i. 1) should be here specified, as though the Jews of that generation would not be more criminal, and therefore held accountable for the murder of St Stephen, St James the Greater and the Less, and above all, of our Lord Himself; in all which they had taken an active part. The Greek church has a tradition, that Zachariah, the father of St John Baptist, is the son of Barachiah alluded to by our Lord, and give some curious, but conflicting reasons for his martyrdom. Horologion and Menaion in Sept. 5. See above, p. 33, note 6.

[2] It is perhaps possible that this circumstance may have given its name to the monolithic monument called the tomb of Zechariah in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

[3] J. W. iv. v. vi. vii.

fore liberated their captives, about two thousand in number, and, to the surprize of both parties, returned to their own country; leaving the people a prey to the fury of John and his myrmidons: and so oppressive did this tyranny become, that numbers deserted to the Romans daily; choosing rather to encounter the peril of a flight, with the certainty of death on detection, than to endure the evils to which they were subject in the city. But the roads from the city were strictly guarded, and such as were unable to purchase their liberty were murdered; so that the ground was covered with the carcases of the slain, to whom the zealots would not allow the rights of sepulture. At length the despotism of John, and the shameless licentiousness of his Galileans, so disgusted many of his own followers, that such of the Idumeans as had remained behind separated themselves from him, drove him out of his palace in the Upper City, and confined him to the temple[1].

The high priests now joined themselves to the Idumeans, and the cause of order and moderation seemed for a short time to be in the ascendant. But "wrath had come upon them to the uttermost[2]," and was now apparent in "turning their counsel into foolishness;" the very measures by which they sought to deliver themselves out of the hands of the zealots became the means of their destruction.

Such of the assassins as had escaped to Massada, on the death of their leader Manahem[3], had ravaged the country far and wide. Their numbers had been greatly augmented by an influx of robbers from all

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[1] J. W. ix. 10, 11.

[2] 1 Thess. ii. 16.

[3] See above, p. 164, and J. W. iv. vii. 2.

quarters, amongst whom was Simon, the son of Giora, a native of Gerasa. Having been driven from his own country before the conquering arms of Rome, he had approved himself to the assassins as a worthy associate in crime. But having surpassed their enormities, and advanced by degrees to acts of a greater daring, he had collected a large body of followers, and having subjugated and desolated all the country to the south, he made preparations for assaulting Jerusalem. When the Idumeans separated themselves from John, he was encamped before the gates for the second time, and his barbarous acts[4] ought to have warned the moderate party within the city what cruelty they might expect from the tender mercies of such a monster. They were rash enough, however, to solicit his aid against John and his faction: the gates were opened, and he was received into the city with the acclamations of the multitude, who regarded him as their deliverer from the tyrant of Gischala. He proceeded at once to besiege the temple, which was stoutly defended; and as the zealots fought from an advantageous position, and the fortifications had been further strengthed by the erection of four towers, the casualties on the side of Simon were very numerous, and he was obliged to relax his efforts.

At this juncture another division took place in the party of John[5]. Eleazar, the son of Simon, indignant at the insolence of this tyrant, who appeared to aim at nothing short of regal power, drew off a disaffected section of his followers, including several leaders of great eminence. They seized upon the inner temple and fortified themselves within its court, where there

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[4] J. W. ix.

[5] Ibid. v. i.

was laid up a large supply of consecrated provisions, which however they made no scruple to apply to their own uses. Thus John of Gischala besieged Eleazar the son of Simon in the inner temple, while he had himself to sustain the attack from without of Simon the son of Gioras, who held the Upper and great part of the Lower City, and seeing John between two fires, pressed the assault with renewed vigour. Then "blood touched blood" in the very sanctuary, and stood in pools in the holy courts; the blood of the priests was mingled with the blood of the sacrifices, which were still offered every day on the brazen altar. Nor was the havoc less terrible which was occasioned by John and his party in their sallies into the city; for, as if with the very design of serving the Romans, they set fire to the well-stocked magazines of corn, and reduced the space about the temple to desolation: thus destroying the sinews of war, and leaving themselves a prey to famine, from which they suffered more during the siege than from the chances of war.

Such was the posture of parties in Jerusalem when Titus encamped against it. Having attended his father to Alexandria, he had returned by way of the desert and the plain of Phœnicia, to Cæsarea, where he made his dispositions for the conduct of the war[1]. The army had been augmented by the addition of the twelfth legion, which had been routed under Cestius and was thirsting for vengeance; and by five thousand picked men from Egypt and the Euphrates: while the number of auxiliaries had also been greatly increased[2]. The fifth legion was ordered to advance by way of Emmaus, the

[1] J. W. IV. xi. 5.

[2] Ibid. v. i. 6, and see above, p. 169.

tenth to make a circuit by Jericho, while Titus himself led the main body by way of Samaria to Gifna, where was a Roman garrison[3]. Halting here one night, he proceeded the next day to Gibeah of Saul, thirty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. Here he encamped, and rode forward with 600 horse to reconnoitre, hoping that the citizens might open their gates on the first demonstration, as he had learnt from the deserters that there was a large number earnestly desirous of peace. As he approached the walls, and declined to the right of the road, obliquely, towards the Psephine tower, he was surprised by a sally of the Jews, through a gate near the Women's Tower, opposite the monuments of Queen Helena; and being intercepted and entangled, with difficulty effected his escape. The day following, on the junction of the fifth legion, he removed his camp to the Scopus, and ordered the tenth legion, which now came up from Jericho, to fortify themselves in position on the summit of the Mount of Olives, which was effected, not without considerable difficulty, owing to the incessant attacks of the Jews, who were scarcely kept at bay by Titus, who hastened with a large detachment to support his soldiers.

And now it was that the state of parties within the city assumed a somewhat different aspect. On occasion of the Feast of the Passover, Eleazar, who held the inner temple, threw open the gates to admit the worshippers[4]. John took advantage of this opportunity to introduce his followers, with arms concealed under their cloaks, and made himself again master of the sanctuary;

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[3] J. W. ii.

[4] Ibid. iii. The account of Tacitus, (Hist. v. 12), with his description of the city, is given in the Appendix.

and the three factions were thus reduced to two. Simon and his partisans, including such of the citizens as bore arms, numbered ten thousand, besides the five thousand Idumeans who had deserted the faction of John, but had not attended their countrymen on their return to their own land. John of Gischala numbered six thousand armed men of his own, and two thousand four hundred under the command of Eleazar, whom he had lately defeated. The city was divided between the two parties; the eastern part, with the temple, being occupied by John; the western, including the Upper City, by Simon[1].

By this time Titus had completed his arrangements for the arduous task which he had before him[2]. Having in four days levelled the space between the Scopus and the monuments of Herod, by felling the trees, overthrowing the garden walls, filling up the natural cavities, and demolishing the precipitous rocks which guarded the city on the north; he had moved the main body of his army from the Scopus, and himself encamped with one division two furlongs in front of the Psephine tower, while the second was placed in position opposite the Hippic tower, also at a distance of two furlongs. After some further deliberation it was determined to commence the assault on the outer wall, between these two towers, at a part which went by a name derived from the monument of John the high priest[3]. The wall in this quarter was not so strongly fortified, owing to this part of the New City being but thinly inhabited, and hence he would find easy access to the third or innermost wall, through which he hoped to take the Upper

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[1] J. W. v. vi. 1. [2] Ibid. iii. 2, 5. [3] Ibid. vi.

City, which he expected would put him in possession of the Lower City, of Antonia, and so of the Temple. The wall was gallantly defended by the besieged, and recourse was had on both sides to all the expedients which the art of war had devised. The partisans of the opposite factions even forgot for a while their differences to join in repelling the common foe, and fought side by side on the wall. At length an engine of tremendous power, named Nico by the Jews, formed a breach, which was carried on the fifteenth day of the siege[4], when the greater part of the wall and the northern quarter of the New City was demolished by the Romans.

The Jews were now confined within the limits of the ancient city, while Titus pitched his camp within the third wall, at a place called the Camp of the Assyrians, and held all eastward as far as the brook Kedron. An assault was next made on the second wall, at the middle tower of its northern quarter, which was ably defended by one Castor. He was apparently attached to the faction of John, which now occupied the tower Antonia, the northern cloisters of the temple, and the part over against the monuments of king Alexander; while Simon's party stood prepared to repulse their assailants from near the monument of John the high priest, to a gate by which water was brought into the Hippic tower. Desperate sallies were also made by the besieged, in which the Romans sustained some loss. The second wall was taken five days after the first, through a breach in Castor's tower; but the Jews, availing themselves of the crowded buildings and narrow

[4] J. W. vii.

streets of this part of the Lower City, which Titus had neglected to fire, succeeded in driving them out[1]. It was re-captured after an obstinate resistance of three days, when the northern part was entirely demolished, and the towers in the southern part garrisoned with troops.

The Temple, with its strong fortress Antonia, and the Upper City, still held out; but Titus remitted the siege for a while, in the vain hope that the Jews might be prevailed upon to surrender[2]. To this end he sought to inspire them with awe by a review of his soldiers on the northern quarter of the city, which was viewed with admiration by the Jews from the old wall and the northern cloisters of the temple; and such of the houses as commanded the prospect were crowded with spectators. But the die was cast, and neither the terror of the Roman arms nor promises of forgiveness could prevail on them to submit. On the fifth day preparations were commenced for the assault of the Antonia, in one quarter, and of the Upper City in another[3]. Four banks were raised by the legions, one at the tower Antonia against the middle of a pool named Struthius; a second twenty cubits from it; a third against the northern wall of Sion, at the Amygdalon or Almond Pool; and the fourth thirty cubits from that, at the High Priest's Monument, so often mentioned. Seventeen days were required for this work, although the soldiers toiled incessantly; when, on bringing up their engines, they discovered that the banks had been undermined by the besieged at the Antonia; while their assaults on the Upper City were repulsed in the most determined manner by the sallies of the Jews under

[1] J. W. vii. viii. [2] Ibid. ix. [3] Ibid. xi.

Simon, and a successful attempt was also made to destroy the engines by fire.

A council of war was now held by the Roman general, in which it was determined to surround the city with a wall of circumvallation[4], in the hope of reducing it by famine; for up to this time the besieged had been able to receive supplies from without, as only one side of the city was beleaguered by the enemy. Commencing then at the Camp of the Assyrians, where he was himself encamped, it was drawn along the lower part of Bezetha, then across the valley of the Kedron to the Mount of Olives, where it turned to the south, enclosed the mountains as far as the rock Peristereon, and the neighbouring crest which overhangs the gorge of Siloam: hence, turning west, it descended to the Valley of the Fountain, ascended to the monument of the high priest Ananus, and embracing the mountain where Pompey had encamped, returned to the north; extended as far as a certain village, called the House of the Erebinthi, and including the monument of Herod, was joined on the east to the Camp of Titus, from which it had its commencement. This wall, thirty-nine furlongs in circuit, exclusive of thirteen redoubts, equalling together ten additional furlongs, was completed in the incredibly short space of three days! such was the emulation inspired by the general, who presided in person at the work, and stimulated the soldiers by his presence and promises of reward. The wall was strictly guarded, night and day, to prevent the escape of the besieged; and frightful were the effects of this blockade on the inhabitants of the devoted city, where famine had already made considerable progress.

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[4] J. W. xii. So literally fulfilling our Lord's prediction. Luke xix. 43.

And now, notwithstanding the great scarcity of materials, the banks were again raised[1], and completed; and the siege of Antonia pressed with a vigour to which the obstinate resolution of the Jews was at length obliged to yield, when a nocturnal surprise had put the Romans in possession of the wall. As they retired to the inner court of the temple, the Jews were pursued with reckless precipitation as far as the angle of the inner court by a centurion named Julian, who, after sustaining alone an attack of the infuriated Jews, paid the penalty of his rashness with his life.

The fortress Antonia occupied the highest point of the Temple mount[2], at the north-west angle of the area. Two flights of steps connected it with the sacred inclosure at that angle, communicating with the cloisters on the north and west side of the outer court[3]. A night attack was resolved on, and a division detached for this service, the stairs being too narrow to afford space for the operations of the whole army[4]; Titus himself was persuaded by his soldiers to watch the success of the attempt from the fortress, and not to expose his life to danger in this perilous assault. The Jewish guards were on the watch, and a sanguinary fight of eight hours' duration ended in the retreat of the Romans. Meanwhile the unoccupied legions had overthrown the foundations of Antonia to level a way to the temple area; in addition to which, four banks

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[1] J. W. VI. i.

[2] See i. 5, in Titus' speech, *κατὰ κορυφὴν εἶναι.*

[3] J. W. v. v. 8. See Acts xxi. 32, 35. These were the stairs by which the chief captain *ran down* to rescue St Paul, and *up* which St Paul was borne of the soldiers, for the violence of the people.

[4] J. W. ii. 5—7.

were raised against its outer wall, on the northern and western sides.

The destruction of the Temple was now commenced, the Jews firing that angle of the cloisters which united it to the Antonia, with the view to cut off the communication. The work of demolition was carried forward by the Romans, and the western and northern cloisters were reduced to ashes[5]. So massive was the structure of the temple-wall that the powerful battering-rams could make no impression on it, and their attempts to undermine the foundations of the northern gate were equally unsuccessful[6]. At length however the outer court was carried, and the Jews, after a hard struggle, were shut up in the inner enclosure. An attempt on the part of the Romans to extinguish the fire which was raging around the temple, opposed by the Jews, resulted in its extension to the holy House itself, which Titus was most anxious to spare. Terrible was the carnage that now ensued; but not so terrible to the Jews as this conflagration; while the surrounding mountains echoed to their shrieks of despair, mingled with the groans of the dying and the shouts of the Roman legions[7].

Such of the Jews of John's party as could effect their escape now retired to the Upper City, still held by the faction of Simon, while others took refuge on the roof of such parts of the cloisters as remained unconsumed. The Roman eagles were brought within the sacred precincts, and sacrifices offered before them; when the general was saluted with the title of Imperator[8].

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[5] J. W. ii. 9, iii. 2.
[6] Ibid. iv.
[7] Ibid. v.
[8] Ibid. vi.

The approach to the southernmost of the four gates, which gave entrance to the outer temple on its western side, was by a causeway[1], carried across the deep valley of the Tyropœon to the royal palace of the Asmoneans on Mount Sion, once occupied by the younger Agrippa[2]. This causeway, by which John and the remnant of his partizans had escaped from the temple to the Upper City, was joined to a public building called the Xystus, situated below the palace, and commanded by it[3].

The tyrants, who seemed now convinced that ruin was inevitable, or at least that all further opposition must be unavailing, requested a conference, which was granted by the Roman general, in the same spirit of forbearance which, according to Josephus, had distinguished his conduct throughout the siege; although it must be confessed that there are many passages which seem utterly irreconcilable with this favourable representation of the politic historian. The Jews were drawn up around Simon and John at one extremity of this bridge, the Romans around Titus at the other, with Josephus to act as interpreter: and the parley began[4]. After addressing them in terms of invective and reproach for their rebellion and obstinacy, and in commendation of his own unmerited lenity up to this point, the conqueror promised, that on condition of their laying down their arms and surrendering without further opposition, their lives should be spared. The terms were perhaps more merciful than they had a right to expect at this period, but they failed to satisfy the

[1] Ant. xv. xi. 5.
[2] J. W. II. xvi. 3; Ant. xx. viii. 11.
[3] J. W. l. c.
[4] Ibid. VI. vi. 2, &c.

besieged. They had the assurance to require a free exit through the Roman works for themselves, their wives, and families, with their arms in their hands! This presumptuous demand sealed their doom, and they were given to understand that the time for mercy was past, they were now to look for nothing but a most terrible vengeance.

The Roman soldiers were then commanded to destroy the city; and on the day following the northern part of the Lower City was consumed with fire, including the repository of the archives, the council-chamber, and the palace of queen Helena, in the middle of Acra. Ophel was also fired; for the occupation of the temple had put them in possession of the whole of that Mount, and of the remainder of the Tyropœon, south of the causeway, as far as the pool of Siloam. On the second day this also was burnt[5], and the banks began now to be raised against the Upper City[6].

It has been seen that this was completely encompassed by a wall of its own, and surrounded by the natural defence of deep valleys on three sides, while the fourth presented a cliff of thirty cubits in height, along the brow of which the wall was carried. The works were raised with great difficulty, owing both to the scarcity of materials, and these natural and artificial defences against which they were directed; but in eighteen days they were sufficiently advanced for the engines to be brought up. They were erected on the western and eastern sides of the Upper City; the former over against the palace of Herod, which occupied the north-west angle; the latter from the Xystus to the

[5] J. W. vii. 2.

[6] Ibid. viii. 1.

bridge, below the palace of Agrippa, which stood at the north-east angle.

Meanwhile dissension and discord raged with unabated fury among the surviving Jews[1]; their arms were still turned against each other; and, as though the Romans had not been sufficiently active in the work of destruction without, they made it their business to carry fire and sword through that part of the city which still continued in their hands. They then retired to the royal palace of Herod, whose three massive towers they trusted would afford them a refuge still, even after the capture of the Upper City, while others concealed themselves in the large subterranean caves and vaults, in which they vainly hoped to lie hid until the victorious army was withdrawn[2]. At length the western wall yielded to the unwearied shock of the engines, scarcely resisted by the besieged, and the Romans entered the Upper City, when the panic-stricken Jews abandoned the defence of the impregnable towers without a blow, and the victorious eagles waved over their battlements. The dreadful havoc was now repeated throughout the length and breadth of Sion, and the conflagration was extinguished by the blood of the slaughtered thousands!

But the oft-repeated horrors of this most dreadful tragedy have been designedly passed over almost without notice, nor will they here be entered on. The annals of history furnish nothing that will bear the slightest comparison with this frightful siege; and one marvels that a Jew could have the nerve to pen records, the very perusal of which is sufficient to sicken

[1] J. W. vii. [2] Ibid. and viii.

the heart and make the blood run cold. Suffice it here to say that not one of all the terrible curses on disobedience denounced in the law—no, not the worst of all, was spared[3]; that 1,100,000 are calculated to have perished by famine or the chances of war during the siege[4]; and besides 40,000 of the population of this city, whom Titus allowed to go free[5], 97,000 were carried captive during the war. The whole number of those who were killed or taken in the city itself can scarcely be computed at less than 2,000,000. And if this number should appear excessive and incredible, it must be considered that the historian himself declares the greater part of these were not citizens of Jerusalem, but those who had come up from all the country to the feast of unleavened bread, and were suddenly shut up by the army[6]; which further accounts for the famine, which from the first made frightful ravages among them. And it further deserves to be noted, that this is not a random guess of the historian, but a calculation founded on an official return of the numbers who were usually present on such occasions, compared with actual observations during the course of the siege[7].

Or if again it should be thought that the limits of

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[3] See Deut. xxviii. 53—57, and compare Josephus, J. W. vi. iii. 4.

[4] J. W. vi. ix. 3.

[5] Ibid. viii. 2.

[6] Ibid. ix. 2. Compare v. iii. 1, and xiii. 7. See also ii. xiv. 3, where we find 3,000,000 present at the Passover.

[7] Ibid. vi. ix. 3, and see the frightful statement, v. xiii. 7, from which it appears that the total number of corpses carried out at one gate, at the public charge, between the 14th of Nisan and the 1st of Thammuz (i. e. in 75 days) amounted to 115,880. By another statement, the whole number of *poor* thrown unburied without the walls was 600,000. The surrounding valleys were filled with carcases, and Titus was deeply affected at the sight. v. xii. 4.

the city must have been much more extensive than is usually represented, to have contained so large a number, it must be borne in mind that we have the repeated testimony of the same historian to this fact also, where he mentions that the circuit of the city, including the outer wall of Agrippa, was thirty-three furlongs[1], and the wall of circumvallation erected by the Romans, thirty-nine[2]. But Josephus himself observes, that the city was *crowded* with inhabitants when encompassed by the Roman armies[3], and the expansive powers of cities on festive occasions is well known, and would be still more felt among Orientals, owing to the simplicity of their mode of living, and their disregard for what is understood by the comforts and delicacies of civilized society in the west.

The rest is soon told: A few who had endeavoured with desperate hardihood to break through the Roman lines, were defeated in the attempt[4]; such as had retired to the subterranean hiding-places were starved or hunted out[5]. Among the former was the tyrant John, who was doomed to perpetual imprisonment. Simon, the leader of the opposite faction, succeeded in evading detection until Titus had retired. On the capture of the Upper City, he had withdrawn to a sewer with some of his most trusty adherents, and a party of stonecutters, with a supply of provisions, hoping to undermine a passage from the city. Their provisions failed before they could accomplish their purpose, and he was forced to surrender

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[1] J. W. v. iv. 3.

[2] Ibid. v. xii. 2.

[3] Πολὺ δὲ τοῦτο πλῆθος ἔξωθεν συλλέγεται, τότε γε μὴν ὥσπερ εἰς εἰρκτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης πᾶν συνεκλείσθη τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ 'ναστὴν ὁ πόλεμος τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἐκυκλώσατο. J. W. vi. ix. 4.

[4] Ibid. viii. 4, 5.

[5] Ibid. ix. 4.

himself to the garrison in the temple-inclosure. He was sent to Titus in chains, reserved for the triumph, and then put to death[6].

The city was wholly demolished except the three towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne[7], and so much of the western wall as would serve to protect the legion left there to guard the ruins, who were probably placed in the palace of Herod, which had before answered as a garrison[8]; and the conqueror marched to exhibit the captives in the bloody spectacles of the amphitheatre at Cæsarea and Berytus[9], as examples of the righteous judgments of God, whose hand he was forced to recognize fighting with him through this long and doubtful siege[10].

Such of the sacred utensils as had escaped the rapacity of John[11], and been rescued from the conflagration of the temple, were carried as trophies to Rome, to be there exhibited in the ovation to the supercilious despisers of this strange and misanthropic superstition—as the pagans counted the religion of the Jews; and then to be pourtrayed on the arch, erected to commemorate this hard-earned triumph, whose providential preservation to this day witnesses to the ancient capital of Christendom the veracity of the Jewish historian, and furnishes a solemn warning of the righteous vengeance of God on mercies abused, and privileges slighted or despised; a warning to which the universal Church would do well to take heed.

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[6] Ibid. VII. ii. 1, and v. 6.
[7] Ibid. VII. i. 1.
[8] Ibid. II. xv. 5; xvii. 8, 9.
[9] Ibid. VII. ii. 3.
[10] Ibid. VI. ix. 1.
[11] He had sacrilegiously plundered and melted down many of the sacred utensils, and among them the flagons dedicated by the Emperor Augustus and Julia. (See above, p. 142, n. 1.) J. W. v. xiii. 6.

The articles carried in the procession, as specified by Josephus, who was present at the triumph[1], were a massive Table of gold, the golden Candlestick with its seven lamps, and the Law. But besides these we have mention of the veils, and golden vessels; and the sacred trumpets are still distinctly to be traced on the ruined arch. The subsequent history of this sacred furniture is interesting. The golden vessels and instruments were deposited in the temple of Concord erected by Vespasian; the law and the purple veils of the holy place were laid up in the imperial palace. In the reign of Hadrian the golden plate, engraven with the incommunicable Name, which adorned the forehead of the high-priest, was seen at Rome by Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Joses, a contemporary of R. Akiba.

In the twelfth year of the reign of Commodus, (A.D. 191[2]) both the temple of Concord and the imperial palace were burnt to the ground, when many of their curious and costly treasures fell a prey to the flames. It would, however, appear that the sacred furniture of the temple at Jerusalem was again rescued from destruction; for although there is an uninterrupted silence concerning it for some ages, yet since in the fifth century we find frequent and unhesitating notices of it, we may well suppose that it remained, during the interval, securely laid up in the treasury at Rome. There it was accordingly found by Alaric, king of the Goths, in the sacking of the city, A.D. 410[3].

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[1] Described in J. W. VII. v. 3—7. Reland, in his interesting Treatise "de Spoliis Templi," which will be found in "Ugolini Thesaurus," Vol. 9, pp. MLXXVII—MCL. has quoted or referred to most of the authorities for the following particulars.

[2] See the authorities quoted in Clinton's Fasti Romani in Ann. Vol. I. p. 183.

[3] Clinton, Fast. Rom. in Ann. Vol. I. p. 576, 578.

Again, when Genseric, king of the Vandals, forty-five years later, plundered the city, among the other spoils which he carried away in his victorious gallies to Africa, were the holy vessels of the Jewish worship[4], which were now transferred to Carthage, and there remained nearly eighty years, when the victory of Belisarius again restored them to the power of the Romans.

But if that be true which is related by Procopius[5], within this interval, we must believe that a part only fell into the hands of Genseric: since, however, this author is evidently much mistaken in his narrative of the events alluded to, it is certainly possible that he is not trustworthy in this particular. He states, that after the defeat and death of Alaric, king of the Visigoths, the victorious army of Clovis laid vigorous siege to Carcassonne in Languedoc, attracted by the fame of the imperial treasures, which Alaric the elder had captured at Rome in former times, among which were the admirable treasures of Solomon, which had been taken from Jerusalem by the Romans, many of which, it is noted, were adorned with green stone[6]. The siege was raised by Theodoric the Goth, and the rescued treasures were apparently carried to Ravenna. Of these we have no further notice.

Such as were recovered from Carthage were carried with the Vandal king Gelimer to Constantinople, to be again exhibited in a triumphal procession in the New

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[4] Procopius de Bello Vandalico, Lib. I. cap. v. Op. Vol. I. p. 189, edit. reg.: this was A. D. 455. See Clinton, F. R. in Ann. Compare Theophanis Chronograph. A. D. 447, p. 93. See Gibbon, cap. xxxvi. Vol. VI. p. 145. Milman's ed.

[5] De Bello Gothico, Lib. I. cap. xii. Op. Vol. I. p. 343.

[6] Πρασία γὰρ λίθος αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐκαλλώπισεν, IV. xxxviii. note 52. The date of these events is A. D. 507—508. See Clinton, F. R. in Ann. p. 722, 724.

Capital of the Roman Empire, as they had been four centuries and a half before at Rome itself. And here again we have the testimony of an eye-witness of the triumph, the very secretary, in fact, of the conqueror[1]. He mentions that a certain Jew, having remarked these sacred vessels among the spoils, expressed it as his opinion to one of the emperor's familiars, that they could not be brought into the palace at Byzantium, without imminent risk, nor be safely deposited anywhere but at the place where Solomon had originally dedicated them. He represented that it was on account of these that Genseric had been permitted to take the royal palace at Rome, and on account of these again that the Vandals had been conquered by the Romans. The emperor Justinian, awed by these representations, immediately dispatched them in all haste to the Christian churches in Jerusalem; where we shall again find them in the course of this history.

It is an unfortunate circumstance for the Solomonic origin of these interesting relics, which had thus passed to Europe and Africa, that the author of the book of Maccabees distinctly mentions the complete spoliation of the sacred treasury at Jerusalem, by Antiochus Epiphanes, who carried the spoils to Antioch, among which are specified, the golden candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the golden altar of incense, the flagons and vials, the golden censers and precious vessels, and the veils of fine linen and scarlet[2]. Nor can it be doubted that such sacred vessels as had returned from Babylon, and such as had been dedicated by Ptolemy Philadelphus,

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[1] Procopius de Bell. Vand. Lib. II. cap. IX. Vol. I. p. 255.

[2] 1 Macc. i. 21—24. Compare Josephus, Ant. XII. v. 4.

fell into his hand; for indeed it is expressly said, that "he emptied the temple of its secret treasures, and left nothing at all remaining[3]." Nor is there the slightest evidence that this sacred furniture was subsequently restored. Judas Maccabeus on the purification of the temple, after its desecration, provided it with new vessels, and altars and veils[4], and these must have been they which were carried to Rome by Titus, and whose various fortunes have now been followed.

The death-throes still continued to convulse the remote members of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine for some time after the heart had ceased to beat; and these were scarcely stilled when the whole body was to be reanimated with new life, and resuscitated with new vigour.

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[3] Κενώσας καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἀποκρύφους, καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών κ. λ. Ant. l. c.

[4] 1 Macc. iv. 48—51. Compare Ant. XII. vii. 6.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS BY HERACLIUS.

It was a wise caution, and worthy of imitation, which withheld an old historian of the Church[1] from commenting on the events connected with the early ministry of our Blessed Lord, and those first years of the Christian church of which it has pleased the Divine Spirit to dictate an inspired history, lest the brevity

[1] Sulpicius Severus. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. "Hæc quæ Evangeliis ac deinceps Apostolorum Actibus continentur attingere non ausus, ne quid forma præcisi operis rerum dignitatibus diminueret, reliqua exequar."

of a human narrative should detract from the dignity of actions which have been judged worthy of such a record: besides which, the unsuccessful attempts of such as have tried the task, whose productions are calculated to produce on a reverent mind a most painful impression, from the remotest intention of which the authors were, without doubt, entirely free, might well deter a writer from such an undertaking.

Passing on therefore to uninspired records, we find the notices of the Christian Church at Jerusalem, during the first three centuries, few and scattered; but in these historical notices, scanty as they are, principles of great importance are involved, which invest them with peculiar interest.

It is related by the father of ecclesiastical history, that the Church at Jerusalem, from the period of its establishment to the time of the emperor Hadrian, was governed by fifteen bishops in succession, the first of whom was St James the Just[2], the brother of our Lord, one of the Twelve, and the author of the catholic Epistle which bears his name. This tradition, it has been frequently remarked, is strikingly confirmed by incidental passages in the Acts of the Apostles, which seem to intimate that this Saint had a precedency of his brethren in the apostolic college at Jerusalem[3].

And it is remarkable that one of the few facts relative to this Church, during the period that elapsed between the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the foundation of Ælia Capitolina, which has been rescued from oblivion, should be the regular succession of its

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[2] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. v., &c.

[3] See Acts xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 17, 18; Gal. ii. 12.

bishops; a fact with circumstances of such a nature that its credibility cannot be gainsaid on any fair principles of historical criticism; for the names and order of all have been preserved, while the first links in the chain, which are of course the most important, as establishing the apostolic precedent, are those to which the evidence is exhibited most in detail, and which are therefore least open to cavil. Indeed, had it been possible for the historian to foresee that a time would arrive when the Divine authority of the Episcopal government would be called in question, he could scarcely have furnished modern controversialists on the catholic side with stronger arguments for its defence.

For it must be remarked that Eusebius in this, as in other matters, does not follow vain rumours or uncertain reports, but the records of earlier writers; and besides the usual intimation that such is the case, conveyed in the oft-repeated words "as they relate," we shall see that, on this particular subject, he quotes the very words of a writer whose testimony belongs to "the first succession after the apostles[1]," and who would possess the most accurate information on all that concerned the Christians at Jerusalem, inasmuch as he was himself a native of Palestine, an Hebrew believer[2], and not improbably a member of the Church in that city.

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[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xxiii. ὁ Ἡγήσιππος ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν Ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, κ.τ.λ. In Lib. IV. cap. xi., Eusebius says that Hegesippus came to Rome during the presidency of Anicetus in that see, and remained until Eleutherius was made bishop: but Hegesippus himself, whose words he quotes, (cap. xxii. of the same book), says only that he stayed at Rome until Anicetus' time, whose deacon Eleutherius then was. He probably came in the time of Pius, who presided from 142—150; Anicetus till 162; Soter to 171; Eleutherius till 185 A.D.

[2] Hist. Eccles. IV. xxii.

W.F.Witts del. T.Picken. lith.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the Queen.

INTERIOR OF THE CAVE OF ST. JAMES.

(Looking on the S.E. angle of the Temple Enclosure)

This is Hegesippus, to the fragments of whose Commentaries, preserved by Eusebius, we are so largely indebted for many interesting particulars relating to the early Church.

The account which he gives of the life and martyrdom of St James is well known, but cannot be too frequently repeated[3]. This blessed Apostle had gained for himself, even among the unbelievers, the surname of "the Just," by his unblameable life of mortification and constant prayer. The faith was widely propagated by his unwearied zeal, so that "many myriads of the Jews believed[4]" by his means. But the evil passions of the more zealous of the Pharisees were aroused, and taking advantage of a short vacancy in the government[5], they resolved on an attempt to induce him to apostacy. He was placed in an exalted position in the temple on the Feast of the Passover, and required to persuade the assembled multitude against the Messiahship of the Lord Jesus. He availed himself of the opportunity to bear testimony to the truth of it; proclaiming aloud His session at the right hand of Power, and His future advent in the clouds of heaven. Many were convinced of the truth. The scribes and Pharisees, maddened with disappointment, and furious at the success of his preaching, resolved on instant vengeance. The holy man was cast down headlong from the battlements and stoned; but he had space to fall upon his knees and pray for the pardon of his murderers, after the example, and in the words of his

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[3] Hegesippus, apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. II. xxiii.

[4] Acts xxi. 20.

[5] i.e. between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus. See above, p. 159.

Divine Master, saying, "I entreat thee, O Lord God the Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Wounded, bruised, and bleeding, his life was still whole in him, when one of the bystanders smote him on the head with a fuller's club, and terminated at once his sufferings and his life. This barbarous murder is mentioned by the Jewish historian as the chief sin of his countrymen which filled the cup of vengeance to the brim[1].

The time of this martyrdom is variously given by Eusebius, who in one passage of his History, and in his Chronicon, places it about the seventh year of Nero, agreeably with Josephus; while in another passage of the History he fixes it immediately before the destruction of Jerusalem[2], in the first year of Vespasian, consistently with the Alexandrian Chronicon. If the earlier date be adopted, it will be necessary to suppose a vacancy in the see for the space of eight or nine years, during which the troubled state of the city and country might prevent the Church from proceeding to an election; but here again, whatever discrepancies there may be on a point of chronology, there is none at all as to the main point, that Simeon, the son of Clopas and cousin of our Lord[3], was chosen by uni-

[1] See Joseph. Ant. xx. ix. 1. for an account of the martyrdom of St James: but the words quoted as from Josephus, by Eusebius after Origen, are not found in the present copies of the Antiquities. ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, κατ' ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ δικαιότατον αὐτὸν ὄντα Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν. Orig. Lib. I. cont. Celsum, p. 35. edit. Spenceri. and Comment. in Matt. Vol. I. p. 223. edit. Huetii. I think the difficulty of reconciling the Jewish and Christian writers here has been unduly magnified by Valesius. Annot. in Euseb. l. c.

[2] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. xi., compared with II. xxiii. and the notes of Valesius.

[3] Eusebius says that Clopas was the brother of Joseph, which is com-

versal consent to succeed St James in the episcopal office.

This election took place at Jerusalem after the return of the Church from Pella, and there were present at it such of the apostles and disciples of our Lord as were yet alive, and some of His kinsmen according to the flesh, of whom many still survived[4]. It would appear from this, that during the interval of their sojourn at Pella, the Hebrew Christians of Jerusalem were as sheep without a shepherd[5]; but the hand of Providence, so manifest in all that concerned them, would remind them of the watchful guardianship of the chief Pastor, under whose special protection they were safe. During the days of His earthly pilgrimage, when foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, He had taken thought for His own flock, and had warned them, when they should see Jerusalem compassed with armies, to flee out of the midst of it[6]. The extraordinary retreat of Cestius, so perplexing to the Jewish historian[7], was no doubt divinely ordered, to allow the elect an opportunity of escape; and, in obedience to our Lord's words, they availed themselves of it, and sought safety beyond the Jordan. And Josephus informs us, that many of the

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monly taken to denote the relationship between the blessed Virgin, and Mary the wife of Clopas. John xix. 25. See Euseb. ut sup., and Bishop Pearson on the Creed, pp. 175, 176. Lond. 1699, &c.

[4] Hist. Eccles. III. xi., and IV. xxii. from Hegesippus.

[5] This seems to be confirmed by what is said in Eusebius, that the oracular revelation was made to approved persons among them; by an angel in dreams, as Epiphanius writes. The announcement would probably (if we may conjecture) have been made to the bishop, as in Revelation i. ii. iii., had there then been one. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. v., and Epiphan. Hæres. II. 7, and De Pond. et Mens.

[6] Luke xxi. 20, 21.

[7] The words are: ἐξαίφνης ... καταγνοὺς ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ πληγῇ τῶν ἐλπίδων, παραλογώτατα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀνέζευξεν. J. W. II. xix. 7.

principal Jews also took this opportunity of escaping as from a ship on the point of sinking—a remarkable simile, reminding us of the ark of safety provided in and for the Church!

And if it should be thought that the interval of three years between the raising of the siege of Cestius, and the forming of it again by Titus allowed ample space for a deliberate departure, instead of such a hasty flight as is implied in our Lord's prediction, it should be considered that we have the repeated testimony of Josephus to the jealous precautions adopted by those in power at Jerusalem to prevent escape or desertion[1]; so that the time while the zealots were engaged in the pursuit of Cestius may only have allowed time for such a hair-breadth escape from the city.

The interest attaching to the city which afforded an asylum to the believers under such circumstances, would invest its ruins with peculiar charms; and frequent and earnest were the inquiries of the writer and his fellow-traveller in that country in the summer of 1842. Eagerly did they catch at the sound of "Arbela[2]," which might possibly be a corruption of the ancient name; and anxiously did they press on their jaded horses to the Christians' Refuge, determined to find in the modern village those features by which they had learnt that Pella might be distinguished. Chief among these was the characteristic of "abundance of

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[1] The frequent repetition is remarkable. See J. W. IV. vi. 3; vii. 3; ix. 1, 10; V. i. 5.

[2] No doubt identical with the Arbela, mentioned by Eusebius, in the district of Pella. Strange that the very name of the capital of the district should have perished, while the town of inferior note is still so strikingly marked!

water[3];" and the reiterated inquiry, "Is there water?" had now a deeper meaning than usual, and denoted an intensity of mental thirst. Alas! a tank of *mud*, black as ink, was the only answer to the question, the death-blow to our fondly-cherished hopes of an interesting discovery. That same evening, proceeding up the valley of the Jordan, on its east side, we passed near an ancient site, where we were informed there were extensive ruins; but as it was already dark we could not turn aside to examine them. From what I have since read in the travels of Captains Irby and Mangles, I am disposed to think that Pella must be looked for in this locality, now known among the natives as Tabathat Fahkil, which is thus described by those very intelligent gentlemen: "Here the ruins of a modern village stand on a hill bearing E. S. E. from the Acropolis of Bysan; and in a plain to the west of it are the ruins of a square building, with a semicircular end, which appears to have been surrounded by columns. On the east and south sides of the hill are considerable ruins of some ancient city, which must have been of great extent. The situation is beautiful, being on the side of a ravine, with a picturesque stream running at the bottom. As this place appears to be as ancient as Scythopolis, and full two-thirds of its size, it seems unaccountable that history should not mention a town so near 'the principal city of the Decapolis' as this is. We searched for inscriptions, but in vain. The ruins

[3] This is Pliny's description of its site, Nat. Hist. v. 16. Other notes are these: It was a city of the Decapolis (id.) in Cœle-Syria, (Ptolemy apud Steph.) in the northern extremity of Peræa, (Josephus, J. W. III. 2), and Jabesh lay between it and Gerash. (Euseb. Onom. sub vocc. Ἀριστώθ and Ἰάβις, and Procopius Gaz. Comment. in lib. Judicum.)

of a fine temple are situated near the water-side, and amongst the columns are found the three orders of architecture, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The river, passing to the south, falls into the Jordan. . . . . To the eastward we observed several excavations in the sides of the hills. These are probably the Necropolis, for there are several tombs in this direction resembling those at Bysan and Om Keis[1]."

The difficulty suggested in this passage will be obviated on the supposition above hazarded, while the correspondence of situation with that of Pella, and the "abundance of water," are a strong confirmation of this hypothesis; and it may be, that on a more minute inspection, the ruined temple, near the water, might prove to be a Christian church, there situated with a view to the supply of the baptistery. It is to be regretted that there is not the slightest affinity between the names.

It is important to remark, that the return of the Christians to Jerusalem is placed by all the ancient authorities immediately after the destruction by Titus, as the migration to Pella took place shortly before that event, because this interval has been sometimes unduly extended, and regarded as a hiatus in the chain of traditionary evidence relative to the holy places, sufficient to throw discredit on it altogether[2]. The unani-

[1] Cap. vi. Date, March 21.

[2] Thus Dr Robinson writing of the times after Hadrian, says, "*At this period, probably, if ever*, the former church of Jerusalem, which as a body is said to have withdrawn before the siege of Titus to Pella, beyond the Jordan, re-established itself in the new city." Bib. Res. II. p. 10. And Dr Münter, in a work which will be presently referred to, (inf. p. 205. n. 8.) says the same, and adds, that "Judas, the 15th Bishop, appears to have died in Pella." Sect. xxiv. p. 448. How

mity of the witnesses to the fact as here stated is, under the circumstances, very remarkable; for from this time forward there can be no question that the Holy City was inhabited from generation to generation by native Christians, who would be using in ordinary-day language the names of those localities in and about Jerusalem, which were consecrated by the awful events recorded in the gospels[3].

It has been already remarked, that the election of St James's successor took place at Jerusalem soon after its destruction; and this fact has been shewn to rest, not on the bare authority of Eusebius, as has been pretended, but on the much earlier testimony of Hegesippus, whose opportunities of collecting accurate information had been most favourable. The language

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this appears I do not know. It has been seen, that according to Eusebius, following Hegesippus, St Simeon was elected in Jerusalem soon after its destruction, and Epiphanius, declares in express words that the Christians returned from Pella after the catastrophe of Jerusalem. Inf. p. 206. n. 3.

[3] Speaking of the "*alleged* regular succession of bishops (at Jerusalem), from the time of St James to the reign of Hadrian," Dr Robinson says, "Eusebius, *the only authority* on the subject, lived two centuries afterwards; and *says expressly, that he had been able to find no document respecting them*, and wrote only from report." Bib. Res. Vol. II. p. 73. I pass by the passages quoted by Eusebius from Hegesippus, already referred to, and take only that on which Dr Robinson rests this assertion, *to which he directs us in a note.* Hist. Eccles. IV. 5: "*The space of time* which the bishops of Jerusalem spent in their presidency over that see, *I could in no wise find preserved in writing.* For, *as report says*, they were very short-lived: but THUS MUCH *I have been informed of from old records*, (ἐξ ἐγγράφων,) that unto the siege of the Jews in Hadrian's time, *there were in number fifteen successions of bishops* there;" and then he mentions other particulars *from these old records* respecting them, and gives their *names* and *order!* This will be referred to below. The remarks of Dr Keith on the same subject, (Land of Israel, p. 189), have much the character of very ignorant and somewhat vulgar *railing*, and do not pretend to argument. They are quite unworthy of him.

of this same writer is also quoted[1] for the martyrdom of St Simeon, which occurred in the reign of Trajan, when Atticus was president of Syria. On the accusation of certain heretics he was charged with being a son of David[2] and a Christian. Being subjected to various cruel tortures at the advanced age of 120 years, he bore them with such wonderful constancy for many successive days, that the president and those about him marvelled greatly. After which he glorified God by a death conformable to that of his Divine Master, whose patience he had followed.

St Simeon was succeeded in the government of the Church at Jerusalem by one Justus[3], of whose presidency we know little, except that at this time the Church, which had hitherto maintained its virgin purity, became corrupted by heretical depravity; a curse which it owed to the disappointed ambition of an unworthy candidate for the Apostolic chair[4]. From this period to the reign of Hadrian the records are very scanty[5], preserving only the names and orders of the episcopal succession, but furnishing no particulars of the individual bishops; it is sufficiently evident, however, that the presidency of each must have been of very short duration, from the fact of thirteen having held the perilous dignity, in the short space of thirty-five years[6]: and considering the excited state of the Jewish population

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[1] Hist. Eccles. III. 32.

[2] Compare Hist. Eccles. III. 20.

[3] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. 35.

[4] Hegesipp. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. 32, and IV. 22.

[5] Id. IV. 5.

[6] Viz. from the 3rd of Trajan, A. D. 101, when St Simeon was martyred, until about the 19th of Hadrian, (A. D. 136), when Marcus was elected; for it is self-evident that the uncertainty of Eusebius as to the duration of the presidency of the Jerusalem bishops, (see page 129, note[3]), relates *only* to those who followed St Simeon, whose martyrdom he places as above.

during that interval, and their bitter hatred of the Christians[7], it is far from improbable that the rapid succession may be accounted for by martyrdom, since the believers would meet with no protection from the Roman governors, or perhaps even be sacrificed by them as a peace-offering to the turbulent Jews.

But the time had now arrived when the infatuation of their enemies was to work an important revolution in their internal polity, the circumstances of which require a detailed notice[8].

It will be remembered, that on the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus had spared at least the three towers on the northern wall of Sion, and so much of the wall as encompassed the city on the west, for the protection of the Roman garrison, consisting of one legion, which he left to guard the ruins. The remainder of the city was wholly reduced to ruin, according to the testimony of Josephus; and it is very remarkable that, with this author in his hands, Eusebius should imagine that only half of the city was destroyed[9]. There can however be no question that, as soon as possible after the desolation, many Jews returned to

[7] The Jews were always observed to be more hostile to Christians than the heathens in apostolic times. See the passages collected from the New Testament, with remarks, in Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, in Ep. Galat. No. v. and 1 Thess. No. v., and the account of the martyrdom of St Polycarp, cap. 12. Patr. Apost. Vol. II. p. 592. Ed. Jacobson.

[8] For the Jewish war under Hadrian, I am largely indebted to a pamphlet by Dr Münter, late bishop of Copenhagen, a translation of which is published in the third part of Dr Robinson's Bibliotheca Sacra, pp. 393 to 455.

[9] Compare Joseph. J. W. VII. i. 1, and Euseb. Dem. Evan. VI. xviii. Yet his language in the Theophania would seem to imply a complete desolation. See xviii. p. 247. The state of the city during this period is ably discussed by C. E. Deyling, in a learned Treatise, entitled Æliæ Capitolinæ Origines et Historia, &c. which is appended to the Observationes Sacræ of his father. Vol. V. p. 433, &c.

settle on its ruins[1], as we have seen that the Christians also did; and accordingly when visited by the Emperor Hadrian, probably in the thirteenth year of his reign[2], he found a Christian Church with a few houses in its vicinity at the Cœnaculum on Mount Sion, and not far distant seven synagogues of the Jews—one of which remained even to the time of Constantine and the episcopacy of Maximus, as a tent in a vineyard. It was apparently at this time that the emperor conceived the idea of rebuilding the city, and left there his friend and kinsman Aquila, a native of Sinope in Pontus, and a pagan[3], to superintend the work. The miraculous gifts which had been continued in the Church on its return to Jerusalem after the desolation, convinced him of the truth of Christianity, and he was baptized; but being shortly after excommunicated for the practice of astrology, in which he persisted after frequent admonitions, he renounced the Christian profession, and turned in disgust to the Jews, among whom, having applied himself to the study of the Hebrew, he afterwards translated the Bible, with the design of weakening, as far as possible, the force of the predictions which go to establish the Messiahship of Jesus.

One design of Hadrian in rebuilding Jerusalem,

[1] Dr Münter, p. 416.

[2] A.D. 130. See Dr Münter, IX. p. 411, who shews that he was in Palestine in that year. For this visit, however, and its consequences, I follow Epiphanius, de Pond. et Mens. xiv. xv., except his dates. He makes Adrian visit Jerusalem 47 years after its destruction, i.e. A.D. 117, the first year of his reign. I am surprised that Dr Münter has not made more use of this author: in the only passage in which he mentions him he misrepresents him sadly, and then sneers at him: XXIV. p. 448. He refers what Epiphanius writes of Aquila to Marcus the bishop. For the dates see Clinton's F. R. in Ann. 129, 130, 131, Vol. I. pp. 114, 16, 20.

[3] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπαναστρέψαντες . . . σημεῖα μέγαλα ἐπετέλουν, κ. λ. Epiph. l. c.

which he proposed colonizing with Roman veterans, was, no doubt, to curb the turbulent spirit of the Jews, and to dissipate their hopes of a national restoration[4]. During the reign of his predecessor Trajan, their violence had broken forth in alarming revolts in Cyrenia first, then in Egypt, Palestine, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia; and the flame was only quenched in torrents of blood, after severe loss to the Romans[5]. Quenched indeed it was not; it did but smoulder in its ashes, to burst forth again with increased fury when new fuel was added. The contempt, amounting to abhorrence, in which the Jews were held by the Romans, served to exasperate their enmity even more than the recollection of what they had suffered from them; the annual tax of two drachmæ, once paid to the temple at Jerusalem, now exacted as the price of their religious liberty, and applied to the Capitoline Jupiter at Rome[6], could not fail to shock their religious feelings, and to keep alive the recollection of their calamities. But the idea of the Holy City being given up to the heathen; the possibility of the mountain of the Lord's House being polluted by an idol-image, it was intolerable; they resolved to risk all—to suffer all, as their fathers had done, rather than submit to such desecration[7]. The widely-organized conspiracy burst forth as in a moment, not only in Palestine, but in all parts of the Roman empire where Jews were located, so that almost the whole world was set in commotion by the revolt. Fifty fortified towns, and no fewer than nine hundred and eighty-five open

[4] Dr Münter, XI. p. 415.

[5] Ibid. III.—VII. 401—408.

[6] Joseph. J. W. VII. vi. 6; Dio, LXVI. vii. See Deyling, l. c. sect. xiii.

[7] Dr Münter, XII. p. 418. See Dio, quoted by Deyling, l. c. sect. xv. p. 468, n. l.

towns and villages in Judea and the neighbouring countries, were in the hands of the Jews, while the Romans, unprepared for such an emergency, had but their peace-establishment to oppose to them; so secretly had the revolt been concerted[1].

It was no time for weak measures on the part of the government. Severus, the most renowned general of the day, was summoned in haste from Britain; troops were poured into the country from all quarters, and a mortal struggle commenced. The insurrection was headed by Bar-Cochebas (the son of a Star[2]), a false Messiah, who was aided in his councils by a learned Rabbi, of the name of Akiba, a zealous proselyte; and well did they support their title to the positions which they respectively occupied. They had at an early period of the revolt possessed themselves of the capital, where they had attempted to rebuild the temple[3]. They were not driven out until the third year of the war, having, as it appears, lost their leader in the siege. But these calamities did not put an end to the revolt. Rufus, the son of Bar-Cochebas, succeeded his father

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[1] Dio, LXIX. xiv. See Dr Münter, XVII. p. 432.

[2] Justin Martyr, Apol. I. 316, quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. IV. viii., whose account of the war will be found in IV. vi. He adopts the sense of the leader's name as above given, as do most writers: בר־כוכבא, stellæ filius. The learned Reland suggests whether he may not have derived his name from a town in Bashan, mentioned by Epiphanius (Hæres. I. ii. 29,) which he writes Κωκάβη, but says the Hebrews called it Χωχάβη, (Eusebius writes it Κωχαβά, Hist. Eccles. I. vii.), which would exactly answer to the Hebrew name. Reland takes the בר to be equivalent to אִישׁ, so as to mean merely "a man of Cochaba." See Reland's Palest. pp. 727, 8.

[3] For this see St Chrysost. Orat. III. in Judæos, as quoted by Dr Münter, XVI. p. 431, n. 2. The authorities for the recovery of Jerusalem by the Romans are given XVIII. p. 434, notes. It was at this time probably that the foundations of the temple were ploughed up by Annius Rufus. Münter, XI. p. 418.

in the command, and the strongly fortified town of Bether afforded for some time a safe retreat to those who could effect their escape. Here they held out under Rufus and his son Romulus for nearly three years; when, worn out by famine, no less than by the attacks of the Romans, the city was captured with great bloodshed, and the ruin of this phœnix-like people again accomplished[4].

It is a great satisfaction to have it in my power to determine beyond all doubt the site of this important position[5], which has so long and so strangely baffled the search of the curious. I say strangely, because its situation in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Eusebius has taught us to look for it[6], the fact of its retaining its ancient name, *entirely unaltered—which has even found its way into the later maps*, and, lastly, the

[4] Dr Münter, XIX. XX., with the authorities—chiefly Jewish.

[5] It has sometimes been confounded with Bethoron. Reland shews the fallacy of this hypothesis, though he misplaces it himself. Palæst. p. 639. It seems to have been despaired of. Thus Dr Münter writes: "Its site is not yet determined; and indeed it will hardly be possible to ascertain it, until at some future day a more exact investigation of ruins, and perhaps of inscriptions bearing its name, shall bring it to light." XX. p. 439. So late as December 1843, Dr Robinson writes: "This mysterious city seems destined to baffle the efforts of historians and archæologists to determine its position; for all the data extant are too few and too indefinite to afford ground for more than some degree of probability." After pondering the question for some years, he is disposed to place it at Bethel! The ingenious arguments by which he seeks to establish this position are very characteristic. See Bib. Sac. p. 456, &c., in an appendix to Dr Münter's paper. See also Bib. Res. II. p. 6: "Strong but now unknown city:" and yet he had written in his map of the environs of Jerusalem, "Wady Bittîr," which he tells us is the Latin way of writing this very name. Bib. Sac. 456. It should be *Beitîr*, the Hebrew בֵּיתַר, as usual, being changed into the Arabic بيتر, of the same signification.

[6] Hist. Eccles. IV. vi. *κατὰ Βίθθηρα πόλιν ἥτις ἦν ὀχυρωτάτη, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα.*

local traditions existing among the native Mahometans—certainly not taught, because not known, by monks or travellers—contribute to form a chain of evidence for its identity stronger far than any I met with in Palestine, excepting such as I was prepared to expect. The importance of the subject will, I trust, excuse the digression and minute detail.

Having heard of the existence of a village in the vicinity of Jerusalem, whose name appeared of sufficient interest to justify a visit, I took with me a Mahometan guide, a peasant of 'Ain Karim, and on Friday the 28th of April, 1843, went in quest of Beitîr. Leaving the Convent of the Cross and 'Ain Malakh on the right, and Beit Safâfa and es-Sherafât on the left, I followed the deep Wady Hannîeh, until, after passing the Fountains of Yalo and Welleje, I found a valley running into it from the left, which comes down from the neighbourhood of Beit Jala. This last Wady derives its name from the village of which I was in quest, standing at the point of juncture of the two valleys[1]. The first feature that attracted my attention, as I approached the spot, was a lofty hill projecting into the valley, which surrounds it on three sides, attached to the modern village by a rocky isthmus. On this hill my guide pointed out *Khirbet el-Yehûd* (the "Ruins of the Jews"), of which he had volunteered mention

[1] I must refer to Dr Robinson's map of the environs of Jerusalem, which, however, can only be trusted in those parts marked by his tracks. For example, the following alterations must be made in the case before us. Wady Hannîeh, (distinct from Wady Beit-Hanîna), is a continuation of Wady el-Werd. It runs about W. S. W., until it receives Wady Beitîr from the S.E., a little *below* El-Welleje. Here it makes *an elbow*, in which stands the hill mentioned in the text, on a kind of promontory. The valley then continues its course in the same direction as before, under another name.

on the road. Following a track down which a copious stream of water was flowing, I came to a fountain which rises above the village, having a passage cut through the solid rock to the source. In this passage I found the Sheikh of the village, and immediately engaged his services. On inquiring if there were ruins in the neighbourhood, the Sheikh and several villagers who had congregated, with one voice repeated the welcome words "Khirbet el-Yehûd," pointing to the hill over against us. Under the guidance of the Sheikh I ascended to it, passing on the way some large caverns in its rocky sides, in some of which he said there was architecture; but they were blocked up, and I could not explore them. On reaching the summit of the hill, my guide conducted me, without the slightest hesitation to the ruins of "a tower" on the north, near which he pointed out the remains of an "old wall," which he told me had surrounded the hill. There was also a "second tower" on the south side, the ruins of which are very distinct, though the masonry is not striking, but solid; and beneath this he directed my attention to "*a fosse*," which had been contrived by art for the fortification of this remarkable position. Surrounded by the almost precipitous valley on three sides, the hill was by nature impregnable, except on the south, where, as was said, it was attached to the modern village and the mountain-region above it by a rocky isthmus. This isthmus had been *cut through, and a deep trench* formed, to guard the approaches in that quarter; and a stronger position for ancient warfare can scarcely be imagined. Having explored the spot for some time, and made my notes, I was well satisfied with the result of my visit, and was about to

commence the descent, when the Sheikh pointed to the hills behind the modern village, rising to about the same height as that on which we stood, and remarked, "They shot at them from that hill." "Who shot at whom?" I inquired. "Oh! I don't know," he replied; "it was a long while ago. How should I know?"

Strange that the tradition of the siege by the Romans should have been handed down to this day, in this vague form, among the infidels! for there are none but Mahometans in the village, and the Greek monks at Jerusalem, to whom I afterwards mentioned the facts, knew scarcely of the existence of the village, much less of its traditions. The site is more circumscribed than I had expected to find it; the wall which surrounded the hill could scarcely have exceeded a mile in circuit, but this difficulty may be solved by the supposition of the town having covered the hill on whose side the modern village now stands, and to which the isolated hill would form the acropolis. The traditions of the rabbies respecting the extent of Bether are no doubt absurdly exaggerated[1], but it is incredible that its whole population should have been so long cooped up within such narrow limits as those above described. Whatever solution may be offered to this difficulty, I do not apprehend that any objections can avail to set aside the evidence which has now been adduced for the identity of this site with the Bether of Jewish history; and I have as little doubt that the high region to the

[1] "It had, say they, from 4 to 500 synagogues, in each 400 teachers, and in the smallest 300 scholars; or, according to others, each teacher had to instruct 400 children." Dr Münter, p. 440. See note 2, on the same page, for other "specimens of rabbinical histories," (as Dr M. calls them), relating to Bether.

south of this, which I afterwards traversed on the way to El Khûdr, is described by Solomon in the Canticles as the "Mountains of Bether[2];" as the valley which bounds it on the east is still called by that name.

Here then the last tragedy of the Jewish war under Hadrian was enacted; here the grandson of Bar-Cochebas with many of his compatriots lost his life, while Rabbi Akiba, with thousands of his deluded followers, fell into their enemies' hands. The former was executed, and with him, says the Mishna, vanished the glory of the law; the latter were sold for slaves under the terebinth of their father Abraham, at Hebron, or at Gaza, which hence received the name of Hadrian's Mart[3], while the remainder were transported to the slave-markets of Egypt, and thence dispersed throughout the world.

From this time forth the unhappy people were forbidden all access to "the city of their fathers' sepulchres," and were not even permitted to feast their eyes with a distant view of its sacred hills[4], until the rigour of the law was somewhat abated under Constantine, and they were allowed at first to breathe their sighs towards it from the surrounding heights, and afterwards to water it with their tears on one day in the year[5]. Not

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[2] Cant. ii. 17.

[3] Dr Münter, xx. to xxiii.; Bib. Sac. 438—446.

[4] The authorities, as given by Dr Münter, are Justin Martyr, Apol. i. xlvii. Dial. xvi.; Aristo of Pella, apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. vi.; Tertullian, adv. Jud. c. xv.; Euseb. Demonst. Evang. viii. 18, and Chron Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Sac. ii. xlv.

[5] The prohibition was in full force when Eusebius wrote his Theophania, A.D. 312. He not only says that "they were not allowed to set a foot in it:" but, "cannot view it even from a distance." p. 249. But when the Bordeaux pilgrim visited the city, A.D. 333, the annual visit was permitted. Itin. Hierosol. See also St Jerome's Comment. in Sophoniam, cap. i. Op. Vol. iii. p. 1655.

that there was much during this period to attract the Jewish pilgrim to the Holy City, desecrated as it now was by all that was calculated to disgust their natural prejudices, exhibiting as it did all the marks of a pagan city, in its magnificent dwellings adapted to ideas of Roman luxury[1], with a theatre and other public buildings, and, worst of all, idol-temples, one of which occupied the Temple-mount, in realization of their worst apprehensions; while the very name by which it was now called would perpetuate the memory of their calamities and of its desecration, by uniting the prænomen of their conqueror with the title of his god; a name conferred on it by the Emperor on occasion of the celebration of his vicennalia in the year 136.

But the Christian Church of Ælia Capitolina will now demand our notice.

During the troublous period of the Jewish revolt the Christian population had suffered severely from the insatiable malice of the insurgents. Bar-Cochebas would first have persuaded them to make common cause with his party, against their foreign lord; but besides that they had learnt to be subject to the powers that be, "not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake," they had no reason to hope that the Jewish domination would be less opposed to their interests than that of their Roman masters; but rather the reverse. Their refusal to take part in the revolt sub-

[1] Dr Münter, XXIV. Bib. Sac. p. 445, and the authorities there referred to. As to the swine which, according to St Jerome, (in Euseb. Chron.) was sculptured over the Bethlehem gate, it is doubtful whether its design was to insult the Jews. As they were never to be permitted to see it, it could hardly have had that intention. Dositheus, Lib. I. cap. viii. sect. 5, gives a choice of solutions. See also Deyling, de Æliæ Capit. Orig. &c. xxiii.

jected them to most cruel tortures[2], until the arrival of the Roman army, by diverting the thoughts of their persecutors, afforded them some relief.

Whether they retired from this storm as before, does not appear; but as Jerusalem was not the principal scene of this war, it is not improbable that they resided there throughout. In any case, they certainly were there soon after the termination of the struggle, and then it was that an important change was made in their polity. The suspicion of Judaism which attached to the Christian profession in the minds of the Romans, was so much confirmed by the peculiar practices of that Church, that its members could scarcely expect not to be identified with the Jews in the prohibition which has been mentioned. From the times of the Apostles until this period the Hebrew converts at Jerusalem had united the Christian profession with the observance of the ceremonial law, and circumcision had been considered as an indispensable qualification for the Episcopal chair. Under these circumstances it may be readily imagined that a Pagan Emperor would regard the Jerusalem Church as an offshoot of the synagogue, however he might have been taught by the apologists to distinguish between Jews and Christians generally. The Hebrews resolved to obviate the difficulty by relinquishing their peculiarity, and Marcus, a believer from among the Gentiles, was elected to the chair of St James[3].

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[2] Justin Martyr, Apol. I. 316, quoted by Eusebius, IV. vi.

[3] "Christiani ex Judæis potissimum putabantur namque tum Hierosolymæ non nisi ex circumcisione habebat ecclesia sacerdotem. . . . Tum primus Marcus ex gentibus, apud Hierosolymam episcopus fuit." Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. Lib. II. Compare Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. vi. apud fin.

An observation of an old historian will fitly introduce a few remarks on this important epoch in the annals of the Church at Jerusalem. It is Sulpicius Severus, who, recording these events, introduces the observation that "this happened by the Divine disposal, in order that the liberty of the Church's faith might be no longer subject to the yoke of the law[1]."

The admission of the Gentiles as such to a full participation in the privileges of the New Covenant, which had been repeatedly declared by the Prophets of the old dispensation, would appear to be one of the truths reserved by our blessed Lord, in condescension to the present weakness of His apostles[2]. Not but that it was more than hinted at, at a very early period of His Personal Ministry[3]; and afterwards more clearly taught, at least to our perception, by many striking parables[4]. But when we consider the strong national prejudices with which His disciples had to contend, it is not perhaps strange that they should have failed to apprehend His full meaning, especially as it does not appear that He thought fit to interpret any such parables even to them. It is perhaps more remarkable that His last parting precept, distinct as it was, did not remove the veil from their understanding[5], and that even the first gift of the Holy Spirit did not suffice for this revelation, for still they confined their preaching to

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[1] "Quod quidem Christianæ fidei proficiebat. . . . Nimirum id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis servitus a libertate fidei atque ecclesiæ tolleretur." Ibid.

[2] John xvi. 12.

[3] His discourse with the woman of Samaria and the preaching to the Samaritans. John iv. 23, &c.

[4] *e.g.* The labourers in the vineyard, Matt. xx. 1, &c.; the unthankful husbandmen, xxi. 33, &c.; the marriage-supper, xxii. 1, &c.; the prodigal son, Luke xv. 11, &c.

[5] Matt. xxviii. 19.

the circumcision only[6]; so that the proselytes of the gate were not supposed to be admissible until an express intimation to that effect had been given to St Peter[7]. It was subsequent to this that a fresh revelation made known to the Church the astounding truth, that not even so much preparation was required for the acceptance of the Gospel tidings, that the synagogue was to be from henceforth in no sense the door of entrance to the Church, but that all whose "hearts were opened" might pass at once from the idol-temple to "the house of the living God"—from the worship of devils to the service of Christ[8]. No marvel that perplexing questions should arise on such a revolution, and that the conflict with old principles and prejudices and antipathies should agitate the whole body, when in the first instance it had been thought advisable to withhold the truth from the generality of believers[9]. The Apostles, no doubt, received the intelligence with joy, as the whole Church had done when the door of faith had been opened to the devout Gentiles[10]; but all were not actuated by the same fervent love; all had not learnt, as they had, to bring every "thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ." The Judaizing teachers, with all the busy perverseness of later heretics, sowed dissensions in all the apostolic Churches, by their attempts to impose upon them the yoke of the ceremonial law, and rendered necessary the Council at Jerusalem[11]. This Council, however, confined itself

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[6] Acts xi. 19.

[7] Acts x. xi.

[8] See the terms of amazement in which this "mystery" is spoken of by the Apostle as a new "revelation." Eph. iii. 2—10; compare Rom. xvi. 25, 26; Col. i. 25—27; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

[9] Gal. ii. 2.

[10] Acts xi. 18. Compare xv. 3.

[11] Acts xv. &c. &c.

strictly to the question then brought before it, and its determination affected the Gentiles only; no opinion whatever being pronounced as to the obligation of ceremonial observances on the Hebrew converts. Perhaps the time had not arrived, or the Apostles were instructed that Jerusalem was not the place for the discussion of such a subject. It cannot however admit of a doubt that St Paul did promulgate the nullity of such observances for all religious purposes, to Jews as well as Gentiles, although in certain instances he tolerated them so long as no undue importance was attached to them[1]. The circumstances of the Church at Jerusalem, composed as it was of zealous adherents to the law, rendered a greater measure of forbearance advisable there; and St Paul himself, on his occasional visits, conformed to the practice of his brethren in that city, becoming "a Jew to the Jews, that he might gain the Jews." In like manner the other Apostles, when without the limits of that diocese, laid aside "the yoke from which Christ had set them free," but to which they voluntarily submitted rather than put a stumbling-block in the way of their weaker brethren[2]. They wished that the law should die a natural death; they saw that it had "decayed and waxen old, and was ready to vanish away[3];" and when they considered the

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[1] Acts xvi. 3. and xxi. 26. See Paley's remarks on these passages, Horæ Paulinæ in Ep. Gal. No. VII. and again, No. X. 3. Also Bp. Bull, Sermon 5, Vol. I. p. 113.

[2] Galat. ii. 12. See St Chrysostom's Commentary on this Epistle, in which he always speaks of the practice of the Church at Jerusalem as a condescension of the Apostles to the weakness of the believers, "of permission, and not of commandment," as a prudential measure (οἰκονομία,) to avoid scandal to their weaker brethren, wishing to draw them away by degrees from the law.

[3] Hebrews viii. 13.

example of their Divine Master, the Promulgator of the Law no less than of the Gospel, and its Fulfilment also, they had abundant authority for the course which they pursued, independently of the Divine light that was in them. Meanwhile the Hebrew converts were weaned from their fond attachment to the "schoolmaster" by the exhibition of the great truth that Christ had become "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth[4];" that the appointed time of tutelage was past, and the children were no longer "in bondage under the elements of the world[5];" for that the type had given way to "the Truth;" the shadow to the substance; the "circumcision of the flesh," to the "circumcision made without hands;" Sinai to Mount Sion—but not the mount Sion at Jerusalem, since the earthly Jerusalem itself had given place to that of which it is written "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the Mother of us all[6]." And this teaching of the holy Apostles was followed up by their coadjutors and immediate successors[7].

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[4] *e. g.* in His attendance at the feasts, John ii. 13, 23; v. 1; vii. 2, 10, &c; x. 22; in His observance of the Levitical ordinances, as shewn by His charge to the lepers, whom He cleansed, Matt. viii. 4; Luke vi. 14; xvii. 14, &c; to the multitude, in Matt. xxiii. 2, 3; and by his payment of the temple-due, Matt. xvii. 24—27. It is a happy illustration of St Augustin. Ep. 82. al. 19: The law was *dead*, it was to be honourably *buried*. This whole epistle, as indeed the whole controversy of which it forms a part, has an important bearing on this question.

[5] Galat. iii. 24, 25; Rom. x. 4. See this Epistle at large, especially the striking figure in vii. 1—4, where the argument is; The Hebrews were first married to the Law: on the coming of the Gospel the Law died; and they were consequently freed from their obligation to it, and at liberty to "be married to another." Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 2.

[6] Galat. iv. 26. See this Epistle and that to the Hebrews at large, for the law (not abrogated but) *fulfilled* in Christ and His people, as is more fully set forth in a Sermon by the author, preached at Jerusalem in 1843. Serm. XVIII. p. 252.

[7] It will be enough to mention St Barnabas and St Hermas. The epistle

Yet the destruction of Jerusalem did not convince the members of the Hebrew Church of their dispensation from legal observances. On their return from their brief sojourn in Peræa, they proceeded to elect to the vacant chair of St James a strict observer of the ceremonial ritual; and if it be true, as Hegesippus affirms, that the surviving Apostles assisted at this solemnity, the continuance of such practices in the Church would have, so far, the highest earthly sanction[1]. In what light its further continuance was regarded by the Catholic body does not appear; for it happens that the historian to whom we owe the records of their Church was himself one of the circumcision[2], and consequently not an impartial witness, even had he pronounced a judgment upon it, which he does not seem to have done, further than to state that the Church maintained its virgin purity until the election of its third Bishop, probably at the commencement of the second century; when it was corrupted by the errors of one of the seven sects of the Jews; at which time there was an innumerable company of circumcised believers in communion with it[3].

It was not however strange that the second Jewish war, accompanied as it was by the almost entire annihilation or dispersion of that nation, and followed by the prohibition which has been already noticed, should appear to them in the light in which we have seen it was regarded by a later historian; as intimating the abrogation of the Old Covenant, with all its carnal ordinances.

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of the former, considered in connection with Galat. ii. 13, &c., is very remarkable. It looks like an act of repentance.

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. III. xi. IV. v.

[2] Ibid. IV. xxii.

[3] Ibid. III. xxxv.

And they acted upon this intimation in the election of Marcus, the sixteenth in succession from St James.

It was perhaps to be expected that this measure, however approved by the majority, as its actual adoption shows that it was, would scandalize some who were "otherwise minded," and if these latter were self-willed as they were weak[4], they would manifest their disgust, as others from various causes had already done, by breaking the unity of the Church, and separating themselves from their Christian brethren. Thus it came to pass; and the sect of the Nazarenes was the offspring of this unhappy division.

In what light these sectaries were regarded by the generality of believers no long time after this schism, we ascertain from a passage in Justin Martyr's Dialogue, (cir. A. D. 150) which is interesting on more accounts than one[5]. The Jew had proposed a question touching the salvability of those who lived under the law; and the Christian had professed his belief that they would be saved, in like manner as those who lived before the law, through the merits of Christ, on Whose essential Divinity and proper Humanity he takes occasion to dwell. The next question is more perplexing; whether they who desire to observe the law that was given by Moses, believing at the same time in Jesus who was crucified, acknowledging Him to be the Christ of God, to Whom the judgment of all is committed, and Whose is the everlasting kingdom—whether such an one can

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[4] See Phil. iii. 15, and the context, where St Paul speaks of the renunciation of the law as a mark of perfection; the contrary, as weakness and blindness.

[5] It contains one of the strongest testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of our blessed Lord. See Dial. sect. 45, &c. pp. 140, seqq. Paris Ed. 1742.

be saved? The Christian apologist, naturally unwilling to pronounce an opinion on those whom the Church had not judged, at first seemed desirous to evade the question, and would have returned to the point which they were before discussing; but being pressed for a reply, he returned a guarded answer in the affirmative, as expressing his own private opinion, but not at all as implying a general consent of the Church. This was observed by Trypho, and the question which he next propounded brought out the whole truth. "Why do you say," he asks, "I think that such will be saved, unless there be some who deny that they can?" Justin grants that such is the case. There are those who would not even venture to hold communication with such on any terms of intimacy, with whom he does not agree; for if there be any who, through weakness of mind, observe the Mosaic ordinances as far as they can, after they have hoped in Christ;—so long as they continue in the practice of the moral precepts of piety, and in Christian fellowship with their brethren from among the Gentiles, without compelling them to be circumcised, or to conform in other respects to the Mosaic law, having the same compassion and affection for them notwithstanding—for his part, he thinks it probable that such will be saved: But for those, who, not satisfied with bearing the yoke themselves, seek to impose it upon others, and refuse to hold communion with those who will not conform to their practices, of such he can acknowledge no such thing. It is apparent then that at this time there were shades of opinion on both sides relative to the practices in question; that their observance was regarded as a weakness by all, even the most moderate of the orthodox, but was not supposed

by these to vitiate the purity of the Christian profession, so long as it was attended by no breach of charity[1]: while, on the other hand, the Judaizers differed as to the limits which they should assign to their ceremonial strictness—some refusing to acknowledge as brethren any but those who thought with them, while the more moderate were satisfied to act upon their own principles, without respect to the practices of others. This latter section would, no doubt, in a short time be absorbed into the orthodox or dissenting body, and finally disappear; while the vicious extreme of this error would probably lead on to heretical opinions, as all declension from truth is likely to do. Had the work of Clemens Alexandrinus, whose title has been preserved by Eusebius[2], continued to our days, we might have seen the progress of this schismatical body, giving birth to a yet more vicious progeny, and gradually preparing itself for the unenviable distinction of being enrolled under the

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[1] Origen uses the same lenity towards these weak brethren, Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x. apud init. Elsewhere, when defending the Hebrew Christians from the imputation of having deserted the law of their fathers, he distinguishes them into three classes. 1. Those who had forsaken the rites of the law, under the idea that they were to be explained allegorically 2. Those who interpreted them spiritually, yet did not forsake their literal observance. 3. Those who observed them seeing only their literal sense. (Cont. Celsum, Lib. II. sect. 1—3. Op. Vol. I. p. 388. Ed. Bened.) These would answer respectively to the τέλειοι, the ἑτέρως φρονοῦντες, or ἄσθενες, and the αἱρεσιῶται.

[2] "The Ecclesiastical Canon; or, against those who Judaized." Hist. Eccles. VI. xiii. alluded to below, p. 228. The doubt expressed by Epiphanius as to the time of the rise of the Nazarene heresy, seems to imply that it developed itself gradually. It is scarcely correct to say that Epiphanius is the first to enrol them as formal heretics; for there cannot be the slightest doubt that the second division of the Ebionites, noticed and condemned by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. III. xxvii. are the same as were afterwards distinguished by the appellation of Nazarenes. His account of their tenets agrees entirely with that given in the text from Epiphanius, Hæres. I. ii. No. 29.

head of formal heresies, as it is reckoned by Epiphanius in the fourth century, whose account of them is worth transcribing as representing the judgment of the Church at that period. He describes them as "in all respects Jews and nothing else, for they have not renounced the law, nor do they differ from them on any point except that they believe in Christ. They confess the resurrection of the dead, and the creation of the universe by God; they profess one God and Jesus Christ His Son; they are learned in the Hebrew, and read the sacred books in that language, as do the Jews. But they differ from Jews and also from Christians[1]—from the Jews, in that they believe in Christ; from Christians, in that they are still bound to the law, to circumcision, sabbaths, and other rites. As to their belief in Christ, he cannot say whether they consider Him a mere man, as the Cerinthians, or acknowledge that He was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, as in truth He was[2]. This heresy is found in the country of Peræa in Cœle-Syria; for there it had its commencement." And yet he observes, "they cannot fulfil the law of which they make their boast; for the law being brought to an end, and its observance rendered impossible, it is evident to all persons of sense that Christ has come to fulfil the law: 'not to destroy, but to fulfil;' and to remove the curse denounced against the transgression of its precepts, and has given us more blessed gifts than the legal ordinances."

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[1] So St Jerome: "Dum volunt et Judæi esse et Christiani, nec Judæi sunt nec Christiani." Epist. LXXX.

[2] Eusebius says they were sound on this point. Hist. Eccles. l. c. and Le Quien, in his seventh Dissertation prefixed to his edition of Joannes Damascenus, p. xcii—xcvii. has vindicated their orthodoxy by citations from St Jerome. See also the first of the two classes of Ebionites in Origen. Cont. Cels. Lib. v. sect. 61. p. 625.

"How then," he concludes, "have they not fallen from the grace of God, when St Paul says, 'If ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing'? But it is easy to detect and refute such as these, since they are Jews, and nothing else. Yet the Jews hate them thoroughly, and curse them in their synagogues thrice a day, and are the more opposed to them because that, being of the Jews, they preach that Jesus is the Christ; a doctrine most hateful to those Jews who as yet believe not." This is nearly the last notice we have of them as an existing sect. Probably it shared the fate of other heresies, and became extinct soon after, to reappear again, it may be, at some subsequent period of the Church's history, as has been the case with so many exploded perversions of Christian truth.

To return now to the Church of Ælia. Eusebius, who could consult the succession of the bishops, carefully preserved in all the ancient Churches, has handed down to us the names and the order of those who occupied the See during the interval that elapsed between the reign of Hadrian and the accession of Commodus; but their annals apparently exhibited nothing worth preserving[3]. The notices of Narcissus are very frequent, and full of interest; he seems to have occupied that See for many years, and to have taken an active part in the discussion of the questions which agitated the Church at this period. He presided, jointly with Theophilus of Cæsarea, in the Council of Palestine, assembled to consider the controverted point relating to the observance of Easter, wherein the tradition of the churches of Asia differed from that of the rest of the

[3] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. xii.

world[1]; the former concluding their fast on the fourteenth day of the Paschal moon, on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall, quoting the authority of those great lights which had shone so brightly in their candlesticks before them, for this mode of reckoning; while the remainder with one consent agreed in what is now universally practised, the termination of the Lenten fast only on the day of the weekly commemoration of our Lord's Resurrection next following the fourteenth.

The miracles of Narcissus had been handed down by the Christians of his diocese in uninterrupted succession until the times of Eusebius, and one is mentioned by that author. It was on the great Vigils of the Feast of Easter, when oil was wanting for the Church, and the drawers were greatly perplexed, that he ordered them to draw water out of the nearest well, which, being consecrated by his prayers, and "poured into the lamps with sincere faith in the Lord, contrary to all reason and expectation, by a miraculous and Divine power, was changed into the fatness of oil." Another scarcely less remarkable story related of the Bishop would indeed prove that he was under the especial protection of his Divine Master. It runs as follows: Three worthless wretches, moved with hatred at his blameless life, and dreading his ecclesiastical censures, which they were conscious that they deserved, had agreed together to ruin the fair fame of this excellent man, by propagating some grievous calumny reflecting on his moral character. They were rash enough to imprecate most fearful curses on themselves in confirmation of their false accusations; and the peculiar curses which they had named suddenly

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. xxiii. xxv.

came upon them: one was *consumed by fire*, the second *wasted with some loathsome disease*, the third, being alarmed into confession by the terrible fate of his two accomplices, and visited with compunction and remorse, wept himself *blind*—the curse which he had invoked. But, although the holy man was thus wonderfully vindicated in the sight of his flock, which indeed had never given heed to the calumnies of his accusers, he could not endure the severe shock, but, availing himself of this opportunity of embracing a solitary life, which he had long pined for, he retired from the direction of the Church, and hid himself so effectually that no one could discover his retreat.

It was judged necessary in this emergency to appoint him a successor, and the Bishops of the neighbouring Churches proceeded to elect Dius to the vacant office[2]; Germanio and Gordius followed next in order, when, during the presidency of the latter, Narcissus again appeared, and was reinstated in his former dignity by universal consent. He was considerably advanced in years, when he was warned in a vision to call Alexander, a Cappadocian Bishop, to a participation in the episcopal government of his Diocese. This Prelate had come to Jerusalem, "both to offer his prayers there, and to visit the holy places;" for pilgrimages date as far back at least as this time, and most of the eminent Fathers of this century had visited the sacred localities.

It was this Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, who, conjointly with Theoctistus of Cæsarea, the most approved and most famous of all the Prelates in Palestine,

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[2] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VI. ix.

admitted Origen[1] to the order of priesthood; an act which certainly involved a breach of ecclesiastical discipline, and was no small injury to Demetrius of Alexandria, in whose Church he had served as catechist, which might justly excite his indignation; but as Eusebius appears to approve of the conduct of the Palestine Bishops in this matter, it would be scarcely safe to pronounce judgment upon a question of such moment, without far more light than we can have on the subject.

The friendship which Alexander contracted with Origen on this occasion was kept up by means of correspondence; and Eusebius has preserved to us an extract from a letter of the former, to, "his most excellent lord and brother," which informs us that he was also on terms of intimacy with two other great lights of the Egyptian Church—"the truly blessed Pantænus, his master, and the honoured Clemens, his master, who also profited him much[2]." And it was an interesting token of respect and affection in the latter, exhibiting one of those traits of courteous consideration which refresh us so frequently in the pages of the Church's early history, that he should dedicate his "Ecclesiastical Canon, a work against those who judaized," to Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, whose flock would be most in danger from the error which he therein combated, and whose hands and heart would require to be strength-

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[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VI. viii. See the note of Valesius, cap. xxiii. I will only remark that the apologist of Origen was scarcely likely to deal fair measure to his opponents. There were probably, as in most quarrels, faults on both sides; Origen must have been more than mortal not to have been puffed up with his popularity:—Demetrius, not to have regarded with jealousy the celebrity of his learned and laborious catechist.

[2] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VI. xiv.

ened, and his testimony confirmed, by another and so able a witness.

For many years did Narcissus and his coadjutor continue in the joint administration of the Church of Ælia, until the former had attained the very advanced age of a hundred and sixteen, an age at which he could serve the Church more effectually by his prayers and exhortations to charity and loving agreement, like St John at Ephesus, than in the more active duties of his office, which he delegated entirely to his junior[3].

One work of Alexander, by which he conferred a lasting benefit on the Church, and merited the gratitude of all posterity, must not be passed over in silence; the erection of a library at Jerusalem, from the materials of which Eusebius drew so largely for his Ecclesiastical History; especially, it would seem, from the collections of correspondence between eminent ecclesiastics, which form so important and interesting a portion of his work, and which the founder of this library had been most careful to preserve[4].

How long he administered the affairs of the diocese alone does not appear, since no notice is taken of the death of Narcissus; but it was his privilege to wear on earth a "crown of glory," "a hoary head found in the way of righteousness," in preparation for a martyr's crown. He had been distinguished, many years before, in the persecution under Severus[5], and was reserved to witness a good confession in the reign of Decius, before the governor at Cæsarea of Palestine[6]. His departure

[3] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VI. xi.

[4] Ibid. VI. xiv.

[5] Ibid. VI. viii. In his Chronicon he places this confession in the 12th year of Severus, the second of the persecution.

[6] Hist. Eccles. VI. xxix.

is noted with beautiful simplicity by his brother of Alexandria: "Blessed Alexander, being in prison, there died a happy death[1]."

He was succeeded by Mazabanes, during whose presidency the Churches of the East enjoyed an interval of repose from outward persecution and internal strife; which however was not destined to be of long duration. But this bishop, of whom we know only that he was one of the most eminent Prelates of his day[2], was taken away from the evil to come, and the vacant See was filled by Hymenæus, whose fame was fresh in the days of Eusebius[3]. His name appears second in the list of those eminent champions of orthodoxy who assembled at Antioch in the reign of Aurelian to condemn the heresy of Paul of Samosata, who had lately been appointed bishop in the Syrian capital. He was the first ecclesiastic of eminence that dared to propagate the blasphemous doctrine of Artemas, revived in these latter days by Socinus, of the simple humanity of our adorable Lord. The earlier heresies relating to His Sacred Person had gone to the *denial* of His proper humanity: To call in question His Divinity was a later impiety. The "pestiferous novelties" were condemned, as might be supposed, by universal consent and with extreme horror, and the bishop branded as a renegade "who had denied his Lord and his God, and kept not the faith which he formerly professed;" being as vicious in his life as he was corrupt in his doctrine. After insidious promises of retractation, and various attempts at evasion, in the

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[1] Dionysius apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VI. xxxviii. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μακάριος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν φρουρᾷ γενόμενος, μακαρίως ἀνεπαύσατο.

[2] Dionysius. Ibid. VII. v.

[3] Euseb. Ibid. VII. xiv.

true spirit of heretical sophistry, he was finally excommunicated and deprived by the sentence of the Synod, which was ratified by an imperial edict; the miscreant having appealed to the pagan power against the authority of the Church[4]!

On the death of Hymenæus, Zambdas entered upon the government of the Church at Ælia, and was shortly succeeded by Hermon, the last of those before the Diocletian persecution[5], an era in the history of Palestine at which we have now arrived; but the circumstances of which, as relating rather to the Church in general, than to Jerusalem in particular, will be but very briefly noticed in these pages.

The peace and prosperity which the Church had for some years enjoyed, had, according to the testimony of Eusebius, fostered a spirit of carelessness and sloth, which loudly called for correction; and the unity of the body of Christ was torn by factions and unholy divisions[6]: add to which, we may well suppose that the wrath of the great adversary of the Church would wax the more fierce, "because he knew that he had but a short time[7]." It was in the nineteenth year of Diocletian's reign, the three hundred and fifth of the Christian era, that this terrible sifting began[8]. In the month of March, towards the feast of Easter, the first edict was published at Nicomedia, for the total demolition of the churches, for the degradation of such Christians as held any honourable appointments, and for enslaving such private persons as persisted in the profession of the Gospel. Shortly after another decree threw all the prelates of

[4] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VII. xxvii-xxx.

[5] Ibid. xxxii.

[6] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. VIII. i.

[7] Rev. xii. 12.

[8] Hist. Eccles. VIII. ii., &c.

the Church in prison, and subjected to the most cruel tortures such as refused to sacrifice to idols. Then the persecution became general; neither age nor sex was respected, and every refinement of cruelty that malice could invent was practised against the martyr-host. The dreadful enumeration may be spared; the historian, who enters much into detail, declares that no expressions could describe the scenes. The West enjoyed comparative peace throughout, under the mild sway of Constantius and his son in Britain, but the eastern provinces were deluged with blood. Egypt and Palestine were distinguished above all others for the severity of the trial and the constancy of the sufferers; and Eusebius, who was an eyewitness of the persecutions at Cæsarea, has recorded them in a separate work[1]. The tyrant Maximinus presided in person on several occasions at the bloody spectacles in this city[2].

The proto-martyr was a native of Ælia[3], but a servant of the Church of Scythopolis; nor do we read of any inhabitants of the former city being called to glorify God by their death at this time, except one venerable deacon of the name of Valens, whose knowledge of the holy Scriptures was so perfect that he could repeat whole pages of any part of the sacred Volume from memory as accurately as if he had been reading from a book. This grey-haired saint was crowned with martyrdom in company with Pamphilus, a presbyter of the Church of Cæsarea[4], whose name is so well known in connection with his affectionate disciple, who loved to associate it with his own as a surname.

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[1] Martyrs of Palestine.

[2] Cap. vi.

[3] See the Passion of St Procopius in a note of Valesius to the Martyrs of Palestine, cap. i.

[4] Martyrs of Palestine, cap. xi.

But there is a singular relation concerning one citizen, not of Ælia, but of Jerusalem, which it will be proper to record, for several reasons. During the heat of the persecution, five Egyptians who had accompanied some of their brethren to the mines in Cilicia, while on their return to their own county, were apprehended at the gates of Cæsarea and committed to prison; the chief of these, in his examination before the judge, was questioned as to his name. He had assumed, instead of his pagan name, the appellation of one of the old prophets, to represent, as the historian writes, "that he belonged to the true and genuine Israel of God, those who are Jews inwardly." He was next questioned as to his country. "Jerusalem is my country," was the reply, meaning that Jerusalem of which St Paul speaks, "but Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all;" and "ye are come to mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." The judge, having never heard of such a city, was very inquisitive as to its situation, and tortures were applied to elicit the truth. The courageous martyr persisted in his declaration, and added moreover that "it was their country only who were God's worshippers; none but they should enter it, and it was situated eastward towards the sun-rising." No torments could shake his resolution, and he was delivered over to the executioner.

The narrative is instructive as demonstrating, first, how entirely the very memorial of the ancient name of Ælia had perished, when it was so strange to the Roman procurator of Palestine, that he thought it must be a city which the Christians were erecting in defiance of the government; and secondly, as proving how fully the Christian's mind was imbued with the persuasion that

the earthly type had been superseded by the heavenly reality.

It was under the same idea that shortly after, when the Holy City had been adorned with churches and rendered illustrious as a Christian capital, it was called "the New Jerusalem;" a name by which it is commonly known among Church-historians from the period of the Emperor Constantine, which will next demand our notice.

The persecution had somewhat abated in violence in the eighth year[1], owing to the manifest judgments of God on Galerius, who had been chiefly instrumental in instigating his colleagues to these barbarities; and who when visited by a complication of most loathsome diseases, which terminated in his death, recalled these sanguinary edicts. But the effect of this decree was nullified by Maximinus[2], who was still unsatiated with blood; and it was not until the tenth year that it wholly ceased. This blessed change was first effected by the successes of Constantine and Licinius against Maxentius in the west, and Maximinus in the east; and the peace of the Church was established on a firm basis by imperial edicts proclaiming universal toleration[3]; and requiring the restoration of all the lands and property of the Catholic Church which had been confiscated in former reigns. The privileges and immunities accorded to the Church by the liberality of the first Christian Emperor, and the blessed effects which speedily ensued, cannot here be dwelt on; it will be enough to particularize that act which has invested Jerusalem with its chief interest from that time to the present; the reco-

[1] Hist. Eccles. VIII. xvi. xvii. [2] Ibid. IX. i., &c. [3] Ibid. X. v.

very[4] of the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, and the erection of the Basilica of the Resurrection. But it will be necessary to preface the narrative with some preliminary remarks.

It is usual, when several historians differ one from another in their relation of the same event, to endeavour to reconcile the discrepancies, by considering how far the facts recorded by later writers may be merely amplifications of the earlier statements, and not to reject such additions until they are proved to be inconsistent with the testimony of the most credible witnesses. It would be difficult to assign any sufficient reason for departing from this mode of proceeding in the present case; and there can be no doubt that, if a matter of only common interest were in question, the various facts recorded by the several historians might be woven into a connected narrative, which would approve itself to all as consistent and harmonious in all points of importance; and this has been done by all writers on the subject until quite modern times. But because it happens to relate to a subject of the most intense interest, because especially the falsification of the facts would ensure a triumph over the whole Church Catholic, therefore it has pleased later writers, who are no friends to Catholic truth, to magnify the variations and to set the accounts in the widest possible opposition one to another. It seems strange that it should not occur to them as highly improbable that Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen,

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[4] It is incorrect to speak of this as a discovery, and is virtually begging the whole question relating to a continuous tradition. It is represented by Eusebius simply as a recovery, and so I always speak of it.

[5] The dates of the main authorities are as follows: Eusebius, A. D. 337. St Cyril, A. D. 347. St Chrysostom, A.D. 394. St Ambrose, A. D. 395. Paulinus,

Theodoret, and others[5] who were quite as well informed as we can be as to what Eusebius had written on the subject and were in fact following his narrative, would venture, under any circumstances, to contradict his statements, or even to make any important additions without some sufficient warrant; for *they* were not so very far removed from the time of these transactions as to render it impossible for *them* to recover from other quarters some particulars which the earlier writer had failed to record.

In any case it can be hardly safe for those who, after so long an interval as fifteen centuries, take upon themselves, with some confidence, to make important alterations in the narrative of Eusebius, to cavil at the additions of those who wrote little more than a century after that historian. For example; Eusebius has most distinctly and repeatedly declared, both in his own words and those of Constantine himself, that the design to recover the Holy Sepulchre originated in the Emperor's own mind, from a Divine impulse, and that the design was conceived long before it was carried into execution. A living writer has discovered that it was from beginning to end a work of "pious fraud," and that "it would not be doing injustice to the Bishop Macarius, and his clergy, if we regard the whole as a well-laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating his See to a higher degree of influence and dignity[1]." Now can the author of this shameful calumny, who has not only no authority whatever from antiquity for him—but the express testi-

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[5] Sulpicius, Rufinus, cir. 400. Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, cir. 440.

[1] Bib. Res. ii. 80.

mony of Constantine and Eusebius against him—can he, with the slightest regard for consistency, imagine that the greater prominence given to St Helena, by the later writers, is irreconcilable with the fainter notice of Eusebius, or that their minuter details on some points are contradictory of this earlier author? Theirs are but *additions* — he has ventured a positive *counter-statement:* let him choose which alternative he will—give up his accusation against the Bishop, which would be only charitable, or his objections to the credibility of the narrative grounded on its inconsistencies.

But are the variations from Eusebius so very material? "All the writers of the following century relate, as with one voice, that the mother of Constantine was from the first instigated by strong desire to search out and discover the Holy Sepulchre and the Sacred Cross." Does Eusebius contradict this, or is he altogether silent on the subject? Is there indeed "not a word, not a hint, by which the reader would be led to suppose that the mother of the Emperor had anything to do with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, or the building of the Church on the spot[2]"? Let it be remembered that the object of Eusebius was to set forth the praises of his imperial patron, during his life-time and some years after St Helena's death; what more natural than that he should dwell on the part which the Emperor had taken in the work, rather than on the acts of his deceased mother[3]? Yet he does not obscurely intimate that much of the merit was due to her pious devotion. He records in terms of eulogy her

[2] Bib. Res. ii. 14.

[3] See the concession of Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. ii. 15, 16, which is however half retracted in a later publication. Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. i. pp. 184, 185.

pilgrimage to the holy places, and her veneration for the footsteps of our Saviour, which she there traced; he mentions her erection and dedication of two Churches to the God whom she adored, one at Bethlehem, the other on Mount Olivet; which the Emperor soon afterwards adorned most magnificently with costly presents, by which at the same time "he immortalized the memory of his own mother, who had rendered so much good service to mankind[1]." No doubt these last words will admit of many interpretations; but nothing is more natural than to suppose that they refer to the main subject of the discourse, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and the erection of the Martyrium of the Resurrection. The truth would seem to be that the two Churches particularly specified as hers[2] were erected at her own charges, and only adorned by her son, whereas the Church of the Resurrection was built by a grant from the imperial treasury, according to the rescript addressed to Macarius, which Eusebius has preserved[3]. This rescript was written after the success of the attempt to recover the Sepulchre had been made known to the Emperor; and as St Helena must have remained some time in Palestine for the erection and dedication of her two Churches, if we may suppose that she was the bearer of the first imperial orders for the demolition of the idol fane[4], it may well be imagined that she would be assisting in the operations at Jeru-

[1] Vita Const. III. xli. *καὶ ταῦτα δὲ φιλοκάλως ἐτίμα· τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς, ἣ τοσοῦτον ἀγαθὸν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διηκονεῖτο βίῳ, διαιωνίζων τὴν μνήμην.* See also xlii—xlvii.

[2] Yet these two Churches, ascribed to her in the Life of Constantine, are attributed to the emperor himself in the Laudes. ix. The reason is very obvious.

[3] Ibid. xxx—xxxii.

[4] Theodoret alone makes her the bearer of the second letters which followed the recovery, I. xviii.

salem with intense interest, and instigating the munificence of her son, who "had granted her power over the imperial treasures, to make use of them according to her own option[5]."

With regard to the success of these pious endeavours, much more will be said in a subsequent part of this work. According to the representation of the Emperor and his historian, the Sacred Cave had been carefully concealed from sight for many years, by a large mound of earth, on the top of which was erected a temple to Venus; nor does their language imply the slightest doubt that, on the demolition of the fane and the removal of the heap, the site would be recovered. The Emperor's orders were—not that any inquiry should be instituted, not that any search should be made, but simply that the temple should be levelled with the ground, and the earth carried away. This was done, and the Sepulchre came to light. Was it not a reasonable cause of amazement to those who witnessed it, that the pagans, when they sought to obliterate the memory of the spot, should have left the Cave entire; and that notwithstanding so long concealment, it should come forth to light unharmed, presenting, as it were, a figure of the Resurrection, in its own recovery? and will not this satisfy the strong language of the Emperor's letter?

Again, true it is that Eusebius does not mention the existence of any tradition of the erection of the temple: but this may be for one of two reasons; either because there was no such tradition, or because its

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[5] See xlvii. ἤδη δὲ καὶ θησαυρῶν βασιλικῶν παρεῖχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν, χρῆσθαι κατὰ προαίρεσιν, κ.τ.λ.

existence was so well known that it was needless to mention it. That it is asserted as a *fact* does not prove that there was no tradition: and it deserves to be considered, whether it is likely that the Emperor, writing of his mere motion from a distance, would instruct Macarius to demolish a certain idol temple, which he specifies, and to clear away the very ground on which it was built, for the express object of recovering the Holy Sepulchre, without some warrant for believing that it did really exist beneath that heap. And if any persons have such large faith as to credit this, there will be yet another question for their consideration, if they be Christians. It is this. If English Christians after the lapse of three centuries can point out the scenes of the sufferings of the Martyrs of the Reformation,—*e. g.* in "Smithfield," London, and "before Balliol College," Oxford,—with no natural or artificial monuments to mark the spots; can it be imagined that the Saints of the primitive Church could forget in a shorter time the place of HIS SUFFERINGS, so strikingly designated both by the name and nature of the locality—"*The place of a Skull*," and the "*Sepulchral Cave*"? If the idol fane had not been erected over it, it seems quite impossible that its situation should not be known to the native Christians: if it had, it would, as we are assured it did, preserve the memory of the sacred spot.

We are furnished with a most gratifying and unlooked-for confirmation of the fact that such a temple did exist at Ælia, in the unsuspicious testimony of a coin of the reign of Antoninus Pius, in which the figure of Astarte or Venus is represented standing in a tetrastyle temple, with the legend C. A. C. which those most skilled in numismatics, inform us can signify nothing

else than "Colonia Ælia Capitolina[1]." And whatever ambiguity there may be in this inscription, which some it is true would interpret differently, the matter is placed beyond all doubt by the later coins of Aurelius and Severus, in which we have the same figure in the same temple, with the unequivocal legend COL. AEL. CAP.[2] It is known that Cæsarea of Palestine, the Capital of the Province, was addicted to the worship of this goddess, and thence she was received into the newly-created dependency[3].

It seems to have been the practice of the Romans, to erect their idol temples on the most venerable sites of the vanquished people, as temples of Jupiter occupied the place of the Jewish Temple on Moriah, and of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim[4]. What more probable, than that the same principle should lead them to pollute, with like desecration, a spot so sacred as Calvary must have been in the eyes of that "pestilent

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[1] A copy of the coin will be found in the second volume, at the end of the first chapter. The right explanation is given in Vaillant's Numismata ærea Imperat. in Col. &c. Paris, 1688, Pt. I. p. 239. See also C. E. Deyling, De Æliæ Capit. Orig. &c. cap. xxi. p. 478; and Eckhel, Doctrina Num. Vet. Vol. III. p. 442.

[2] These are also represented by Vaillant, l. c. That of the reign of M. Aurelius in Pt. I. p. 253; that of Severus in Pt. II. p. 1; and Eckhel, l. c.

[3] See Vaillant, loc. cit. and also under Hadrian, p. 223, where he gives the origin of this worship in Cæsarea. See also Deyling, loc. cit.

[4] ...ὁ Μαρῖνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ νέας πόλεως πρὸς ὄρει κατῳκισμένης, τῷ ἀργαρίζω καλουμένῳ ...ἐν ᾧ Διὸς Ὑψίστου ἁγιώτατον ἱερὸν, κ.λ. So Photius quotes Damascius after Marinus. Biblioth. Cod. CCXLII. p. 1055. Dr Münter understands him to speak of a temple to Jupiter. War, xxiv. p. 445. I rather incline to take the allusion as referring to the Temple of the Samaritans, as Photius seems to have understood it, and therefore calls it blasphemy to speak of their God as Jupiter. Still the coins of Neapolis quoted by Eckhel, from the time of Antoninus, representing a mountain crowned by a temple, countenance the idea that a temple of Jupiter did occupy this scite. See Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. Vol. III. p. 433, 434.

sect" which they regarded with no less hatred and suspicion than the others?

Many of the facts of the history have been anticipated in this discussion, and others will be noticed hereafter. It will be sufficient to remark, that in the year following that in which the Nicene Council was held, the Emperor found himself at liberty to carry into execution the plan which he had long before contemplated, and to which he had been incited, as he was persuaded, by a Divine impulse. The measures taken for the recovery of the Holy Cave succeeded beyond all expectation, and no expense was spared to render the Church which was erected on the spot worthy of the great event which it was designed to commemorate. An unlimited discretion was left to the Bishop Macarius for the suitable adornment of the buildings; workmen were furnished by the president of the province and other imperial officers; while the Emperor himself took charge for supplying such marbles and other materials as were judged necessary; and his thoughtful solicitude concerning the most minute details marks the real and heartfelt interest with which he engaged in the undertaking[1]. In the first year of the building Macarius died, and was succeeded by Maximus, who had been a confessor in the last persecution[2].

It does not seem necessary to enter into a particular description of these buildings, which, unhappily, have been long since destroyed, but the following outline

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[1] See his letter. Vita Constantini, III. xxx—xxxii.

[2] Sozomen, III. xx. Dositheus, II. xi. 1, mentions from Alexander, that he had suffered severe tortures, and lost his right eye in the persecution. This author states that Macarius died in the 21st year of Constantine, and that Maximus presided twenty-three years.

may be interesting. This New Jerusalem is represented by the contemporary historian as being situated "over against" or "opposite to the old city, which had been reduced to ruin[3]," and here was erected the trophy of our Saviour's victory over death. The first care was to adorn the Sacred Cave itself with all imaginable splendour, as the head of the whole work, and magnificent columns with other ornaments were profusely lavished upon it. Immediately to the west of the cave the rocky mountain presented an obstacle to the erection of the buildings in that quarter[4], so that the Church was necessarily placed east of the Cave. The Basilica, —not united under one roof with the Sepulchre, as is the present Greek Church, which must however occupy part of the site of Constantine's magnificent structure,— stood in a spacious court inclosed with porticoes on three sides and paved with polished marble[5]. The interior was as rich as gold could make it, entered by three gates at the east, opposite to which was

[3] Not *in* the ancient city, but *ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ παλαίᾳ ταύτῃ ἀντικρυς*, V. C. III. xxxiii. Imitated by Socrates and others. The ruins of the ancient city would plainly shew its extent in those days. Thus Sulpicius Severus speaks of Jerusalem, at the time of St Helena's visit, as "horrens ruinis," and witnesses to *her* building three churches on the sites of the Passion, Ascension, and Nativity, Hist. Sac. II. Even so late as St Jerome's time it is thus spoken of: "portus Sion, . . . quas *hodiè cernimus* in favillam et cinerem dissolutas," although he had said a little above, "quæ ab Ælio postquam Hadriano, de ruinis et cineribus in Æliam suscitata est." Ep. 86 ad Eustach. Epitaph. Paulæ, Op. Vol. IV. Pt. II. pp. 673, 4, Ed. Bened.

[4] This is remarked by Dositheus. *Ἔχει ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύσιν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὄρος, μόνον τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ*, II. i. 7. Which is quite agreeable with fact and with the testimony of Eusebius, who places the Basilica of Constantine to the east of the cave. Those who have visited the convent of St Saba, and remember the position of that saint's tomb and the church, will understand the arrangement of the sepulchre and church at Jerusalem. I have to thank M. Mouravieff for the illustration.

[5] The Atrium is described in xxxv.

the place of the holy Table, in a recess built in the form of a hemisphere, surrounded by columns with silver capitals, equal in number to the Apostles of our Lord[1]. A double cloister adorned the Church on either side. The grand entrance to the court was from the east; and the Propylæum was magnificently adorned in a manner calculated to excite the admiration and curiosity of the pilgrim, as he approached the sacred precincts[2].

The venerable Helena, who shares with her son the glory of this undertaking, was not permitted to witness its consummation. Soon after its prosperous commencement, which she encouraged by her presence and forwarded by her prayers, she had set out on her return to Nicomedia[3]. Her whole progress was marked by

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[1] xxxvi—xxxix. The language of Eusebius leaves no room to doubt that the general rule of placing the Holy Table to the east was departed from in this instance. It was placed nearest to the Holy Cave. This is not the case in the present Greek Church. It is, as usual, at the east end. The description given by Procopius of the place of the altar in the church of St Sophia at Constantinople, throws great light on this of Eusebius. See his work De Ædificiis Justiniani, Lib. i. cap. i. Op. Vol. II. p. 6. Paris Ed. 1663. It is a subject for deep regret that the treatise of Eusebius on the church at Jerusalem, affixed to his life of Constantine, has not been preserved. See Vit. Const. IV. xlvi.

[2] Dr Robinson has entirely mistaken the form of this edifice, in supposing the hemisphere to have been something in the shape of "a semicircle in front of the whole building," separate from it, at some distance towards the east. Bib. Res. II. 18. It is evident that the hemisphere must have formed part of the church, for it is said to have reached to the top or roof of the building. This could have been nothing else than an apse, such as is still to be seen in the church of St Sophia at Constantinople, answering in every particular to the description of Procopius already referred to. This author informs us that the scientific name for this peculiar structure was *hemicylindrical*: ἐπὶ σχῆμα κατὰ ἥμισυ τὸ στρόγγυλον ἰοῦσα, ὅπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ ἡμικύλινδρον ὀνομάζουσιν· and the disposition of the columns he describes as οὐ κατ' εὐθὺ ἑστῶτες, ἀλλ' εἴσω κατὰ σχῆμα τὸ ἡμίκυκλον· plainly corresponding to the ἡμισφαίριον of Eusebius. De Æd. Just. l. c.

[3] Eusebius, V. C. III. xliv. xlv.

acts becoming a Christian Empress. All who came within her reach experienced her munificence; but especially the poor, the naked, the destitute, excited her sympathy, and were relieved by her bountiful alms. She fed the hungry, covered the naked with garments, set at liberty the captives, released convicts from the mines, befriended the weak against their more powerful oppressors, restored exiles to their homes and families. Constant in her attendance at church, modest and decent in her apparel, and exemplary in her deportment, she scorned not to mix with the vulgar crowd in the meanest chapels of the poorest towns. Such was the person whom modern Christians can pity and despise, whose name they dare to cast out as evil, and to stigmatize in language which it were a sin to repeat: Nothing can excuse her interest in the holy places, and her pious care for the houses of God, which she everywhere beautified with splendid ornaments. She was soon after taken to her rest, and magnificently buried at Rome, from whence her remains were transferred to Constantinople, and deposited in the Church of the Apostles.

The Martyrium of the Resurrection was completed in about ten years, and the Dedication was kept on the tricennalia of the Emperor, in the year 336. He had summoned a Council to Tyre for the settlement of a controversy which had arisen in Egypt, and he directed the Bishops assembled in that Synod to adjourn to Jerusalem to assist at the solemnity. The consequence was, that the festival was honoured with the presence of a large company of the most distinguished Prelates, from all the provinces of the eastern Empire, and prayers, and praises, and divine discourses suitable to

the occasion, occupied the assembled multitude. The consecration was attended by other and not less acceptable sacrifices. Marianus, a tried and highly-valued servant of the Emperor, had been sent on this occasion to represent his imperial master, and it was his care "to distribute vast quantities of money and a great number of garments amongst the indigent and naked, and amongst an infinite multitude of poor of both sexes, who stood in great need of food and other necessaries." How do these examples of St Helena and her son sanction the oft-repeated remark, that poor-laws were not required when cathedrals and colleges and other religious houses were built and endowed! An age of unexampled destitution, temporal and spiritual, scoffs at sacrifices which it wants faith to imitate.

It would have been well if the Jerusalem Synod had confined itself to the solemn services which attended the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection, and had not taken a step which the Bishop was afterwards called upon to retrace, not without some confusion and disgrace. The object of the Council of Tyre had been to consider some calumnious accusations which had been brought against the great champion of the orthodox faith, by his busy enemies[1]. St Athanasius had there appeared to answer to the charges; and God's providence had so ordered events that he was enabled to confute them in the most triumphant manner. But the opposite faction was too strong notwithstanding: the truth was to prevail as usual by suffering; its enemies were to be confounded through their temporary success. The Bishop of Alexandria, seeing little chance of

[1] Socrates, H. E. I. xxviii. &c.

a just decision where his accusers were to be his judges, after a solemn protest against the proceedings withdrew to Constantinople, and laid his appeal before the Emperor, who was unhappily swayed by an influence in the wrong direction[2]. The result was, that the Catholic Doctor was banished in disgrace to Treves, in Gaul; the heretical leader received with distinction at the imperial court[3].

Meanwhile the Jerusalem Synod was prevailed upon by misrepresentation to admit to communion either the heresiarch himself, or a namesake and disciple[4]; while the blessed Athanasius was unjustly condemned and deposed[5]. He was not re-admitted to communion with this Church until after his third expulsion from his diocese, when on his return to Egypt armed with the imperial letters, he passed through Palestine, and was restored by a Synod assembled expressly for that object[6]. Indeed, the Bishop of Jerusalem had long since discovered the fraud which had induced him to subscribe the condemnation of that holy man, and so bitterly did he repent of the part he had taken against him, that he refused to be present, in person or by deputy, at the

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[2] Ib. xxv. &c.

[3] xxxv. xxxvii. The banishment of St Athanasius is represented by Constantine the younger as an act of mercy on the part of his father, to deliver the bishop out of his enemies' hands, who sought his life. Socrates, II. iii. He adds, further, that it had been his father's intention to recal him, but he was prevented by death. The latter statement may be true, the former seems scarcely reconcilable with other facts.

[4] It is difficult to imagine that this Arius was not the arch-heretic. But Valesius denies it; and thinks that he died long before. See note on Socrates, I. xxxiii.

[5] See part of the Synodal letter to the Church of Alexandria, with remarks by St Athanasius, in Ep. de Synodis Arim. et Sel. (Opera, Vol. I. p. 890. Paris. ed. 1627) and in Apologiâ 2da ad Imp. Const. (p. 801).

[6] Socrates. II. xxiv. See the Synodal letter in Apol. 2da, ut sup. p. 774.

Council of Antioch summoned by Eusebius, who had been lately translated from Nicomedia to Constantinople, and was using all the influence which he possessed against the orthodox faith. But the countenance which Maximus gave to St Athanasius exposed him to the displeasure of the Arian party, which was everywhere dominant in the East, through the opposition of the civil powers to the Catholic Faith[1]. It was now his turn to suffer for the truth's sake[2]. He was deposed from his episcopal dignity by Acacius, the successor of Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea[3], who was entirely devoted to the heterodox, as his predecessor the historian is by some supposed to have been[4].

Cyril the renowned Catechist was appointed by the Metropolitan to succeed Maximus in the presidency of the Church of Jerusalem; but his patron did not allow him to occupy it in peace. He had been supposed to be more favourable to the impieties of Arius than he proved to be, and owed his elevation to this misconception of his real sentiments[5]. Yet it was some years before that serious dispute arose between the two Prelates which led to his deposition.

The extraordinary phenomenon of a luminous cross in the heavens was witnessed at Jerusalem in the second year of his episcopate; and this symbol of suffering truly foreshadowed, at the commencement of his presidency, the trials and afflictions to which he would be subjected during its continuance, for his faithful testimony to the Gospel of Christ.

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[1] Socrates, II. viii. Sozomen, III. vi.
[2] Soc. ibid. xxxviii.
[3] iv.
[4] See his defence by Socrates. II. xxi.
[5] Dositheus, II. xi. 2.

The story is much too interesting to be passed over in silence, and too well authenticated to be lightly rejected as fabulous. The account is given in a letter purporting to be written on this occasion by the bishop of Jerusalem to the emperor Constantius, and is as follows[6]: "During the holy days of Pentecost[7], at the third hour of the day, in the second year of his episcopate, (May 7th, A.D. 351), there appeared a luminous cross of enormous dimensions over the holy Golgotha, extending even to the Mount of Olives: it was extremely brilliant, surpassing the light of the sun; and was seen not by one or two individuals, but by the whole city. It was no passing phenomenon, but continued visible for several hours. The effect on the believers was to inspire them with fear mingled with joy: the churches were thronged, not only by Christian worshippers, but by Jewish and heathen candidates for the Sacrament of initiation, convinced of the truth of the Church's faith by this symbol of their salvation in the heavens."

Men are very inadequate judges of the secret purposes of the Almighty, albeit they do take upon themselves to determine with some confidence under what circumstances He shall manifestly interfere with the order of the universe which His wisdom has been pleased to establish; as if it were not far more rational, not to say more reverent, to expect that in the depths of His counsels some occasions might be found which we are wholly incompetent to appreciate. Without pretending

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[6] Vid. Sti. Cyrilli Epist. ad Constantium Imp. Op. p. 351. Paris 1720.

[7] This expression, which has given occasion to great confusion, does not signify the days following Whit-sunday, but the interval between Easter and Pentecost, according to the then mode of reckoning. See the Præloquium to Paris ed. sect. xiii. p. 349.

then to fathom the reasons of this phenomenon, a word may be said of the historical evidence, which it is properly within the province of human reason to estimate and examine.

The genuineness of St Cyril's letter has been questioned by later critics, chiefly on account of the laudatory terms in which the writer addresses an Arian emperor, and of the use of the term *homoousion* (consubstantial), which St Cyril is supposed studiously to have avoided[1]. The former argument is insufficient to discredit the epistle, because other Catholic Fathers of unquestioned orthodoxy, as St Athanasius, Hilary, and Gregory Nazianzen, have spoken of Constantius in yet higher terms of eulogy, in consideration of the real services which he had rendered to the Christian cause; notwithstanding that the simplicity of his mind had led him ignorantly astray into heretical pravity. Neither had he at this time manifested that decided hostility to the Church, which occasioned his name to be handed down to the detestation of posterity; a fact which would render it highly improbable that a later writer, wishing to personate St Cyril, should have adopted the commendatory expressions on which the objection rests. As to the use of the term *homoousion*, which St Cyril, in common with others, while fully admitting the doctrine, scrupled to adopt; it is remarked that the entire sentence in which the word occurs is omitted in versions of great authority, so that the concluding doxology is probably a later addition.

But indeed the story of the luminous cross does not

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[1] The question is ably discussed, and many difficulties removed, in the Præloquium, pp. 345-350, which I here follow.

rest exclusively on the testimony of this letter. It is supported by all the evidence that any occurrence of that period can be expected to shew; being recorded by all the ecclesiastical historians, and noted in the chronicles. And while the genuineness of the letter is attested by several of these writers, by whom it is expressly cited[2], the authenticity of the narrative is confirmed by others[3], who drew their accounts from distinct sources, as is evidenced by the discrepancies in the details, usual under such circumstances. These variations and additions, being exactly such as indicate that their information was derived from independent authorities, would serve to corroborate rather than to invalidate, the truth of the main outline of the history[4].

The circumstances which led to an open rupture between St Cyril and his Metropolitan, are somewhat involved in obscurity, owing perhaps to the fact of the doctrinal differences, which were the real cause of disagreement, being designedly kept in the back ground, and a charge of malversation of the Church property pretended by the artful Acacius[5].

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[2] *e.g.* Sozomen, Theophanes, Glycas, Philostorgius and the Alexandrian chronicle. These will be found among the testimonies to St Cyril and his writings, appended to the preface of the Benedictine editor, p. cclii., &c. Paris, 1720.

[3] St Jerome, Socrates, Idatius, Cedrenus, Nicephorus, &c. These are given by the Benedictine editor as above, or after the letter, p. 355, 356.

[4] I can as little explain or doubt the fact as I can the following. On the morning after the bombardment of Acre Nov. 4, A.D. 1840, before sunrise, coruscations in the form of hieroglyphics, were seen by the crews of the English vessels over the mountains east of that town. In the year preceding, a dark Cross was observed for many successive nights in the heavens at Jerusalem, as if the part were void of stars. I have both these from an eyewitness of undoubted veracity and *sobriety*.

[5] Socrates, II. xl. says that he does not know the ground of the accusation against Cyril. This seems to be supplied by Sozomen, IV. xxvi., but he is not clear. I endeavour to present a connected and consistent narrative from these two historians, aided by Theodoret, II. xxvi.

During the prevalence of a grievous famine at Jerusalem, St Cyril had been constrained to dispose of some of the furniture of the Church, in order to supply the poor with bread. Among other ornaments was a rich cloth for the altar[1], which the purchaser, a merchant, afterwards sold to an actress, who wore it in public—according to some accounts, on the stage. The pious donor might reasonably feel aggrieved at the profanation of his sacred gifts; and though the Bishop was innocent of the sacrilege, an accusation was preferred against him, and he was summoned to Cæsarea to answer to the charge. He refused to appear, and persisted in his contempt for two years. The grounds of this contumacy are not stated. He evidently interpreted the dignity reserved to the Metropolitan see, in the Canon of Nicæa, by a different rule from its occupant; and probably regarded the summons as an unauthorised infringement of the honour accorded to the Bishop of Ælia by the same Canon[2]. Besides which, Acacius had himself been deposed from his episcopal dignity by a Council of orthodox Bishops at Sardica, and had retained his seat in defiance of their authority. St Cyril might not unreasonably question the competency of such a tribunal to take cognizance of his offences. The irritating dispute concerning supremacy was still further embittered by serious doctrinal differences, and in the end St Cyril was deposed by the Metropolitan. He felt

[1] It was worthy of Acacius, to represent to Constantius that this was a robe of cloth of gold presented by his father to bishop Macarius, to be worn at the administration of holy baptism. Theodoret, xxvii., and compare Sozomen, l. c.

[2] Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε, καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαῖα, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθείαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ Μητροπόλει σωζουμένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. Can. Con. Nic. Z.

justified in appealing to a higher court; and although he has subjected himself to the charge of departing from the Ecclesiastical Canon in this conformity to the practice of secular suits, yet he was perhaps justified by the peculiar circumstances of the case; and the precedent was frequently followed in subsequent ages. He submitted at least to the sentence pending the decision, and withdrew first to Antioch, and afterwards to Tarsus, where he was received into communion by the Bishop Silvanus, whose flock he edified by his wholesome discourses; nor did the remonstrances of Acacius, who followed him even to Cilicia with his persecution, prevail to silence him.

On the assembling of the Council of Seleucia, he presented himself there for trial, but his accusers, though frequently summoned, refused to appear. He was accordingly reinstated, and Acacius was, in his turn, deposed for contempt. But the court-influence of the heretical party overbore the decisions in favour of the orthodox, and St Cyril was again driven from his see by the decree of an Arian council, assembled by Acacius at Constantinople, to which the Emperor gave full effect[3]; nor was he restored until the accession of Julian, who, with feigned liberality, reversed the persecuting edicts of his predecessors, and recalled both the orthodox and Arian bishops from their exile[4].

Soon after his return to Jerusalem he was witness of the impious endeavour to falsify the Divine predictions, the ill success and confusion of which he had from the

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[3] Socrates, II. xlii.

[4] He appears, from the interesting story related by Theodoret, III. xv., to have returned first to Antioch with St Meletius, and thence to have come to Jerusalem with the courageous young confessor, from whose own mouth the historian had the narrative.

first foreseen and foretold with the greatest confidence[1]. This design originated with the Emperor, and was not the least artful of his insidious endeavours to uproot the faith of Christ.

The obstinacy of the Jews had involved them in fresh troubles during the reign of Constantius[2]. They had risen in arms at Diocesarea, or Sepphoris, in Galilee; and it was not until they had overrun the whole neighbourhood with fire and sword, that they were subdued, and their city completely demolished by the Emperor's cousin Constantius Gallus, the brother of Julian.

Meanwhile their rancour towards the Christians had been no whit abated[3] by their misfortunes, nor by the relaxation of the severe laws through the clemency of Constantine. This hostility so recommended them to the apostate, as valuable allies in his attack on the Church, that he was blinded to the certain consequences that must have ensued on their national restoration, which he set himself with all earnestness to effect. But with an especial view to falsify the predictions of our Lord[4], he encouraged them to undertake the re-edification of the temple at Jerusalem, and further granted

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[1] Τότε δὴ ὁ Κύριλλος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων Ἐπίσκοπος τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Δανιὴλ κατὰ νοῦν ἐλάμβανεν, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις Εὐαγγελίοις ἐπισφραγίσατο πολλοῖς δὲ προέλεγεν ὡς ἄρα νῦν ἥκει ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον οὐκ ἂν μένοι εἰς τὸν ναὸν, ἄλλα τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγιον πληρωθήσηται. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. III. xx.

[2] Socrates, II. xxxiii. This revolt is placed in A.D. 339, by Theophanes, Chronographia, p. 33. He adds that the Jews had murdered many Greeks and Samaritans.

[3] They are still called in Constantine's letters to the churches, (Euseb. V. C. III. xviii.) "that most hostile multitude of the Jews." Μηδὲν τοίνυν ἔστω ἡμῖν κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄχλου: and so writes Sozomen.

[4] Sozomen (v. xxii.) goes fully into the motives. But as Bp. Warburton says, "Christian writers are unanimous" on this subject. Julian, p. 385. See the quotations at the foot of that page from St Gregory Nazianzene, Theodoret, Socrates, &c.

an immense sum from his exchequer for the purpose[5]. His confidential friend Alypius was set over the work; an infinite quantity of materials was prepared; timber, and stones, and bricks and lime; and the work was pressed forward by the zealous Alypius, aided by the governor of the province[6]. The old foundations were opened up, and the building about to commence, when fearful balls of fire breaking forth with irresistible and repeated violence from near the foundations, scorched the workmen and drove them from the spot, until the attempt was finally abandoned[7]. Other circumstances of more minute detail are also related in connection with this extraordinary event, but what has now been recorded rests on the testimony of an unexceptionable witness, who seems to have been providentially led to preserve the memory of this impious attempt and its signal defeat[8]. "For were infidelity itself, when it would evade the force of evidence, to prescribe what qualities it expected in a faultless testimony, it could invent none but what might be found in the historian here produced[9]."

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[5] "Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum.....instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis, negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias procuraverat propræfectus." Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII. i.

[6] Socrates, III. xx. "Rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector." Amm. Mar. l. c.

[7] "Metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, facere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente cessavit inceptum." Ibid.

[8] Such is Bp. Warburton's view in his admirable work on this subject. Julian, p. 385. All the incidents connected with this story may be found collected by this author, with the original authorities.

[9] In connexion with this the reader may find it interesting and instructive to compare Gibbon, Decline and Fall, cap. xxiii., and Mosheim, Cent. IV. Part I. cap. i. sect. 14, with Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. ii. p. 19. The qualifi-

It was soon after this insane attempt that the apostate lost his life in the Persian expedition by a dart from an unknown hand, and in the hour of victory acknowledged himself vanquished by "the Galilean" whom he had so impiously defied[1]. He died in the 32nd year of his age, having reigned only twenty months.

The accession of Jovian, and his avowed attachment to the doctrines of the Church, excited the hopes of the orthodox, which however were not destined to be realized. He held the purple only seven months, and was succeeded in the dignity by Valentinian, who associated his brother Valens with himself in the imperial dignity. The former undertook the management of the western, the latter of the eastern provinces, which were again to endure the misery of an Arian domination, while the other division, as before, enjoyed tranquillity and repose under an orthodox government[2].

The publication of an edict by Valens, requiring the prefects of the various provinces, under heavy penalties, to banish such bishops as had been deprived by Constantius and subsequently restored by Jovian[3], again drove St Cyril, with many of his orthodox brethren, into exile; but the place of his retreat and the precise time of his restoration do not appear.

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cations of Ammianus Marcellinus are well summed up by the author of Julian, l. c.

[1] Ἐκεῖνον δὲ γὲ φασὶ δεξάμενον τὴν πληγὴν εὐθὺς πλῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ τοῦτο ῥίψαι εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ φᾶναι, Μὲ νίκησας, Γαλελαῖε. Theod. III. xxv. This must, I presume, be one of the "calumnies" or "legends" which, we are told, "may now be *silently* despised:" (at least by such writers as Gibbon.) Decline and Fall, cap. xxiv. n. 99. Vol. IV. p. 191. Milman's Ed.

[2] Socrates, IV. ii., &c.

[3] Sozomen, Hist. Eccles. VI. xii.

Meanwhile Arian bishops were intruded into his throne[4]; under whose presidency the Church was given over to various forms of heresy[5]. St Cyril was not reinstated until after the death of Valens. He was present in the second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople, where the heresy of Macedonius was condemned and the Nicene Faith reasserted by general consent; but it is difficult to understand what Socrates here says of his repentance, and assent to the Homoousion Creed[6]. He had surely suffered enough in his three expulsions from his See to attest his adherence to the Catholic faith, however he may have hesitated to adopt the word; and his confession was honourably requited in a synod of oriental bishops, held in the same city in the year following, by an acknowledgment of his many contests with the Arians in various places[7].

The distracted state of his Church had been little favourable to the spiritual advancement of its members, and we shall presently see that it was sunk into a state of gross immorality[8]; its zealous Prelate could devote himself during the remainder of his days to correct its doctrinal errors, and to purge it from practical corruptions. He entered into his rest in the eighth year of the reign of Theodosius[9], bequeathing to the Church

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[4] Thus when Epiphanius wrote, cir. A.D. 376, Hilarius (or Hilarian) was bishop. See Hæres. LXVI. 20, Vol. I. p. 637; Socrates, II. xlv. apud fin. IV. i., V. iii.; Sozom. IV. xxx.

[5] Gregorius Nyssenus, Lib. II. in Eunom. p. 315.

[6] Soc. V. vii.: Ἐκ δὲ Ἱεροσολύμων Κύριλλος, τότε ἐκ μεταμελείας τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ προσκείμενος, κ.λ. Sozomen, VII. vii. says: μεταμεληθεὶς τοτε, ὅτι πρότερον τὰ Μακεδονίου ἐφρόνει.

[7] See the Synodal Letter in Theodoret, H. E. V. viii. ix.

[8] See the description of Gregory of Nyssa below, p. 267: he was at Jerusalem apparently A.D. 380. See Tillemont, Memoires, Vol. VIII. p. 435, St Cyrille, Art. IV.

[9] St Jerome, Catal. Script. Eccles. No. cxii. Op. Vol. IV. p. 126. Ed. Bened.

a precious legacy of orthodox doctrine, in his admirable Catechetical Lectures, which, together with his sufferings for the maintenance of the faith therein expounded, have entitled him to a canonization as a Confessor and Doctor of the Church.

St Cyril was succeeded in the episcopate at Jerusalem by John, the second of that name, who is chiefly known to history by the representations of Epiphanius and St Jerome[1], with whom he was at variance on points both of discipline and of faith. It is no pleasing task to expose the infirmities of great and good men, as were the venerable bishop of Cyprus and the learned and laborious monk of Bethlehem; but an impartial judge can scarcely fail to determine, even from their own writings, that the Bishop of Jerusalem was treated by them with less consideration than was due to his office. Indeed, the first act of hostility appears to have been a clear invasion of his Diocesan jurisdiction, unjustifiable by the ancient canons, which had determined the limits of such authority. This was the ordination of St Jerome's brother Paulinian, for the service of the monastery at Bethlehem. This ordination was performed by Epiphanius, then on a visit in the country, in a convent situated within the diocese of Eleutheropolis, which was the bishop's defence, when accused of a violation of the canon by John of Jerusalem. But the plea appears insufficient, insomuch as Bethlehem was within the limits of the latter See at that period, and the services of the person ordained were designated to that church. To this indeed it was replied, that the

[1] For this controversy, see St Jerome's Epistles, XXXVIII. XXXIX. Op. Vol. II. part ii. pp. 306-339. Ed. Bened.; and for a free translation of Epiphanius' letter to John, Epist. CX. pp. 822-829.

Latin monks were not subject to the Eastern Bishop[2]; but an exemption so inconsistent with the peace of the Church, as subsequent experience has fully proved, was not recognized at that period; nor was it strange that such an invasion of his Diocesan rights should excite the indignation of one of warm temperament, as John appears to have been.

But although there seems to be little doubt that the strife between the opposite parties was kindled by this act[3], yet it was unquestionably much fomented by doctrinal differences, on which St Jerome lays the greatest stress. But his intemperance and evident want of candour towards his adversary, in this as in other cases, will dispose an unprejudiced reader to believe that he has not the full case before him. John was suspected of the errors of Origen: Epiphanius, who, it is acknowledged, was more distinguished for zeal than for discretion[4], was vehemently opposed to these views, and perhaps unreasonably suspicious. He had been honourably received and entertained with bed and board at the Episcopal residence, and had abstained from private remonstrance with his host, whom he believed to be tainted with this infection. But in a Sermon preached in the Church of the Resurrection, he not only opposed these errors, but reflected in a marked and uncalled-for man-

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[2] "In monasterio fratrum, et fratrum peregrinorum qui provinciæ nihil tuæ deberent." Epiphanius, l. c. This seems to refer to Bethlehem, and to be another plea from that urged by St Jerome. The Benedictine editors deny the genuineness of the last part of this letter, which they find inconvenient: one would feel disposed to suspect an interpolation here.

[3] It is not clear whether this ordination took place before the Jerusalem Sermon: but the open rupture seems to have followed the ordination.

[4] See Tillemont, Memoires, St Jerome, Art. LXVI. Vol. XII. pp. 163, and 185, 6.

ner on the bishop, as though he were involved in them. John, irritated, as was not unnatural, at being thus dishonoured in his own Cathedral Church, by a foreign bishop, present only by sufferance, did not dissemble his displeasure. He manifested his dissent by gestures at the time; he sent his archdeacon at the conclusion to beg the bishop of Cyprus not to preach any more in that strain; and finally he vindicated himself in a Sermon wherein he proposed a summary of Orthodox belief. He probably exhibited undue warmth and violence in his gesture and address; but he need not have deserved the imputation cast upon him by St Jerome, as if he had considered one discourse sufficient for a full exposition of the Catholic faith. Indeed, the very charge shews the spirit in which the controversy was carried on; nor can the Bishop of Jerusalem be reasonably blamed because he disputed the competency of a Latin presbyter, who claimed exemption from his jurisdiction, to act on a commission of enquiry into his orthodoxy!

But the particulars of this humiliating controversy are involved in obscurity, owing to the conflicting statements of the principal parties engaged in it; and it would be an equally unthankful and unprofitable task to attempt to disentangle the contradictions[1]. It is clear that Epiphanius took upon himself to interdict the monks of Bethlehem from the communion of John! and that the contention continued for some years, notwithstanding the exertions of Theophilus of Alexandria to effect a reconciliation. At length however the breach was healed. Bishop John and St Jerome joined hands

[1] The particulars, with references to authorities, are given by Tillemont, Memoires, St Jerome, Art. LXVII.—LXXXI. Vol. XII. pp. 166—200.

in the Church of the Resurrection, and partook together of the Holy Communion, in token of mutual forgiveness: the sincerity of which was afterwards attested by St Jerome undertaking the defence of John in a letter to Theophilus, and by John appointing Jerome to the charge of the parish Church of Bethlehem, and assisting at the funeral of his disciple St Paula.

The countenance which he afforded to Pelagius at a later period, and his apparent sympathy with his errors, is another blot upon the memory of Bishop John, which has darkened his fame in the judgment of posterity. This heresiarch, who derived his origin from our ocean island, at the extreme west of the Empire[2], had passed many years in useful labours or studies at Rome, where he had turned many young men of rank from schemes of worldly ambition to higher pursuits[3]. Retreating from Italy before the Gothic invasion, he took refuge in Africa, with his disciple or companion Cœlestinus. He stayed there but a short time[4], and then passed over to Palestine alone, and took up his abode at Jerusalem, where he enjoyed the friendship and protection of John. Pelagius was a man of considerable attainments, of great moral excellence, far advanced in the practice of Christian graces. So he is represented by his candid and unprejudiced opponent[5], who takes as much pleasure in

[2] He is supposed to have been a native of Glamorganshire; but this idea has perhaps no better foundation than his native name Morgan, which is equivalent to his Greek name Pelagius.

[3] Quidam ex discipulis ejus adolescentes, honestissime nati, et institutis liberalibus eruditi, spem, quam habebant in sæculo, ejus exhortatione dimiserunt, et se ad Dei servitium contulerunt. Augustini Epist. CLXXIX. ad Johannem Epis. sect. 2. Opera, Vol. II. p. 630, Bened. Edit.

[4] Augustinus de Gestis Pelagii, cap. xxii. Vol. X. p. 216.

[5] Ad Marcellinum, Lib. II. cap. xvi.; and Lib. III. cap. iv. Vol. X. pp. 54 and 71—74.

bearing witness to the good qualities of his adversary, as St Jerome, in the true spirit of controversy, in traducing and maligning him. He had resided some time at Jerusalem when Orosius arrived from Africa, deputed to expose the errors of his teaching to John and the other Bishops of Palestine[1]. An episcopal conference was accordingly held under the presidency of John, in which Orosius was called upon to narrate what had occurred in Africa concerning this heresy. He gave a succinct account of the conviction and condemnation of Cœlestinus at Carthage, and of the refutation of the errors of Pelagius by the Bishop of Hippo, in a work written at the request of some disciples of the former. The accused was then summoned and asked whether he acknowledged the statements to which Augustine had replied. "What is Augustine to me?" was his answer: which so provoked the indignation of the assembly that they cried out with one voice, "The man who blasphemes the Bishop by whose mouth God has restored health to the whole of Africa, deserves to be expelled not only from this assembly, but from the whole Church." John appears to have been of a different mind: and the Legate was greatly scandalized that a laic accused of heresy should be allowed a seat in the midst of the catholic presbytery. When order was restored, the heretical proposition of the accused was rehearsed. It was, "that man can, if he will, live without sin, and easily keep the commandments of God." Pelagius stood to the declaration, which had been anathematized by the African synod, and refuted in the writings of Augus-

[1] Pauli Orosii Liber Apologeticus De Arbitrii Libertate, apud init. Edit. Havercampi. Lugd. Bat. 1738. pp. 583, &c.

tine and Jerome. How far the memory of his former dispute with the monk of Bethlehem may have influenced the Bishop it is difficult to say, but he warmly advocated the cause of Pelagius, qualified his statements, put an orthodox construction on his words, and sought to involve Orosius in the responsibility of acting as accuser, whereas his simple object was to report the proceedings of the African Bishops. The usual difficulties incidental to theological discussions, in which so much frequently depends on the force of a word, or on the turn of a sentence, was further embarrassed by an inefficient and dishonest interpreter, who, by suppression or interpolation, misrepresented the words of the foreigner[2]. The result was very inconclusive. Since the heresiarch did, in word, admit the necessity of Divine aid, himself escaped the condemnation of the Synod, while his heresy was declared worthy of anathema. It was at length suggested that a Latin tribunal was alone competent to determine the question, inasmuch as the heretic and his accusers were Latins, and the heresy more generally known in the West than in the East. It was therefore agreed to refer the question to Innocent of Rome.

This arrangement however was not final, for in the same year a Synod of fourteen Bishops of Palestine was assembled at Lydda (then called Diospolis), where Pelagius was fully acquitted of holding the errors attributed to him, which were all again condemned in the most positive terms[3].

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[2] Orosius, loc. cit.; et Augustinus, De Gestis Pelagii, cap. xvi. Vol. x. pp. 213, &c.

[3] Augustinus, De Gestis Pelagii, Opera, Vol. x. pp. 191, &c. De Peccato originali, capp. x. et seq. Ibid. pp. 257, &c. Contra Julianum, Lib. i. cap. v. pp. 507, &c. Epist.

It cannot be denied that the conduct of John and his brethren was calculated greatly to strengthen the cause of the heretics and to weaken the hands of those who were contending for the necessity of Divine grace to prevent and to co-operate in all righteous thoughts and actions. But we may well be satisfied to form our opinion on the charitable judgment of St Austin and his colleagues[1]. Of John then it may be said, that his ignorance of Latin prevented him from reading the books of Pelagius or the refutations of the orthodox; so that he could not fully inform himself of the published opinions of his guest, who dissembled his heresy with the most consummate hypocrisy. His disingenuous prevarication at Lydda, where in word he anathematized the heresies which were alleged against him, had deceived St Augustine himself, until a subsequent publication, in which he reasserted all in more objectionable terms than before, convinced him of his dishonesty[2]. And when to all this it is added that the Gallic presbyters, who were to have exhibited the articles against him, were prevented by sickness from attending, so that the heretic himself both interpreted and explained his own book to his judges, they might well be excused for their simplicity in believing him incapable of such shameless duplicity. In any case, this "miserable synod," as St Jerome was pleased to call it[3], was far more excusable than the Roman Pontiff Zosimus, who, with none of those excuses on account of diversity of language which St Augustine

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CLXXXVI. ad Paulinum, Vol. II. p. 674.

[1] e. g. in Epist. CLXXVII. ad Innocentium Papam. Op. Vol. II. pp. 622, 623.

[2] De Pecatto orig. cap. xiv. Vol. X. p. 259.

[3] Epist. LXXXI. ad Alypium et Augustinum. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 646.

urges on behalf of the bishops of Palestine, and after a fuller developement of the heresy, was prevailed on to acquit Pelagius and Cœlestinus, and only reversed his sentence on the earnest and repeated remonstrance of the African Bishops[4].

The triumph of the Pelagians in Palestine was followed by a violent assault on the Latin Monasteries at Bethlehem[5], which John was charged with instigating or abetting. The representations made to Rome drew down upon the Bishop of Jerusalem a censure of Pope Innocent, which was a prelude to further agressions on the independence of the See in after ages. As there is no proof whatever of John's participation in these outrages, the charge may be set down to the old enmity which was not soon to be forgotten by persons of such unhappy temperaments as the accuser and the accused. On the whole, although John's faith does not appear to have been free from all admixture of the errors with which he was charged, yet the terms of unqualified commendation in which he is mentioned by several eminent contemporaries of unquestioned orthodoxy[6], allow us ground to hope that the most serious accusations preferred against him were destitute of any solid foundation.

He must have died soon after these events; for when, three years later, Pelagius was condemned by name in a Council assembled under the presidency of

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[4] See the letters of Zosimus, and the Acts of the Councils, collected in Mansi's edition of Labbe and Cossart, Vol. IV. pp. 350—377.

[5] Referred to by St Augustine, De Gestis Pelagii, apud fin. Vol. X. p. 227; et Baronii Annales in Ann. 416, sect. 32, &c.

[6] e. g. Anastasius and Zosimus of Rome, St Augustine, Paulinus, St Chrysostom, Theodoret, and St Basil. These testimonies are collected by Tillemont, Memoires, Vol. XII. p. 342, St Jerome, Art. CXL.

Theodotus of Antioch, we already find Praylius in occupation of the See[1].

The annals of the church of Jerusalem from this period are chiefly occupied with pilgrimages and the monastic lives of those numberless ascetics who had fixed their residence in the neighbourhood of the Holy City; and it will be therefore necessary to say something on both these subjects.

From the time of its adornment by Constantine, Jerusalem had become, in a greater degree than before, an object of religious attraction to all Christendom. It was not to be expected that all the pilgrims would be actuated by a spirit of true devotion: many would follow the prevailing fashion from motives of curiosity or the desire of diversion; and the spirit of the world and of the flesh would vitiate and corrupt the morality of the city subject to a continual influx of visitors of every description. The following passages, from two celebrated fathers of the fourth century, will shew how widely the abuse had spread, when they applied all their eloquence to correct it.

St Gregory of Nyssa[2] had been deputed by the Synod of Antioch on a mission of peace to the Churches of Arabia, distracted by the Arian controversy, and by various forms of heresy. He had also visited Jerusalem, where he had witnessed the grievous scandals which the rage for pilgrimages occasioned[3]. On his return to his diocese he was consulted by a Cappadocian priest on this

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[1] Vid. Marii Mercatoris Commonitorium; cited by Mansi, Concilia, Vol. IV. p. 475.

[2] Tillemont dates this Council A.D. 379, and St Gregory's visit to Jerusalem the year following, i. e. during the presidency of St Cyril. See above, p. 257. n. 8.

[3] Sti. Gregorii Nyss. Op. Vol. II. pp. 1084—7. Edit. Paris. 1615.

subject, and his reply, which is still extant, contains a full exposition of his views on the benefit and expediency of such pilgrimages. He sets forth that the sacred writings do not reckon a visit to Jerusalem among the number of good works: that such journeys conduce not to virtue, and make nothing to heaven: that purity and sanctity are required both of men and women, which are best promoted by the study of wisdom in retirement and seclusion: that many duties are neglected in the bustle and confusion of a hasty journey, which is especially dangerous to female modesty; for extreme licentiousness prevails in many hostelries and cities of the East, which corrupt the ears, the eyes, and the heart. What advantage then is to be derived from the holy places? Is it that Christ is still personally conversant among them, and cannot come to us? or is it that the Holy Spirit there abounds, and cannot pass hither? If the case were really so, if Jerusalem were more enriched with grace than other countries, it might be expected that its inhabitants should be less wicked; but, so far as he had observed, the very contrary was the fact; there was no place more addicted to crimes of the blackest dye. Why then, it might be asked, had he resorted thither? To discharge a solemn duty of his office, and on a special mission to reform the churches of Arabia, and to converse with the Chiefs of the holy Churches of Jerusalem, which were greatly distracted, and needed an arbitrator. But the journey had been conducted without neglect of religious duties. Their carriage, furnished by the Emperor's liberality, had served them for church and cloister: they had throughout chanted and fasted together to the Lord. Neither was the journey necessary for the increase of his faith. Before he saw

Bethlehem he believed that the Son of God had assumed flesh in the womb of a Virgin; he believed the Resurrection before he saw the Holy Sepulchre; and confessed the glorious Ascension before he saluted the Mount of Olives. One only thing he had learnt on the journey, that his own country was far more holy than foreign lands. It is not by change of clime that we shall come to God, but rather He will come to us, wheresoever we be, if our soul be made meet for His habitation; while, on the contrary, if with hearts full of iniquity we fly to Golgotha, to Mount Olivet, or the Holy Sepulchre, we shall still be as far from Christ as though we had never known the principles of the faith. "My friend," he concludes, "persuade your brethren not to quit Cappadocia for Jerusalem, but to go out of their bodies, that they may be joined to the Lord....The Divine Spirit 'bloweth where it listeth,' and believers in this land shall partake of the gifts of grace according to the measure of faith, not by a visit to Jerusalem."

And is this really one of those ancient Doctors who are so frequently and freely charged with superstitious ignorance for their veneration for the sacred localities, and who, it is represented, took such pains to palm upon others the inventions of their own imagination, for filthy lucre's sake? But it may be supposed that St Gregory of Nyssa was in advance of his age, and was animated by a more genuine spirit of devotion than his colleagues. St Jerome, the translator of the Onomasticon, the historian of the pilgrimage of St Paula, will be adduced as an instance of doting superstition in the seclusion of his cave at Bethlehem. But even he may claim to be heard before he is condemned;

and his letter to Paulinus[1] will not unaptly follow the above extract from the eastern father: "The city to be sought after and extolled is not that which killed the prophets and shed the blood of Christ; but that which is made glad by the streams of the river; that which is set upon an hill and cannot be hid; that which the Apostle calls the Mother of the saints, in which he glories to be a fellow-citizen with the righteous....I dare not confine the Omnipotence of God in so narrow a boundary, nor limit within a certain district Him whom the heavens cannot contain. Believers will be weighed, not by diversity of clime, but by their measure of faith; and the true worshippers worship the Father neither at Jerusalem nor yet on Mount Gerizim; for 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.' 'The wind bloweth where it listeth'—'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.' After that the fleece of Judæa was dry, and the whole world sprinkled with the heavenly dew, and many have come from the east and from the west, and laid down in Abraham's bosom; from thenceforth God is no more known in Jewry only; His name is great not in Israel alone; but the voice of the Apostles has gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. The place of the cross and of the resurrection may be profitable to those who take up their cross daily, and rise with Christ, and shew themselves meet for such an habitation; but for those who say, 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' they must be reminded of the Apostle's words, '*Ye* are

[1] Sti. Hieronymi Epist. No. XLIX. Opera, Vol. IV. Part II. pp. 563, 4. Edit. Bened.

the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit *dwelleth in you.*' An entrance into the kingdom of heaven is open equally from Britain as from Jerusalem; for 'the kingdom of God is within you.' "

Much more to the same effect follows, which it will be unnecessary to quote. What is here given may suffice to prove how very unjust are the insinuations of many modern writers against the fathers of that age—how little they understand or appreciate the spirit by which they were influenced. But it should by all means be added, that the whole object of the epistle is to dissuade his friend from removing to Jerusalem, and that the argument which he most strongly urges, and which he appears to know would have the greatest weight is this, that a city crowded, as this now was, by a mixed multitude of both sexes, from all parts of the world, and exhibiting, as did other cities, all that could minister to vanity and folly and sin, all that would serve to counteract the hallowed influences of sacred associations, was not a place best calculated to promote his spiritual advancement, and to draw his heart from earth to heaven.

Surely such passages as these, which are but specimens of innumerable others of like import, will serve to shew that lights as well as shades can be found to rest on the monastic cell of St Jerome, and may encourage the hope that the same may have been the case with those thousands of unknown recluses, who, amid the confusion of the period at which we have now arrived, betook themselves to the deserts and caves of Palestine, to prepare for the coming of the day of Christ, which all around betokened to be near at hand. At the same time, a very slight acquaintance with the

lives of these solitaries will suffice to prove that there was something radically wrong in the ascetic discipline as practised by them, which it would be instructive to investigate and serviceable to expose. The duty and benefit of such exterior bodily discipline as the Bible enjoins and the Church directs, with a view to interior self-government, will be denied by none who have fairly tried it; but the view of these ascetics seems to mistake the *body* for the *flesh*—forgetting that the flesh is the carnal mind, not the earthly vessel, and that apostolic asceticism had respect to the will and conscience, not to bodily infirmities and needs[1]. To *spite* the body is not to *rule* it; and its vicious and excessive appetites may be mortified without denying its natural and lawful demands. The aim therefore to macerate the earthen vessel, and the excessive attribution of sanctity to the practice, which forms the essence and foundation of their system, can scarcely be too strongly condemned, as tending to the subversion of Christian liberty and sobriety, to an unhealthy tone of feeling, and to a forgetfulness of the cardinal truths that Christian circumcision is "circumcision of *the heart;*" and that "to be *spiritually-minded* is life and peace."

There is, however, a great debt of gratitude due to the most eminent recluses of Palestine for important services rendered to the Church, which it were ungrateful not to acknowledge; namely, the firm, uncompromising maintenance of the orthodox faith, when its natural champions were silenced for their fidelity.

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[1] Acts xxiv. 16: "Herein *do I exercise myself* (ἀσκῶ), to have always a *conscience* void of offence," &c.: the only passage where the word occurs in the New Testament. The friend who will recognize the observations in the text as his own, will, I hope, pardon me for borrowing his language to express sentiments common to us both.

Praylius, like his predecessor John, was so far deceived by the fair words of Pelagius, that he wrote to pope Zosimus a testimonial of his orthodoxy[1]; until the decisions of the Council of Antioch convinced him of his error, and he expelled the heresiarch from the Holy City[2]. His mild presidency was marked by natural convulsions, which recalled the times of the apostate Julian, the record of which was preserved in his acts[3]. The length of time that he presided is variously stated[4]. It is however certain that he was succeeded by Juvenal, who occupied the chair of St James for many years, and took an active part in the great controversies which agitated the Church at that period. He was present at the third Ecumenical Council, where he warmly seconded St Cyril of Alexandria, in his opposition to the heresy of Nestorius; his excessive abhorrence of which drove him for a time into the opposite extreme of Eutychian error. He was even present at the "Synod of Robbers," assembled by Dioscorus, at Ephesus, and aided by his countenance to lend authority to proceedings which the Church could not confirm[5]. He succeeded however in averting the threatened condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon by a timely recantation, and sub-

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[1] See the letter of Zosimus in Baronii Annales, A.D. 417, sect. xxv.; and in Gallandii Biblioth. Vol. IX. p. 6.

[2] Marius Mercator. Commonit. ap. Galland. Biblioth. Vol. VIII. p. 650.

[3] Idatii Chron. in ann. Honorii 24, Gall. Bib. X. p. 325. This chronicler refers these prodigies to the presidency of John; but he confesses himself ignorant of the time of John's demise, and of the name of his immediate successor, who, he says, was an old man, and presided but a short time. In ann. Theodosii jun. 11. Ibid. p. 326.

[4] Theophanes, Chron. gives him 20 years, i. e. 411—431. But this is much too long. See Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, Vol. III. p. 163. The commencement of his presidency is fixed by the letter of Zosimus, and could not be later than A.D. 417. He must have died before 428, for when Theodoret concludes his history in that year, Juvenal occupied the see. Lib. V. 40.

[5] Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, Vol. III. pp. 164, &c.

scription to the orthodox faith, as defined in the epistle of Leo the Great[6], and prevailed on the assembled Fathers to assent to a proposal, which he had in vain attempted to carry at Ephesus, for the exaltation of his See to the rank of a Patriarchate[7], the dignity of which was to be maintained by the dismemberment of the Patriarchate of Antioch, according to an arrangement agreed upon with the occupant of that See. Having thus attained the object of his ambition, he returned to Jerusalem, where he was shortly called to witness the sincerity of his repentance by confessorship for the truth[8].

The catholic doctrine of the two Natures in the one Person of our adorable Saviour, which had been fully established in the third and fourth General Councils, is matter for faith, not for reason, and therefore, like other doctrines of revelation, unpalatable to the carnally wise. On his return from the Council of Chalcedon, the Patriarch found that the minds of his people had been alienated from himself and from the doctrine in favour of which he had there declared, by the artifices of a monk of evil repute, named Theodosius, who had represented the decision of the fathers at Chalcedon as at variance with those of the Council of Ephesus[9]. He had succeeded in drawing over to his party the Empress

[6] See Concilii Calcedonensis Actio 4ta, apud Labbe, Tom. IV. pp. 468, 9, and pp. 508, 9. And for Pope Leo's letter, p. 343, &c. And compare Leonis Epist. XCII. Op. p. 310.

[7] Actio 7ma, p. 614, &c. The arrangement was, that the bishop of Antioch should hold the two Phœnicias and Arabia, and the bishop of Jerusalem the three Palestines.

[8] The principal authority for the following period is the monk Cyril in his Life of St Euthymius, ap. Cotelerii Monumenta Eccles. Græcæ. Tom. II. sect. lxxiii. p. 261, &c. See also Evagrii Hist. Eccles. II. 5. Nicephori Hist. Eccles. Lib. XV. cap. 9.

[9] Euthymii Vita, sect. lxxii. lxxiii. Cotelerii Eccles. Græc. Monumenta, Tom. II. pp. 260, 1.

Eudocia, who, after the death of her husband Theodosius the younger, had retired to Jerusalem, and her influence had enlisted on his side a large number of partisans. The lawless excesses of the heretical faction knew no bounds, and Juvenal was glad to escape with his life to Constantinople. The monk having procured his own election to the vacant see, sought to establish himself in his usurped authority by the countenance of that great and good man, who at this time governed the monastic colleges of the deserts of Palestine.

This was St Euthymius, with whom neither flattery nor threats could avail to shake the constancy of his profession, nor to induce him to recognise as rightful bishop the heretic who had stained his hands with innocent blood. He even exhorted the superiors of the monasteries to withdraw from his schismatical communion, and himself set the example, by retiring to the desert until the pseudo-patriarch was expelled through interference of the civil power. It would have been well if the moderation of the Emperor Marcian on this occasion had been more frequently imitated; and it is pleasing to know that he was persuaded to milder counsels than he would otherwise have adopted, by the intercession of the injured Patriarch. The imperial rescript addressed to the inhabitants of Jerusalem[1], while it deprecates compulsory subscription to the orthodox confession, or any attempt to reduce the wanderers to the way of truth by menaces or the sword, declares the Emperor's determination to maintain the orthodox faith, and to remove the scandal which the

[1] Given by Labbe, Concilia, Tom. IV. p. 343, where the proceedings of the heretics are fully described.

violence of Theodosius had occasioned. The rightful Patriarch was reinstated after an absence of twenty months, and set himself earnestly to establish order in the distracted Churches within the limits of his jurisdiction.

But the degradation of the heretical bishops who had been consecrated in the interim, and the encyclical letter of an orthodox synod, convoked by Juvenal[2], would not have secured the peace of the Church, had not the Empress Eudocia, softened by domestic afflictions, been restored to the truth by the earnest persuasion of Euthymius, to whom she was referred by the celebrated Stylite of Antioch[3]. Her return to the orthodox communion influenced a numerous party, and led to the temporary re-establishment of peace in the divided Church; the disaffected withdrawing to two monasteries, which they founded for themselves, on the independent principle, at Bethlehem and Tekoa. During the short remainder of her life the munificent Eudocia devoted her wealth to works of piety and charity in and around Jerusalem, where she founded and endowed churches and monasteries, hospitals and almshouses, and rebuilt the wall of the city[4]. She was buried in the large church of St Stephen the Deacon, which she had erected on the supposed site of his martyrdom, less than a furlong distant from the city.

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[2] See Labbe, Concilia, Tom. IV. p. 889.

[3] Euthymii Vita, sect. lxxxii—lxxxvi. p. 269, &c. Nicephori Hist. Eccles. Lib. xv. cap. 13.

[4] Euthymii Vita, xcviii. xcix. p. 281, &c. Evagrius, H. E. I. xxii. M. Mouravieff says: "The beautifying of the cathedral church at Bethlehem is ascribed to her, and it is not improbable that she also erected the grotto of Gethsemane." Hist. of Jerus. Cap. x. ap. fin. Vol. I. 142. I find no mention of these among her acts in either of the authors above referred to; nor indeed in any ancient writer.

Some years before the death of Juvenal, one Anastasius, a suffragan bishop, to whom was committed the custody of the sacred vessels of the Church of the Resurrection, seized with an ardent desire to see the great Euthymius, came to his monastery, in company with Fidus bishop of Joppa, Cosmas keeper of the Cross, and a youth also named Fidus, a reader in the Church, who related the story to the monk Cyriacus, from whom the narrator received it. While the party were yet some distance from the monastery the saint had intimation of their approach by spiritual intuition, and commanded the steward to make preparations for an honourable reception, for the Patriarch was at hand. The party arrived, and the holy man, as in a divine trance, conversed with Anastasius as Patriarch of Jerusalem. The company marvelled all; and the steward Chysippus whispered in the ear of Euthymius, "This is not the Patriarch who is present with us, reverend father, but Anastasius, the guardian of the sacred vessels; see the garments wherewith he is clad"—(they were of coloured silk)—"it is not lawful for the Patriarch of Jerusalem to be so arrayed." The old man was silent for a time, as though lost in meditation, and then rejoined: "But believe me, my son, I saw him clothed in a white stole such as the Patriarch is wont to wear, and I think I am not deceived, but what God has foreknown He will also bring to pass; for His gifts are without repentance[1]."

And Anastasius did succeed to the patriarchal throne, which he occupied for many years[2], during

[1] Euthymii Vita, lx. lxi. pp. 249—251.

[2] Ibid. xcvi. p. 280.

which the monk Gerontius occasioned no less trouble to the Church than Theodosius had done, by his factious endeavours to uproot the faith of Chalcedon[3]. The usurpation of the imperial purple by Basiliscus favoured his designs, but it is not clear that he succeeded in supplanting the rightful Patriarch[4].

The schism was at length healed under Martyrius of Cappadocia, a disciple of St Euthymius, who was elected in place of Anastasius, deceased in the same year that Zenon recovered the empire from the usurper[5]. Marcian and Romanus were the superiors of the independent monasteries at Bethlehem and Tekoa[6]. The former, visited with some compunctions, summoned a general meeting of the schismatical monks at Bethlehem, where, having set before them the misery of the distracted Church, and the great dangers they were in by their unhappy divisions, he proposed to end the controversy by an appeal to the lot, after Apostolic precedent. When all consented, two lots were given, one for the bishops, the other for the monks. The decision justified the appeal; the lot declared for the bishops; and the monks returned to their Communion, with the exception of Gerontius and Romanus; who being expelled from their monasteries, wandered about until they died miserably. The reconciliation of the schismatics was celebrated in a public festival at Jerusalem, with every demonstration of joy and thanksgiving.

The memory of Martyrius, like that of his predecessor, has suffered from the imputation of Monophysite

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[3] Euthymii Vita, cxiii. p. 297.

[4] The question is discussed by Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. pp. 169—171.

[5] Euthymii Vita, l. c.

[6] Ibid. cxxiii. p. 306.

heresy[1]: but the representations of Evagrius, borrowed as they were from a writer of questionable fidelity[2], are entitled to little weight. Neither would subscription to the Henoticon, and the reception of the communicatory letters of heterodox bishops, prove the same charge against his successor Sallustius; for the language of the edict, designedly equivocal, admitted of a sound construction, and was freely subscribed by many prelates of unimpeachable orthodoxy; and the principles of the heretics allowed them to dissemble their true sentiments, when they desired to obtain the recognition of their more honest colleagues[3].

Meanwhile the troubles of the Church thickened apace, and when Elias the Arab, another disciple of Euthymius, succeeded to the throne of St James, the confusions had reached their climax; for Anastasius, the Emperor of the East, was using all his influence, as his predecessors had done, against the doctrine established at Chalcedon. The Church was split into three divisions[4], Rome being at variance with Constantinople on points of discipline, and again Constantinople with Egypt on the Monophysite question;—the church of Alexandria having received into communion the heresiarch Dioscorus, who had been denounced at Chalcedon. Thus the Patriarch of Jerusalem had communion only with Constantinople; for Palladius of Antioch, with a view of ingratiating himself with the Emperor, had

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[1] Evagrius, H. E. III. capp. 5, 16. See a vindication of Anastasius in Le Quien, l. c., and of Martyrius, ibid. p. 173.

[2] Zecharias Malela, or Rhetor. See Evagrius' estimate of this writer, ibid. cap. xviii.

[3] So Evagrius compares Peter Mongus to an actor and juggler (κόθορνος καὶ παλιμβόλος), who accommodated himself to the times, and shifted his opinions with convenient facility. Ib. c. 17.

[4] Sabæ Vita, sect. L. Apud Cotelerii Monumenta, Tom. III. p. 295.

anathematized the decrees of Chalcedon, and communicated with the church of Alexandria. Euphemius of Constantinople being deposed by the Emperor, and the sentence confirmed by the prelates of Alexandria and Antioch, Elias refused to sanction his deposition, but being satisfied of the orthodoxy of his successor Macedonius, admitted him to communion. The firmness of Elias on this occasion greatly incensed the Emperor, and events soon occurred which added fuel to the flame of his indignation.

On the death of Palladius, Flavian succeeded to the see of Antioch, and joined the communion of Constantinople and Jerusalem. Anastasius, who could ill brook this consent of three Patriarchs to the obnoxious Creed, framed some false accusations against Macedonius, expelled him from his throne, and required the concurrence of Elias and Flavian. This they refused, although they did not reject the Enthronistic Letters of Timothy the new Bishop of Constantinople. The Emperor, thwarted a second time, meditated revenge, and a dark cloud gathered over the two Churches, which threatened to subvert and confound the whole ecclesiastical state of Palestine.

In order to avert this calamity, Elias thought fit to send an embassy of Abbots to Constantinople, chief of whom was that eminent recluse St Saba, whose memory is still preserved by the monastery which he founded in the wildest part of the rocky desert to the west of the Dead Sea[5]. This disciple of the great

[5] The interesting particulars of this embassy are fully given by Cyril the monk (Sabæ Vita, sectt. 1—lv. pp. 297—306) on the authority of Amma, or Anastasia, a religious recluse of Mount Olivet, widow of the patrician Pom-

Euthymius had been ordained priest by Sallustius, and appointed superior of all the Anchorites of the desert, as Theodosius was of the Cœnobites. The child-like simplicity of the venerable man—he was now in his seventy-third year,—and his entire devotion to the interests of the Church, were most serviceable to Elias in his pressing emergency. The fame of his sanctity had spread throughout the East, and ensured him an honourable reception from the Emperor Anastasius, who was a lover of monks, although he had been perverted from the Catholic faith, and prevailed upon by wicked men to persecute the orthodox believers. He detained St Saba at the capital through the winter, treated him with marked distinction, loaded him with honours, and dismissed him with more substantial marks of his imperial favour, having conferred on him, unsolicited, a considerable sum of money for the use of the monasteries. But although the advocacy of St Saba had succeeded in averting the Emperor's indignation from the Patriarch for a time, it was soon to break forth with greater fury than before.

When St Saba arrived at Constantinople, Anastasius had already issued an order for a Council to be assembled at Sidon, in which he hoped to procure the condemnation of the decrees of Chalcedon. For this end he had named as presidents two heterodox bishops, Soterichus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Philoxenus of Hierapolis, whom he thought to find subservient to his wishes. But Flavian of Antioch and Elias of Jerusalem attended the Synod, and as they were will-

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peius, the Emperor's maternal nephew. This lady had frequently visited St Saba during his sojourn at Constantinople.

ing to compromise the matter so far as to dispense with a recognition of the Council of Chalcedon, they contrived to prevent a formal rejection of its decrees. Thus were the bishops dismissed without having accomplished the purpose for which they had been convened. But the temporizing policy of the two patriarchs failed in its object. They most unworthily jeopardied the truth, to avoid offence, but did not secure their private interests. Soterichus and Philoxenus, thwarted at Sidon, made it their business to exasperate the Emperor against them, and Flavian was speedily ejected from his see. Severus, a notorious heretic, was appointed in his room, and presumed to send Letters of Communion to Elias. Their rejection further inflamed the Emperor's resentment, and he sent troops to enforce their reception[1]. St Saba having received intelligence of these proceedings, hastened to the city with other Superiors from the desert, expelled the bearers of the obnoxious letters, and having assembled a crowd of monks before the sacred Calvary, with the citizens of Jerusalem, pronounced anathemas against Severus and all who would communicate with him. This was done in the hearing of the imperial officers and soldiers, and did not serve to allay the indignation of Anastasius. He condemned Elias to banishment, and sent another force under Olympius, the duke of Palestine, to carry the sentence into effect. The Patriarch was expelled from the city, and exiled to Elath, on the Red Sea[2]. From that time the heavens were shut up for

[1] For these proceedings see Sabæ Vita, sect. lvi. et seqq. p. 307, &c.; and for an estimate of the Patriarch's motives and conduct, see Le Quien's Oriens Christianus, Tom. III. cap. 182,3.

[2] For this site, see Robinson's Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 250, &c.

five whole years; and the drought was rendered still more afflictive in consequence of various kinds of locusts, which covered the land and darkened the air; then famine and pestilence followed, and the people saw in these complicated plagues a righteous judgment on the sin committed against Elias[1]. He died in exile, having received a visit from St Saba shortly before his demise[2].

But the designs of the Emperor, which appeared now on the point of their accomplishment, were again signally defeated by the ragged monk of the desert[3]. John III., who had been appointed to succeed Elias, on the distinct understanding that he was to admit Severus to communion, and anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, was prevailed on by the earnest remonstrance of the monastic body, and by their promise of co-operation, to retract his wicked pledge, and to adventure himself, as his predecessor had done, for the Orthodox Faith. The duke Olympius was superseded, and Anastasius the son of Pamphylus was sent to compel the refractory Patriarch to submission, or to drive him from his see. He was surprised and cast into the common prison, to the great joy of the people, who could not forget that he had been the chief instigator of the persecution against the faithful confessor Elias. He procured his release from confinement by dissimulation very unworthy of his office. Professing his willingness to comply with the Emperor's wishes, but a fear that compliance under his present circumstances might be ascribed to intimi-

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[1] Vita Sabæ, sect. lviii. pp. 321, 2.

[2] Ibid. sect. lx. p. 324.

[3] His dress is described by his biographer as patchwork of filthy rags, κεντωνάρια ῥυπαρὰ καὶ πολυῤῥάφια. sect. li. p. 298. For the following events, see sect. lvi. p. 310, &c.

dation, he prayed that he might be set free, and promised on the approaching Lord's Day to do all that was required of him. Having procured his liberty on this understanding, he immediately sent by night to summon the monks to his aid; and so well was the short interval of two days employed, that the Sunday found ten thousand of the fraternity congregated in the city, prepared to support the Patriarch in his opposition to the imperial mandate. The Cathedral Church of the Resurrection being incapable of receiving so vast a multitude, they assembled in the Church of the Protomartyr Stephen, with Anastasius, duke of Palestine, Zacharias, an officer of consular rank, and Hypatius, sister's son to the Emperor, who having lately been released from captivity to the Gothic chief Vitalian, had come to Jerusalem for purposes of devotion. Here while the Duke expected compliance with his master's injunctions, the Patriarch ascended the ambon, supported on one side by St Saba, the superior of the Anchorites, and on the other by Theodosius, the chief of the Cœnobites, and amid the acclamations of the people, the three fathers with one voice anathematized Nestorius, Eutyches, Severus of Antioch, Soterichus, and all who refused to admit the decisions of Chalcedon. They had no sooner descended from the ambon, than Theodosius again mounted, and cried to the people with a loud voice; "Whosoever doth not receive the Four Synods as the Four Gospels, let him be anathema!" The Duke, terrified at this demonstration, fled in dismay to Cæsarea; while Hypatius protested with an oath that he had no intention of communicating with Severus, but desired only to be thought worthy of the communion of the or-

thodox fathers there assembled, whose favour he sought to propitiate by his munificent offerings to the churches and Convents[1].

And now the Emperor's resentment would have fallen heavily on the three champions of orthodoxy, had he not been deterred by a firm, though respectful, remonstrance of the whole body of monks, in which they declare their fixed resolution to shed the last drop of their blood for the maintenance of the faith, and to submit to the ruin of the sacred places, rather than surrender the Truth of which those places testified, and to which they owed all their sanctity[2]. The Emperor was now too much occupied with civil dissensions to urge his interference any further; so that John was permitted to retain his see, his Church its orthodoxy, until the accession of Justin relieved it from the tyranny of Anastasius; but the Monophysite heresy has been a fruitful source of discord in the East from that time until the present day.

The promulgation of Justin's edict, recalling from exile all who had been banished by his predecessor, and commanding the Fourth Council to be inserted in the diptychs, occasioned no small joy at Jerusalem, and a council of bishops was assembled to celebrate a festival, at which an innumerable multitude of monks and laics assisted[3]. St Saba also was present, and although he was now in his eightieth year, gladly undertook a mission to Cæsarea and Scythopolis, to give effect to the

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[1] He offered 100lbs of gold to each of the three most sacred objects of veneration, The Resurrection, Calvary and the Holy Cross; and 100lbs each to St Saba and Theodosius, to be divided among the monks of the desert.

[2] The letter is preserved by Cyril. Vita Sabæ, lvii. pp. 313—320.

[3] Ibid. sect. lx. p. 326.

imperial letters[4]. These and other important services conferred on the Patriarch and the Church were requited by the friendship of John and his successor Peter. The latter especially is noted to have been on familiar terms with the aged saint, and would frequently retire to the desert to enjoy the privilege of his society. He was further indebted to him for a benefit of a more private character[5]. His sister Hesychia, a lady illustrious for her Christian virtues, had fallen into a dangerous sickness, and was despaired of by the physicians. The Patriarch in deep affliction sent to St Saba, beseeching him to come and pray over her. The old man, who knew not how to disobey, came accordingly, prayed over her, signed her thrice with the Cross, and she was restored to health. The fame of the miracle speedily spread over the city, and all that heard it gave glory to God. The narrative is here given as a favourable specimen of many like relations which are found in the memoirs of Euthymius and Saba, most of which were reported to their biographer only at second-hand, and many by eye-witnesses of the cures. Not that the weight of evidence, were it far greater than it is, will commend such stories as these to the belief of an incredulous age; but the writer who would present a faithful picture of this period must faithfully record, whether he share in it or no, the then popular belief in such manifestations of Divine power. Neither ought such belief to be confounded and condemned with the irrational and often grotesque superstitions of later times. For whatever may be said of the miraculous gifts of the apostolic age, no Christian will contend that the promises to be-

[4] Ibid. sect. lxi. pp. 327, 8.

[5] Ibid. sect. lxviii. p. 337.

lieving prayer were limited to the first century; nor is there the slightest intimation that the injunctions of the Apostle St James, and the promise annexed, were not intended for all time. And what did the Patriarch but follow the directions of his Apostolic predecessor with faith in his declaration, that "the prayer of faith shall save the sick," and that "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much[1]"?

During the reign of the Emperor Zeno the Samaritans had occasioned no little commotion by a violent assault upon the Christians inhabiting Nablouse[2]. If they had been driven from their holy mountain by the Pagans[3], they recovered possession through the triumphs of the Cross; for the Christians would not feel sufficient interest in Gerizim to convert the abandoned temple into a church. A synagogue[4] received the crowds who still resorted to the sacred summit where their fathers had worshipped. Having there come together in large numbers to celebrate their feast of Pentecost, they made a sudden assault upon the Christians who were solemnising their Whitsun festival in the Church. After they had slain many, they assaulted the Bishop Terebinthius as he stood by the holy table, cut off the fingers

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[1] James v. 15, 16.

[2] Procopius, de Ædificiis Justiniani, Lib. v. cap. vii. Opera, Tom. II. pp. 104, 5. Edit. Paris. 1663. The Paschal Chronicle (anno Zenonis X. Ind. VII. A.D. 484) and Abulpharagius Bar-Hebræus (Hist. Dynast. VIII. Syr. p. 79, Lat. p. 77) state that the Samaritans set up a king named Justasa, who entered Cæsarea, where Timotheus was bishop, slaughtered many citizens, and burnt the church of St Procopius, which Zeno restored. He was defeated and killed by duke Asclepiades, and his head and diadem sent to Zeno. Bar-Heb. says that *he* was taken and sent.

[3] See above, p. 241, note 4.

[4] So Chron. Pas. l. c. and Abulpharagius, l. c. Procopius however says, l. c.: οὐχ ὅτι νεών τινα ἐνταῦθα ᾠδοκομήσαντο πώποτε, κ. λ. This is of course a mistake. See above, p. 68, and p. 241, note 4.

of both his hands, besides inflicting on him other bodily injuries. They further offered such indignities to the sacred mysteries as it well became the Samaritans to perpetrate, but would ill beseem a Christian to repeat. The mutilated bishop immediately repaired to Constantinople, presented himself before the Emperor, and prayed for satisfaction, which was granted without delay. The Samaritans were driven from Gerizim, and their Synagogue, converted into a large Church of the Blessed Virgin, was slightly fortified and garrisoned with ten soldiers; a much larger force being quartered in the city below. The Samaritans, though indignant beyond measure at this profanation, were overawed for a time; but during the reign of Anastasius, at the instigation of a woman, a party scaled the precipitous side of the mountain, surprised and slew the guard; then shouting to their brethren in the city[5], invited them to join the insurrection. But the presence of the military checked the revolt for the time, the ringleaders were soon after taken and put to death, but the fortification on Mount Gerizim was neglected.

The third year of Justinian witnessed a much more serious outbreak of the whole Samaritan population against the Christian inhabitants of Palestine[6]. Their churches were pillaged and destroyed; themselves cruelly butchered, after divers tortures; and whole villages burnt, principally in the vicinity of Nablouse.

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[5] This may be compared with Judges ix. 7, &c. It has been objected that Jotham from "the top of mount Gerizim" could not have been heard by the men of Shechem.

[6] Vita Sabæ, sect. lxx. p. 339, &c. It is singular that there is no mention of this in Procopius. But the unexceptionable testimony of Cyril is further confirmed by the Paschal Chronicle, in ann. Justiniani III. Ind. VII. (A. D. 530.)

Here the insurgents proceeded to such lengths as to set up a king of their own nation. They slew Ammonas the bishop, cut up the bodies of some of the presbyters, then broiled them with the relics of the martyrs, and committed such atrocities that the Christians dared not appear in the public thoroughfares. The Emperor was no sooner apprised of these enormities than he sent an army to repress the sedition. Julian the pretender was killed in battle, with a vast number of the insurgents, but not until the country had suffered severely from their sanguinary violence.

With a view to avert the distress which must have ensued, the Patriarch and bishops implored St Saba to undertake a journey to Constantinople for the purpose of obtaining for the first and second Palestine a remission from the public taxes, in consideration of the slaughter and devastations inflicted by the Samaritans on these provinces. The venerable saint was now in his ninety-fourth year, expecting his summons to another world. Yet were the interests of his brethren dearer to him than his own personal ease, and he again undertook the mission with the same success as before[1]. The Emperor having intimation of his approach, sent the Patriarch Epiphanius, with two other dignitaries in his suite, to meet him in his own private barge, received him with tears of joy, kissed his venerable head, and asked his blessing; then presented him to his august consort, who regarded him with no less reverence. He was provided with a lodging in the palace, and all that he asked was immediately granted. The Samaritans were declared disqualified for public offices;

[1] Vita Sabæ, sect. lxxi. pp. 341, 2.

their synagogues were forfeited; and the ringleaders of the sedition condemned to death. Provision was also made for the re-edification of the churches which they had destroyed[2]; and relief afforded to the Christians whose numbers were much reduced, and whose property had been pillaged. Justinian further undertook to found a hospital for sick pilgrims at Jerusalem, and to complete the building of a Church to the Blessed Virgin, which the Patriarch Elias had commenced. Then because the monasteries of the desert were endangered by the frequent incursions of the Saracenic[3] marauders, the Duke of Palestine was instructed to establish a fortified camp in their vicinity, for the protection of the monks; and since the Church was in no less peril from heretics than from the infidels, the Emperor pledged himself to use his most strenuous efforts for the suppression of the impieties of Arius, Nestorius, and Origen, whose dogmas were being revived in the East: which last promise he faithfully fulfilled, both in his public edicts, and in the fifth Ecumenical Council, assembled at Constantinople.

The historian has not failed to remark, that Justinian's ready compliance with the prayers of the Church, was followed by those successes of his arms in Africa, Italy, and in the East, by which he recovered the dominions which had been lost to the Empire by his predecessors.

On his return to Jerusalem the aged monk was requested again to visit Cæsarea and Scythopolis, and

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[2] Ibid. lxxiii. lxxiv. pp. 343—349. See above, p. 68.

[3] The derivation of this name and nation from Sarah the wife of Abraham, is ably traced by Mr Forster in his valuable work on the Geography of Arabia. Part I. sect. v. Vol. II. pp. 1—32.

to publish the Imperial Letters throughout those districts[1]. On this occasion it was that he unconsciously provided himself with a biographer, whose simple and faithful narrative has thrown a light on the annals of the Church of Palestine which we shall often desiderate in the progress of this history. This is Cyril the Monk, a native of Scythopolis, son of a pious father, who filled the situation of house-steward to the Metropolitan of that See[2]. He dwells with peculiar satisfaction—and no marvel—on his first introduction as a boy to the venerable father, whose blessing he received, and was forthwith enrolled as his disciple, and commended to the care of the Bishop, with a special charge to his father to teach the young novice the Psalter.

On his return from this mission St Saba paid a valedictory visit to the sacred localities of Jerusalem; then retired to the seclusion of his tower in the desert, to prepare for his departure, which was nigh at hand. The Patriarch being shortly afterwards informed that he had fallen into a dangerous sickness, went down to see him, and finding him but ill accommodated in his comfortless cell, ordered him to be removed on a litter to the Episcopal residence at Jerusalem, where he shewed him every attention, and ministered to his necessities with his own hands. Here he remained but a few days, and then feeling his end approaching, he begged to be allowed to return to his monastery, where he appointed Melitas superior in his room, solemnly charging him to preserve inviolate the rules of his order.

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[1] Sabæ Vita, sect. lxxv. p. 349.

[2] His son describes him as *τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου κρατῶν, καὶ τῷ μετροπολίτῃ συνεδρεύων.*

After this he continued in divine meditation for four days, fasting and alone, then having received the Holy Communion, on Saturday evening, the 5th of December, A.D. 532, he breathed out his soul with the words, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Thus, observes his disciple and biographer, our father having fought a good fight, finished his course, and kept the faith, was adorned with a crown of righteousness.

But the holy man did not die, he adds, but is fallen asleep, as one that had lived a blameless life; for it is written, "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of the Lord, and there shall no torment touch them[3]." The Patriarch Peter, with a large attendance of bishops, monks, and people, assisted at his funeral, in the great Convent, and his uncorrupted body is preserved whole in the tomb unto this day, writes the historian, of which I have had ocular demonstration[4].

Justinian did not fail to fulfil his engagements touching the Hospital and Church at Jerusalem, at immense cost and pains[5]. In the former, he first provided one hundred beds, and assigned it an annual revenue of 1850 gold bysants; and subsequently doubled the accommodation[6], and made a corresponding increase in its

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[3] Wisdom iii. 1. Vita Sabæ, lxxvi.—lxxviii. pp. 352, &c.

[4] Vita Sabæ, l.c. This was sixteen years after the funeral. Compare sect. lxxxviii. p. 371.

[5] Sabæ Vita, lxxiii. p. 346.

[6] The author of the Itinerary of Antoninus Placentinus (al. Martyr), who exaggerates everything without measure, speaks of the Basilica of St Mary "ubi est congregatio magna monachorum, ac mulierum mensæ innumerabiles, lecta languentium plus quinque millia, ad minus tria!" Sect. xxiii. In sect. ix. is a wonderful story relating to this same hospital. Gregorius Turonensis, de Gloria Mart. Lib. I. capp. ix—xi. tells some wonderful stories about a Basilica and Monastery of St Mary at Jerusalem—the former built by Constantine, "admirabili opere fabricata." I have no doubt that allusion is intended to this Church of Justinian, and consequently that we

endowment[1]. A distinguished architect named Theodore[2], was sent to superintend the erection of St Mary's Church, and the Government collectors of Palestine were instructed to furnish funds for the building. The supreme direction was committed to the Patriarch, and another bishop, Barachus of Bacatha, was appointed overseer of the works[3]. A large number of hands was employed, and although they laboured diligently, it was twelve years before the New Church was completed. "Of the extent of this holy House, its dazzling glory, and the costliness of its adornment, it is superfluous to speak," says a contemporary writer, "since it is before our eyes, surpassing all monuments of antiquity, which now excite the admiration of men, no less than it exceeds all descriptions which have been handed down by the Greeks[4]."

It is a fortunate circumstance that this outline has been further filled out by a writer of the same age[5], whose minute description of this superb edifice, most

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have here another proof of the spuriousness of the first eleven chapters of that work, for this writer fl. A.D. 570, at which time the church was barely finished, and could not have been so soon ascribed to Constantine.

[1] If the gold Byzant is to be understood by the *νομίσματα* here, and above li. p. 300; liv. pp. 305, &c. the annual revenue would equal about £4000.

[2] ...Θεοδώρου...ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ λογίου ἀνδρὸς, κ.λ. Procopius de Bello Pers. Lib. II. cap. xiii. Op. Vol. I. p. 121; where we find him engaged in the defence of Dara against the Persians under Chosroes I.

[3] I find a parallel to this in my own College. Nicholas Close, bishop of Lichfield, was appointed by Henry VI. overseer of the buildings of King's College. He (or his father) was architect of the Chapel, John Canterbury, one of the fellows, being clerk of the works. Subsequently Edward IV. appointed Dr Field (his chaplain and provost of the College) overseer of the works; and later, under Henry VIII., the archdeacon of Norwich was overseer of the glass-work for the windows.

[4] Cyrilli Vita Sabæ, l. c.

[5] Procopius Cæsariensis de Ædificiis Justiniani, Lib. V. cap. vi. Op. Vol. II. p. 102.

important as it is for the elucidation of the ancient topography, will be found at length in the subsequent part.

Meanwhile the removal of St Saba had sadly interrupted that harmony of belief which his influence had so long maintained in the monasteries and churches of Palestine; and the monks who had lately been the staunchest champions of the Church, came now to take part with its most determined enemies.

There had been throughout a small section of monks favourably disposed to the erroneous tenets of Origen, although the authority of St Saba's name had constrained them to dissemble their opinions during his lifetime. On his death they declared themselves openly, and laboured by all means to spread their pernicious leaven among their brethren[6]. One Nonnus[7] was the ringleader of the faction, and the New Convent of Tekoa, to which he belonged, was their stronghold. Nor was the Patriarch Peter qualified to stand in the gap, or to resist the flowing tide of error. He was weak and timid, ever liable to be swayed by the strongest party, as having no firm principles of his own. He received into communion the Eutychian Anthimus, who had intruded into the See of Constantinople, which he occupied until he was degraded by Agapetus of Rome, who with consent of the Emperor, ordained Mennas in his room—the first Oriental Bishop, since the Apostles' times, that had received consecration from the See of Rome. The expostulatory letter of the Pope[8], certifying him of these

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[6] Cyrilli Vita Sabæ. sect. lxxxiii. Cot. Mon. Græc. Tom. III. p. 360.

[7] This turbulent man had been noticed before in sect. xxxvi. pp. 274, 5.

[8] Recited in the Synod of Constantinople (A.D. 536). Ap. Labb. Tom v. coll. 48, 49. Le Quien, Oriens Chris. Tom. III. col. 203, &c.

proceedings, recalled Peter to his duty. He assembled in Synod forty-eight bishops of the three Palestines to subscribe the acts of the Synod of Constantinople, containing the deposition of Anthimus and the condemnation of various heresies[1].

But the demise of the venerable Abbots of St Saba's appointment, and the inexperience of their successors, greatly favoured the cause of the heretics in the East, supported as they were in the Imperial city by Domitian and Theodore Ascidas, formerly superiors of two monasteries in Palestine, who by dissimulation had procured an introduction to the palace, and subsequently, through the Emperor's favour, promotion to ecclesiastical dignities[2]. They further contrived to interest in their cause two eminent ecclesiastics who were then in the country[3], Ephraim, Patriarch of Antioch, and Father Eusebius, domestic chaplain to the Emperor. Ephraim was soon undeceived, and anathematised the doctrines of Origen in a provincial Synod; on which the heretical monks, greatly incensed, insisted that Peter should erase the name of his brother of Antioch from the sacred dyptichs. He procured from two orthodox abbots a protest against this measure, which he sent to the Emperor, who forthwith issued an edict against the Origenists[4], which was subscribed by the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople, as also by the Patriarch, bishops, and abbots of Palestine[5].

The heretical leaders and their partisans now seceded

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[1] Ap. Labb. Tom. v. col. 275—286.

[2] Vita Sabæ, sect. lxxxiii. l. c. 361.

[3] Id. sect. lxxxv. Ibid. p. 364. Comp. Liberati Breviarium, cap. xxii. Ap. Labb. v. col. 776.

[4] Ap. Labb. Tom. v. col. 636—681.

[5] Vita Sabæ, sect. lxxxvi. p. 366.

from the Catholic communion, and withdrew from the New Convent to the plain. When this was reported at Constantinople, Theodore Ascidas, who had great influence in the Palace, sent for the proctors of the Church of the Resurrection, and threatened that except the Patriarch gave satisfaction to the Fathers, repealed the sentence, and recalled them to their Convent, he would procure his immediate degradation. Peter was weak enough to yield to this intimidation, and thus put himself in the power of Theodore, whose insolence now knew no bounds. He forced upon the unwilling Patriarch two heretical assessors; and the turbulent faction, emboldened by these measures, proceeded to greater enormities. Disgraceful outrages ensued: the orthodox monks were beaten publicly in the streets of Jerusalem, and finally besieged in the great Monastery. The Abbot Gelasius, at the request of the fraternity, undertook a journey to the Capital[6], to lay their complaint before the Emperor. Here the artifices of Theodore completely debarred him from access to the Palace: he set out on foot to return to Palestine, and died on the road.

The brethren repaired to Jerusalem to seek another Superior from the Patriarch: they were driven from his residence with insults and blows, by order of the assessors; and nearly all, forced by necessity, persuaded by flattery, or beguiled through ignorance, fell from their stedfastness. An heretical abbot was escorted to the monastery by an armed guard, and placed on the seat of St Saba[7]. The few monks who preserved their attachment to the faith (scattered like sheep from the

[6] Ib. lxxxvii. p. 368.

[7] Ib. sect. lxxxviii. p. 370.

presence of this wolf) established themselves on the Mount of Olives, until internal dissensions split the Origenists into parties, and ruined their cause.

Towards the close of his life, Peter was prevailed upon, apparently against his convictions, and contrary to his promise, to receive Justinian's Edict in condemnation of the three Chapters[1], as did also the other three Patriarchs of the East: though they afterwards recanted for a time, in deference to the judgment of Pope Vigilius, who showed a more culpable indecision than all his colleagues[2].

On the death of Peter[3], Macarius was intruded into the See by the monks of the New Convent, without awaiting the confirmation of the election by the Emperor, and fresh disturbances ensued[4]. Justinian, indignant at the slight, ordered the intruder to be expelled, and sent Eustochius, steward[5] of the church of Alexandria, to fill the vacant throne. This Patriarch was represented in the fifth Ecumenical Council by three bishops and as many Abbots; where the final condemnation of the errors of Origen[6] and of the three Chapters after

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[1] So Facundus, as cited by Le Quien, O. C. col. 207. The edict is given by Labbe. Tom. v. col. 684—732.

[2] "Sibi non consistit," as Natalis Alexander mildly says (Hist. Eccles. Sæc. VI. cap. ii. art. 9); the particulars are stated by Mosheim, Cent. VI. pt. ii. cap. iii. sect. 11, &c.

[3] This must be dated at least four years later than by Le Quien, l. c. col. 207, 8, (i. e. A. D. 548 instead of 544), as is evident from the sequence of the events in the accurate history of Cyril, sect. xc. p. 373, 4. And this will allow at least two years for Macarius; since the election of Eustochius must have taken place shortly before the Council of Constantinople (assembled A.D. 553), as is clear from this narrative, p. 374.

[4] Cyril, l. c. p. 373. Evagrius Schol. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. xxxvii.

[5] οἰκονόμος. For this office, see Bingham's Ant. Lib. III. cap. xii.

[6] So Cyril in Vita Sabæ, sect. lxxiv. p. 348, and sect. xc. p. 374, and Evagrius, H. E. IV. xxxviii. cites passages from the Acts. But Le Quien argues the question at length (col. 210—233), and concludes that Origen was not

a time restored peace to the distracted Church, which Eustochius further sought to establish within the limits of his Patriarchate, by convoking a Provincial Synod at Jerusalem, wherein the acts of the Council were subscribed and confirmed by all the bishops of Palestine with only one exception[7]. This brought the schism of the New Convent to a crisis; and its disaffected inmates again forsook the Communion of the Church. The Patriarch having used his best endeavours for the space of eight months to reduce them to submission, at length gave them over to the secular power; when the Duke Anastasius, by order of the Emperor, expelled them from the Monastery, and freed the whole province from their contagion[8]. Their cells were soon afterwards occupied by orthodox monks, transplanted from various convents of the desert.—The ruined shafts of marble columns prostrate on the ground, and among them a grand monolithic font in perfect preservation, though fallen from its pedestal, are the sole existing monuments of those scandalous contentions on the now desolate site of Tekoa!

And surely if the mysterious dispensations of Unerring Wisdom needed vindication at the hands of man, such vindication might be found for the events which were shortly coming to pass, in the sickening history of these divisions. For the state of this particular Province

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again condemned in this Council. He supposes that these writers had in mind his previous condemnation at Constantinople (A.D. 538). His arguments are strong; but all the best and earliest authorities agree in this second condemnation of Origen.

[7] Vita Sabæ, sect. xc. p. 375.

[8] Evagrius (IV. xxxviii.) relates their ejection previous to the Council. But Cyril's authority is here indisputable, as he was one of the 120 monks sent to colonise the deserted Lavra. Vita Sabæ, l. c. He had been before an inmate of the convent of S. Euthymius.

was scarcely an exaggerated representation of Universal Christendom in the sixth century; and as we shall shortly be called upon to consider the rise and progress of that power which overran with such marvellous rapidity four Patriarchates of the East, which it still holds in subjection, and even for a time invaded that of Rome on its extreme West, it may in some measure serve to explain these astounding phenomena, to show how the Church was bereft of her great strength through manifold divisions, by which she had further forfeited the protection of her Almighty Deliverer. Well would it be if the yet entire, though estranged, households of the same family, warned by the example, would prepare by a hearty reconciliation on sound principles for a united resistance to that more terrible Antichrist of the last days, whose coming we may well believe to be nigh at hand.

After a presidency of several years, Eustochius was again supplanted by Macarius, who had renounced the errors with which he was formerly charged[1]. Of him and his successor John IV. we hear but little. The brief notice of Evagrius informs us that in the time of the latter, his Church was free from heretical innovations[2]; but a passage in the history of this period brings to mind innovations of a very recent date on the continent of Europe. At this time is recorded[3] the discovery of the seamless coat of our Lord, laid up in a stone chest

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[1] Evagrius, H. E. IV. xxxix. Victor Tununensis (ap. Le Quien, O. C. col. 234) in ann. Justiniani 37.

[2] H. E. v. xvi.

[3] Fredegarii Schol. Chron. in ann. Guntehramni XXX. (A.D. 590), apud Gregorii Turonensis, Op. col. 600. Ed. Bened. 1699. Gregory himself has a different account. De Gloria Martyrum, Lib. I. cap. viii. col. 730. See Appendix for a fuller account of this questionable relic.

at Safed[4]. It was conveyed to Jerusalem in triumphal procession by the three Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, with a large company of bishops, and deposited in the same place with the Holy Cross.

On the death of John, the See remained some time vacant[5], until it was filled by the Abbot Amos; the only remaining record of whose episcopate is his inaugural address to the Priors of the desert who came to salute him on his election to the perilous distinction[6]. "Pray for me, Fathers," he said, "for a great and intolerable burden is laid upon me, and the dignity of the priesthood exceedingly terrifies me. It is for Peter and Paul and the like of them to govern rational souls, but I am a wretched sinner. More than all things do I dread the burden of ordination, for I find it written that the most blessed and angelic Pope Leo, who presided over the church of Rome, continued instant in watching and prayer at the tomb of the Apostle Peter, by the space of forty days, praying the Apostle to intercede with God for the pardon of his sins; and when the forty days were accomplished, the Apostle Peter appeared to him and said; 'I have prayed for thee, and all thy sins are forgiven thee, save those of the imposition of hands: for this alone shall be required of thee, whether thou hast performed it well or no.'"

The orthodoxy of Isacius, the successor of Amos, (A.D. 601), is attested in a letter of Pope Gregory[7] the

[4] The author writes Zafad, which annotators have most unnecessarily changed to Jafa. Safed is a well-known sacred town of the Jews, at the north of Palestine. Robinson's Bib. Res. Vol. III. p. 313, &c.

[5] Evagrius, Schol. H. E. VI. XXIV.

[6] Joannes Moschus in Prato Spirituali, cap. CXLIX. ap. Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. col. 247.

[7] See Stⁱ Gregorii Ep. Lib. VIII. Op. Tom. II. col. 899. Ed. Par. 1705. Le Quien, O. C. col. 247.

Great, in reply to the Enthronistic letters of the Patriarch; but simoniacal practices prevailed in his Church to such an extent, that bribery was the only road to ordination or preferment: and frequent strifes marred the peace of the Holy City. These evils the Pope earnestly exhorts him to correct.

But now a terrible avenger of their manifold corruptions was at hand[1]. Zacharias, who succeeded Isacius (A.D. 609)[2], had occupied the see scarcely six years, when a cloud gathered over the church of Jerusalem, which was to prove a forerunner of the thick darkness which shortly after fell upon it, and has enveloped it during that long night through which the light has scarcely glimmered in her candlestick.

By the victorious career of Chosroes the Second, from the banks of the Tigris to the Hellespont and the Nile, the limits of the Persian kingdom were for a time extended as far west as in the days of its ancient renown, and Judea again owned the dominion of a Magian monarch[3]. Jerusalem was taken, apparently without a struggle, when the usual horrors attendant on the sacking of a city by a barbarian army were enhanced by the malice of the Jews, who to the number of 26,000 had followed the Persians from Galilee,

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[1] The Patriarch Zacharias, in a letter addressed to his flock from his captivity in Persia, draws a gloomy picture of the state of the Church before this visitation. It is given in Latin in Biblioth. Max. Vet. Pat. Lugduni, 1677. Tom. XII. pp. 984, 5.

[2] Chron. Paschale in anno Phocæ VII. Ind. XII. (A.D. 609.) Vol. I. p. 699. Ed. Niebuhr. 1832.

[3] For the expedition of Chosroes the English reader may consult Gibbon, Decline and Fall, cap. xlvi. The following facts are briefly narrated by a contemporary writer in the Chron. Paschal. in ann. Heraclii IV. Ind. II. (A.D. 614). Antiochus, the monk of St Saba, who narrates the slaughter of the Fathers of that convent, a week before the investment of Jerusalem, barely alludes to this last event. Epist. Homiliis præfixa. Latinè in Biblioth.

to gratify their vengeance by the massacre of the believers, and the demolition of their most sacred churches. They were amply glutted with blood. In a few days 90,000 Christians of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, fell victims to their indiscriminating hatred[4]. The church of Gethsemane, and that erected by the Empress Helena on Mount Olivet, being without the walls, first became a prey to their fury; then the Basilica of Constantine, the churches of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre, were demolished; the last two being burnt to the ground. The greater part of the city was also destroyed. Sacred vessels without number[5] and other treasures, accumulated in the churches, which had attracted the avarice of Nushirvan[6], were transferred to the coffers of his grandson; and the Patriarch Zacharias, with numerous other captives, accompanied the wood of the true Cross in its journey to the distant capital of the conqueror.

But the Providence of God had prepared a home and a friend for the exiled Patriarch in the land of his captivity. Chosroes had taken to wife a daughter of the Emperor Maurice[7], and it was in revenge for the

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Vet. Pat. Sæc. vii. Lugduni, 1677. Vol. XII. pp. 216, 217. The fullest account is in Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. p. 213.

[4] The Paschal Chronicle says, l. c. *σφάζονται πολλαὶ χιλίαδες κληρικῶν, μοναχῶν, μοναστηριῶν παρθένων.* The numbers are specified by Theophanes (A. D. 814), Chronographia in ann. Heraclii, v. p. 252.

[5] Among these were the sacred vessels of the Jewish temple, captured by Titus, and subsequently by Genseric, and restored to Jerusalem by Justinian after their recovery by Belisarius. See above, p. 192.

[6] Procopius de Bell. Pers. Lib. II. cap. xx. Op. Tom. I. p. 137. Gibbon, cap. xlii. The expedition of Belisarius forced him to retreat over the Euphrates, before he could execute his design.

[7] So says Eutychius, p. 215, who calls her Mary; other writers give her name as Sira. Gibbon, l. c. n. 111.

murder of his father-in-law that he had declared war against the usurper Phocas. Like her cotemporary Bertha, Queen of the Pagan Ethelbert, the Christian princess was allowed the free profession of her faith; several clergy were attached to her household; three magnificent Churches, erected by her husband, were dedicated to the Virgin by the Patriarch of Antioch, and the faith was propagated throughout Persia. Zacharias was redeemed from his chains, and entertained with many of his flock, in the house of Sira, who also guarded the sacred Cross against the desecration to which it might have been exposed from the zeal of the Idolaters.

Nor was the widowed Church left to mourn in hopeless misery over the mangled corpses of her children, and the blackened ruins of her stately Churches. The pious care of a Nicodemus and a Magdalen[1] provided for the decent sepulture of the victims, whose mutilated members and headless trunks lay scattered over the city, filling the atmosphere with pestilence, and exciting horror in the survivors. Sixty-five thousand bodies were gathered together and deposited in an enormous cave before the gate, on the west of the city[2],—an arduous task, which might almost justify the

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[1] So my author calls the worthy couple who performed this charitable work. The tract (de Persicâ Captivitate) is ascribed with great probability to Modestus, and is given in Latin in the Bibliotheca Max. Vet. Pat. Sæc. VII. Lugduni. Tom. XII. p. 986; where fuller details are given, too loathsome and disgusting to transfer to these pages.

[2] I write this without hesitation. Eutychius (A.D. 940) calls their burying-place Mamilla, ماملا (Annales, l. c.), and the large Pool west of the Jaffa gate still retains this name. The next note will show that the places are identical. I first find the name in Bernhardus Monachus (c. A. D. 870,) Itinerarium, p. 792.

later tradition that introduced a well-disposed lion as assisting at these funeral rites[3].

Neither was the Patriarch in his captivity unmindful of the remnant that had escaped. He addressed them a letter, full of faithful though affectionate admonition, asking an interest in their sympathy and prayers. His place too was admirably occupied by one of those remarkable characters whom God is often pleased to raise up in the greatest extremity of the Church's need. This was Modestus, superior of the monastery of Theodosius, whose example and exhortations restored confidence to his dispirited brethren, and encouraged them to constancy and endurance for the truth sake. He also undertook, without delay, the restoration of the ruined Churches, a work in which he was warmly seconded by John the Alms-giver, Patriarch of Alexandria[4], who had already most liberally received and entertained such fugitives as had escaped from the sacking of Jerusalem[5].

In an incredibly short time[6], Modestus, who is called

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[3] This amiable lion first figures in Eugesippus (c. A. D. 1120), and is introduced to account for the name by which this cave was then called, Caverna, or Spelunca Leonis, as William of Tyre writes, in speaking of the Pool hard by. See Leonis Allatii, Συμμικτα, p. 118, and Guil. Tyr. Hist. VIII. ii. p. 747.

[4] The enumeration of the gifts is characteristic of the times and of the worthy Patriarch's bounty. They consisted of 1000 pieces of gold, 1000 pounds of iron, 1000 sacks of wheat, the same of pulse, 1000 barrels of dried fish, as many skins of wine, 1000 Egyptian labourers, accompanied with a modest letter, asking pardon for sending nothing worthy of his Lord, and expressing his desire himself to come and assist as a common mason in the restoration. See his life written by Leontius, a contemporary bishop of Cyprus, cap. vi. sect. 33, Latinè, ap. Bollandi Acta Sanct. XXIII. Jan. Tom. II. p. 505. Eutych. Ann. II. p. 218.

[5] Leontius, l. c. p. 500. Simeon Mephrastes, cap. i. sect. vi. Ibid. p. 518.

[6] Antiochus, l. c. The restoration must have been commenced immediately after the Persians had retired; for John was driven from Alexandria

a second Bezaleel or Zerubbabel, had the satisfaction of seeing the churches of Calvary, the Resurrection, the Holy Cross, and the Assumption, raised from their ruins, and the City again an object of attraction to Christian pilgrims. He administered the affairs of the Church as Vicar of the Patriarch, during the lifetime of Zacharias, and succeeded him on his death[1].

Meanwhile, the principal treasure of the church of Jerusalem still remained in the power of the fire-worshippers, nor was it recovered until the last of those glorious campaigns in which the Emperor Heraclius rolled back the tide of war into the heart of the Persian kingdom, and humbled the pride of the haughty Chosroes[2]. The year after his well-earned triumph at Constantinople, the Christian Emperor repaired in person to Jerusalem, carrying with him the true Cross, which had remained inviolate during the captivity, the seals of the chest in which it was preserved having continued unbroken. On the 14th of September, A. D. 629, a day still marked in the English calendar, and whose anniversary is celebrated with especial solemnity in other Churches of the West and East, Heraclius, having laid aside his royal apparel, entered the gates of the Holy City, clothed in mean garments, and barefoot, carrying on his shoulder the precious wood on which the World's Redemption had been accomplished. It is only consistent in an infidel to sneer at the spectacle of the victorious hero of the Persian war bowing his

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the year following, A. D. 615. Eutychius, l. c. Leontius, c. xiv. p. 515. Sim. Met. c. xiii. p. 529.

[1] Eutych. Ann. II. p. 249. He only occupied the see nine months, and on his death it remained vacant six years, until the appointment of Sophronius.

[2] Gibbon's Decline and Fall, cap. xlvi.

neck to the yoke of the Crucified[3]; but the last appearance of an Emperor of the East in the Holy City, which was soon to be wrested from his dominions for ever, might have been contemplated with satisfaction by the believer, had he not sullied the triumph of his self-abasement by a sanguinary retaliation on the Jews, to which he was instigated by the fears or by the fury of the Christians, who had been threatened with extermination in a conspiracy of that fanatical people, which was happily detected in time to prevent the execution of their terrible purpose[4]. This had occurred at a time when the danger which threatened the capital had left Palestine unprotected; but however this new evidence of their relentless spirit of animosity against the Christians might have justified severe precautionary measures against the Jews, it could not palliate nor excuse the vindictive massacre or dispersion of the whole people; the guilt of which was enhanced by the additional crime of perjury, for which the fastings of the Greeks could ill atone[5]. The spirit exhibited on this occasion too clearly proves that the heavy chastisement inflicted by the Persians had not accomplished its work on the Church of Jerusalem, and another furnace was prepared for its debased gold, in which we may hope that the process of purification is still going forward.

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[3] See a truly characteristic passage in Gibbon, l. c. near the end of the chapter.

[4] Eutych. Ann. Tom. II. 221, 222.

[5] See the account in Eutych. Ann. 242—249.

CHAPTER V.

JERUSALEM UNDER THE SARACENS.

In the year that the Emperor Heraclius set out on the first of his victorious campaigns against Chosroes, an Arabian adventurer, driven as an impostor from his native city of Mecca, hardly escaped with his life to Medina; and in the year that the Emperor celebrated his triumph at Jerusalem, the son of 'Abd-Ullah returned at the head of 10,000 followers to the city from which he had been expelled, forced his enemies to submission, demolished the idols of the Caaba, and changed the religion of Arabia. His successes in his own country

were but a prelude to the victories which were to attend the arms of his generals throughout their irresistible career, wherein, in less than a century, they subjugated to the Prophet and his Khalifs, or successors, the whole of the Persian, and the fairest and most fertile provinces of the Roman empire, including Syria, Egypt, Northern Africa, and Spain; a vast extent of territory comprehended in the three continents of the old world, and stretching from India to the Atlantic Ocean[1].

The Roman army had first heard the war-cry of the Arabs, and experienced the lightning flashes of Khaled, the "Sword of God," in the battle of Muta[2], during the lifetime of Mohammed; but it was reserved for the first Khalif to organise an expedition for the reduction of Syria[3].

Having despatched Khaled to Irak, Abu-Bekr wrote to invite the tribes of Arabia to march against the Greeks. Four powerful chieftains answered the summons, and were sent in two divisions, to carry war into Syria. Their instructions were, to kill neither old men, infants, nor women; to cut down no fruit-trees, nor to lay waste the corn-lands, and to harm no cattle. The

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[1] For the rise and progress of Islâm, the English reader may consult Prideaux's Life of Mohammed, Ockley's History of the Saracens, the Abbé de Marigny's History of the Arabians, or the shorter notices of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chaps. l. li.

[2] Abulfedæ Annales Muslemici in ann. Hegiræ VIII. (A. D. 629.) Tom. I. p. 143. Edit. Hafniæ, 1789, and Theophanis, Chronog. in ann. p. 278.

[3] For this I follow Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. p. 258, &c.; Elmacinus, Historia Saracenica, A. H. XIII. p. 17, &c. Comparing Abulfedæ Annales, ann. eod. (A. D. 634.) Tom. I. p. 221, &c. The history of the conquest of Syria ascribed to Al-Wakidi, translated by Ockley, and too implicitly followed by Gibbon, is proved to be much later than was supposed. See Milman's Gibbon, note † on chap. li. n. 44, and note * on n. 51. Vol. IX. p. 376, 381.

plan of operations was well concerted, and betokens the superintending agency of a master-mind. The conflicting narratives of the various chroniclers can only be reconciled by supposing a simultaneous movement[1] on the south of Palestine and on the Belka—the ancient Peræa—and Upper Syria.

The army of Palestine, commanded by 'Amrou, the future conqueror of Egypt, speedily reduced Gaza[2], swept the coast of Philistia and the country of the Jordan, and forced the remnant that escaped from the slaughter to seek refuge in Cæsarea or Jerusalem.

Bozra had first surrendered to the Saracens[3], and the division of the north under Yezid, Abu-'Obeidah, and Serjil, had already obtained important successes, when Khaled Ibn-el-Walid, recalled from a brilliant campaign in Mesopotamia, came up with a reinforcement of 9,000 men to take the supreme command.

The wild enthusiasm of the disciples of the Koran supplied the place of military tactics, while the corruptions and divisions of the Christian Church, loudly calling for Divine judgment, armed them with a power which nothing could withstand. A terrific earthquake, the vibrations of which continued for thirty days, followed by a grievous pestilence and portentous signs in the heavens[4], awakened gloomy forebodings in the minds of the Christians, which were soon to be terribly realized.

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[1] So Elmacinus, l. c. p. 17.

[2] Eutychius, l. c., and Elmacinus, p. 19.

[3] Fully narrated by Ockley after the pseudo-Al-Wakidi. Saracens, Vol. i. p. 31, &c. Elmacin (p. 18) says that Bozra was the first city of Syria occupied by the Moslems.

[4] These are added by Theophanes, Chron. in ann. 624. p. 279.

The first act of the Khalif 'Omar was to prefer Abu-'Obeidah to the command in chief, in the place of Khaled[5], and a series of victories justified the measure. Damascus was the first to surrender; the fatal battle of Yarmuk discomfited the Roman forces[6]; then Homs, Hamath, Antioch, Aleppo, and other principal cities of Syria in succession opened to the conquerors, until that whole country was subjugated[7]. The crimson tide of conquest rolled on towards Jerusalem, which the retreat of Heraclius had abandoned to the infidels. Cæsarea, Sebaste, Nablouse, Lydda, and Jaffa capitulated[8], but the towers and bulwarks of Sion, formidable even in her decay, presented an effectual check to the undisciplined tribes of the desert.

By the direction of the Khalif the siege was undertaken, and Yezid Ibn-Abu-Sofian was sent forward with a detachment of 5,000 Arabs. Abu-'Obeidah himself brought up the main body only eleven days later, and was shortly joined by 'Amrou and his victorious troops from the south. When the city was thus invested it contained 12,000 Greeks and 50,000 natives[9]. The prelate who then presided over the Church of Ælia, was a dignitary equal to the emergency, and holds a conspicuous place in the Christian and Mohammedan

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[5] Elmacin. A. H. XIV. (A. D. 635) p. 21.

[6] Id. A. H. XV. (A. D. 636), relates this without the name. He states the Moslems at 36,000 men; the Christians at 240,000. Abulfeda dates this battle two years earlier, A. H. XIII. (A.D. 634) p. 221. Abulpharagius adds that 40,000 Christians perished in this battle; of whom many were drowned in the Yarmuk. Chron. Syr. Dynast. x. p. 106.

[7] Abulfeda, A. H. XV. p. 225.

[8] Id. p. 229.

[9] "Jalal-Addin, History of the Temple at Jerusalem, translated by Reynolds," p. 157. This compilation would be more valuable if it were less diffuse and verbose.

annals of these events, as the mediator of peace and war.

Sophronius, a native of Damascus[1], had become widely known to the Church as a simple monk, through his ascetic, liturgical, and controversial writings, and by his zealous labours in defence of the orthodox faith against the Monothelite heresy, at Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople. On the demise of Modestus[2] he succeeded to the Patriarchate, and forthwith convened a Synod of Bishops at Jerusalem[3], whose acts were of such importance as to be recited in the Sixth General Council (A.D. 680), together with his Encyclical Letter addressed to Sergius of Constantinople and Honorius of Rome, in which he established, on the clear authority of the Fathers, a double will and operation in Christ[4].

This Epistle was written while the war-cry of the Saracens was ringing in his ears[5], and he touchingly exhorts his brethren "to pray God to vouchsafe such strength to the Imperial arms, that they might crush the pride of the Barbarians, who on account of our sins," he says, "have suddenly invaded us, and are wasting all things with wild and ruthless fury, with profane and impious daring."

Alas! his penitential confession, and his brethren's deprecatory prayers were of no avail. The infidels

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[1] The notices of his history are collected by Le Quien, with his usual care and diligence. O. C. Tom. III. col. 264—280.

[2] Eutychius (Annales, Tom. II. p. 249) says, that Modestus occupied the See only nine months, and that there was an interregnum of six years.

[3] Theophanes, Chronograph. in ann. 621. p. 274.

[4] Apud Labbe, &c. Concilia, Tom. VI. col. 852.

[5] Ibid. col. 896. Conf. Stephanum Dorensem Epis. in Concil. Lat. Ibid. col. 104.

were at the gate, and the summons to surrender was couched in terms expressive of most determined resolution: "In the name of God, merciful and gracious! from Abu-'Obeidah Ibn-el-Jirah to the Christians of the people of Ælia, health! and to all who follow the right way, and believe in God and in His Prophet! To come to the point. For my part, I beg you to bear witness that there is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God; and that the moment of judgment will come beyond all doubt; and that God will raise men from the dead. And if you will stand to this, your blood is sacred unto us as well as your property, and your children, and you shall be to us as brothers: but if you refuse, I will bring down upon you a people more earnest in their love of death than you in the drinking of wine, or eating of hog's flesh; nor will I ever pass away from you, please God, until I have killed your warriors, and made captive your children[6]."

The proposals were rejected by the inhabitants, who resolved to try the fortune of war, and made a vigorous resistance for four months[7], during which the Arabs suffered severely from the sallies of the besieged and from the inclemency of the season, for it was then winter[8]. At length, despairing of succour from the discomfited troops of the Empire, and convinced of the obstinacy of the Saracens, the Patriarch advanced to

[6] Jalal-Addín, p. 158.

[7] Theophanes, Chronograph. in ann. 627. p. 281, extends the siege over two years.

[8] Ockley's Saracens, I. 214. It was probably at this time that Sophronius delivered the Homily on the Nativity, in which he remarks that the Christians were prevented from celebrating this Festival at Bethlehem, as was (and still is) their wont, this town being then occupied by the Saracens. See Bib. Max. Vet. Pat. Tom. XII. p. 207.

the walls, and invited the commander to a parley. His attempt to terrify the infidel by threats of the Divine vengeance for the desecration of the Holy Land, was skilfully parried by Abu-'Obeidah, who professed equal veneration for the sacred city, as the mine of the prophets, whose sepulchres it contained; and claimed a better title to its possession than the Christians could have, inasmuch as it was from it that Mohammed had commenced his nocturnal journey to the ninth heaven; and he finally declared his resolution not to withdraw from the siege until God delivered it into his hands, as He had delivered other places before it. At length the Patriarch consented to capitulate, but refused to treat of terms with any subordinate officer; requiring the presence of the Khalif himself, and binding the people by an oath to surrender the city, on fair terms, into his hands[1]. A messenger was despatched to Medina, and after some hesitation on his part, and conflicting opinions in his council, 'Omar resolved to set out for the scene of action. His preparations were soon complete: a modern Bedawí is not more economical in his wardrobe and equipage than was the great "Commander of the Faithful." A pair of saddle-bags, filled with the commonest provisions, slung before him on the camel, a large leathern bottle and a wooden platter behind, were all his equipment; and with these he entertained his fellow-travellers at their frugal mea in their journey through the desert. On his progress he set in order what he found amiss in the villages through which he passed, administered even-handed justice without prejudice or partiality, and set his com-

[1] Jalal-Addín, p. 161.

panions an edifying example in the punctual discharge of the prescribed duties of religion[2].

Coming in sight of the Holy City, he exclaimed: "Ullàh Acbar! (God is great!) O God, give us an easy conquest!" He fixed his head-quarters at a village named Jabít, and there received a deputation from the Christians, with whom he concluded articles of capitulation, which are interesting as "a model for capitulation of every Christian city[3]." "In the name of God, merciful and compassionate! The following are the terms of capitulation which I, 'Omar, the servant of God, the commander of the faithful, grant to the people of Ælia. I grant them security for their lives, their possessions, and their children; their churches, their crosses, and all that appertains to them, in their integrity, and their lands, and to all of their religion. Their churches shall not be impoverished, nor destroyed, nor injured; neither their endowments nor their dignity; and nothing of their property. Neither shall the inhabitants of Jerusalem be exposed to violence for following their religion; nor shall one of them be injured; nor shall one of the Jews be impoverished in Ælia. And it is stipulated with the people of Ælia, that they pay a tribute according to the tribute paid by the people of the other cities[4]. Moreover, the Greeks and robbers shall depart therefrom, with security for their life and property[5]... And whoever there

[2] Ockley, i. 217.

[3] Jalal-Addín, p. 168.

[4] Five dinars were imposed upon the richest class; four upon the next; three upon the next. Very old men, or very young children, paid nothing. Ibid. p. 158.

[5] Three days were assigned for their departure; the safe conduct and truce being null and void with respect to any one who should remain after the expiration of that term. Ibid. p. 157.

be of the people of the land who wish to reside therein, upon them is the same tribute as upon the people of Ælia. And whosoever wishes to go with the Greeks, or to return to his land, from him shall be taken nothing of the stores of his magazines. And of all this may God be the Ratifier! and be this the covenant of his Apostle (upon whom be the blessing and peace of God!) and the covenant of the orthodox khalifs, if they yield possession." Other conditions are added by various authorities, allowing the free exercise of their religion to the Christians, but forbidding them to obtrude it upon the Musalmáns in any public exhibition, or to place obstacles in the way of any who chose to embrace Islâm[1].

These preliminaries being arranged, the gates were thrown open, and the Khalif was met at his entrance by the Patriarch. The salutation of the latter might have been more courteous, though his reception of such a conqueror could scarcely have been less sad. The Khalif, dressed in a tattered garment of camel's hair, made no very imposing appearance; practising in his own person the moderation which he preached to others, as the only substantial foundation of the greatness of the Moslems. When Sophronius saw him, he exclaimed: "Verily, this is the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!" and as he went he bewailed the affliction of the Christians with many tears[2]. But the satisfaction of the 'Amír[3] on discovering that he had been the

[1] Ibid. p. 172. Ockley, I. p. 223.

[2] Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 281.

[3] 'Amír-el-Mumenîn (Commander of the Faithful) is the name assumed by 'Omar. His predecessor Abu-Bekr chose to be called Khalif-Resul-Ulláh (Successor of the Apostle of God). Abulfeda Annal. A. H. XIII. p. 223.

subject of prophecy under any description, could not but be great, in the absence of all prophetic or miraculous testimony to the mission of Mohammed, and would no doubt excuse the tears of the Patriarch[4].

The strict observance of the letter of the treaty, and the thoughtful consideration with which he provided against its violation by his followers, redound to the credit of the Khalif, and serve to prove that the high integrity of his character has not been over-estimated by Mohammedan writers. He proceeded, under the conduct of the Patriarch, to the Church of the Resurrection[5]. While there, the Moslem's hour of prayer arrived, and 'Omar expressed a wish to pray. "O Commander of the Faithful," said the Patriarch, "pray here!" "I will not pray here," replied the Khalif. He was conducted to the Church of Constantine, in the middle of which a mat was spread for his accommodation: "Neither will I pray here," he repeated. He then went out of the church to the door facing the east, and there prayed alone on the steps. Then sitting down he enquired: "Knowest thou, O Patriarch, why I would not pray within the church? Had I done so, you would have lost your right in it, for the Moslems would have taken it from you after my death, saying, Here prayed 'Omar." Not satisfied with this precaution, but fearing lest his act, as it was, might be drawn into precedent, he asked for paper, and wrote an order that the Mos-

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See further an Essay of F. Lebrecht, cap. i. sects. iii.—viii. pp. 319—335 in Vol. II. of Benjamin of Tudela's Itin. Ed. Asher.

[4] See Ockley's Saracens, pp. 215, 16, for the very probable conjecture that the Mohammedan story of a prophecy among the Christians relating to 'Omar's conquest, was grounded on this exclamation of the Patriarch.

[5] Eutychii Annales, Vol. II. pp. 285, 6.

lems should not pray even on the steps except one at a time, and should not be called to prayer there, as at their own mosks. This writing he delivered to the Patriarch.

The Khalif next performed his devotions at the Tower of David, and then requested to be conducted to the "Mosk of David." The Patriarch might guess that the Temple of Solomon was intended by this strange designation, but its site had been so long neglected that the memory of it was well-nigh lost; which will account for the hesitation that followed[1]. He conducted 'Omar and his attendants to the Church of the Resurrection, and said, "This is the Mosk of David." 'Omar considered attentively, and replied: "Thou liest! for the Apostle of God (on whom be the blessing and peace of God!) described to me the Mosk of David, which does not answer to this." The same objection was repeated at the Church of Sion, and at other churches in the city, until he came to the large Church near the Gate of Mohammed. Water was running down the steps, and through the street which led to the city-gate, so that great part of the stairs were under water. Then said the Patriarch to him: "Thou canst go no further except by crawling on hands and knees." The Khalif, nothing daunted, proceeded thus through the water-channel, until he came to a level space at the top of a hill, where there were ruins[2]. Here

[1] I make out the best story I can from Eutychii Annales, Vol. II. pp. 286, 289; from the various and often conflicting traditions preserved by Jalal-Addín, in his History of the Temple of Jerusalem, pp. 174—190 of the Translation; and from the Arabic History of Jerusalem, by Mejr ed-Dín translated in Mines d'Orient, Tom. v. p. 160.

[2] "Aliqua vetusti operis extantia vestigia demonstrantes." Willermus Tyrensis, Lib. I. cap. ii. Gesta Dei. p. 630.

he looked about him and contemplated for a while; then he said: "Ullàh Acbar! By Him in whose hands is my life, this is that which the Apostle of God (on whom be the peace and blessing of God!) described to me."

The sacred rock, reputed to be the Bethel of Jacob's vision[3], the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple, the starting point of Mohammed's celestial journey, had been converted into a dunghill by the Christians, as an insult to the Jews, who regarded the spot with especial veneration. The zealous Khalif himself set the example of clearing it from its defilement, and was warmly seconded by his followers, converting their garments into barrows, to transport the soil to the neighbouring valley. Having accomplished their task, they proceeded to two fountains in the valley of Hinnom, where they performed the necessary ablutions, and then returned to the rock to pray.

Thus was the spot selected for that magnificent structure which at this day perpetuates at Jerusalem the name of the second Khalif, its first Moslem conqueror. Not that the present building owes its erection to him; his mosk is described by one who saw it as a mean building, quadrangular in form, constructed of timber, over some fragments of ruins, and was reputed to contain three thousand worshippers[4].

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[3] This tradition owes its origin, I believe, to the Moslems, with whom it is quite in character to crowd together a number of incidents, without the slightest regard to topography, chronology, or history.

[4] Adamnanus de Locis Sanctis, Lib. I. cap. i. ap. Acta SS. Ord. Benedict. Tom. III. Part 2. p. 504. Sarraceni quadrangulam orationis domum, quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias construentes vili fabricati sunt opere, ipsi frequentant; quæ utique domus tria hominum millia simul (ut fertur) capere potest.

The existing temple was built by 'Abd-el-Melik Ibn-Marwan, of the house of Ommiyah, the tenth Khalif. The grandeur of its conception, and the magnificence of its execution, deserved a better reward from posterity than the oblivion of his name. It was commenced in the 69th year of the Hejra, (A. D. 688,) and completed in three years[1]. It is said that he spent upon the building the produce of a seven years' tax upon Egypt, amounting, according to another authority, to 100,000 dinars; and the Arabian historians are lost in admiration at the prodigality of the expenditure; but as the minute detail of his ornaments would be tedious and uninteresting, it may be dispensed with.

The neighbouring church of Justinian, dedicated to the Virgin, had already been converted into the Mosk el-Aksa. The munificent Khalif 'Abd-el-Melik covered its gates with plates of gold and silver, but it was soon stripped of its treasures in consequence of the poverty of his successors. During the khalifat of his son Waled, the eastern part of the Mosk el-Aksa fell to ruin, and as he had no funds to repair it, he ordered the ruined part to be pulled down, and the price of the materials to be distributed to the poor. Forty years later, in the time of the second Abbasside Khalif, Abú-J'afar el-Mansur, the east and west sides were decayed by time, or injured by an earthquake, and as he could not afford to restore it, he stripped the gold from the doors, coined it, and applied the proceeds to the necessary repairs. A second earthquake shook down what he had rebuilt, and his son and successor,

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[1] So Jalal-Addín, p. 185. Mejr ed-Dîn says it was commenced A. H. 66; (l. c. p. 162) and finished A. H. 73, (p. 158).

W.F Wittis del. — A. Picken lith.

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VIEW OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR, AND THE MT OF OLIVES.

From the interior of the City

el-Mahadi, found the mosk in ruins. The character of the building was altered by this Khalif, whose taste was offended by its proportions, and he gave orders that its length should be diminished and its width increased. Again, in the 452nd year of the Hejra, (A.D. 1060,) it suffered materially from the falling in of the roof, and suggested to the Moslems sad forebodings of approaching calamities, which were shortly verified by the Crusaders. The facts here stated will sufficiently account for the debasements noticed by modern travellers in this very interesting building, decidedly one of the most ancient in Jerusalem—debasements which have so altered its character, as to lead them to question whether it can be the church of the Virgin built by Justinian[2].

From the period of its conquest by 'Omar, but especially subsequent to the erection of the Kubbet es-Sakhrâh (the Dome of the Rock) by 'Abd-el-Melik Ibn-Marwan, Beit el-Mukaddus[3] (the Holy House)—so the Moslems name Jerusalem—became almost as much an object of religious attraction to the Mohammedan devotee as to the Christian pilgrim[4]. Not that the zeal of the latter was in the least abated by the occupation of the

[2] The best and fullest Mohammedan account of the Sakhra and el-Aksa is that of Mejr ed-Dîn, in the Mines d'Orient, Tom. II. pp. 83—100, and Tom. V. pp. 157—163, with which should be compared Jalal-Addín's Hist. of the Temple by Reynold's, pp. 184—194. Modern accounts are Ali Bey's Travels, cap. xvi. Vol. II. pp. 214—227, but especially the explanation of the Plan and Section in Vol. I. pp. xxxv.—xxxix. Richardson's Travels, Vol. II. p. 285—314, and Catherwood, in Bartlett's Walks, pp. 161—178.

[3] بيت المقدس. So they write. In common parlance they use the more convenient abbreviated form, القدس, "el-Kuds," i. e. "the Holy."

[4] Eutychii Annales, II. 365. 'Abd-el-Melik, after the example of his predecessor Merwan, had forbidden pilgrimages to Mecca, on account of its occupation by 'Abdullah Ibn-Zobeir.

Holy City by the infidels; nor do the strangers from the West appear to have suffered any material annoyance from them. The native Christians themselves enjoyed the peace and protection secured to them by the treaty of capitulation, during the reign of 'Omar's upright successors, and of the princes of the house of Ommiyah[1].

The festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, (September 14th) appears still to have congregated myriads of strangers from all nations, as in former times, though the fair on the day following was no doubt a greater object of attraction to the infidels: while the pilgrims uniting, as is still their practice, mercantile speculation with devotional objects, found there a ready market for their wares, from the proceeds of which they might defray the expenses of their journey[2].

At this period, the City presented an imposing appearance, surrounded by a wall fortified with eighty-four towers, and pierced by six gates; containing within its circuit many large and well-built houses of stone, constructed with wonderful art. Such is the description of an Episcopal traveller from France, who had resided there for nine months. His narrative was taken

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[1] The first five khalifs are distinguished by the designation of "the Upright," which their administration seems to have merited. The dynasty of Ommiyah acceded by the usurpation of Moawiyah in A. D. 661, and became extinct by the murder of Merwan II. A. D. 752. For a succinct history of these princes, see Gibbon, capp. l. li.

[2] The concourse of strangers to Jerusalem for mercantile purposes is mentioned by Arculfus, (Adamnanus, de Loc. Sanct. Lib. I. cap. i. l. c. p. 503). He takes no notice of the religious festival, but notices that the fair was held annually according to custom on the 15th of September. There can be no doubt that it was first connected with the feast of the 14th, which it may afterwards have absorbed, as is so commonly the case with local feasts in this country.

down from his own lips by Adamnan, Abbot of St Columba, in Iona, to which island Arculfus was driven by stress of weather, on his return from the East. Here he liberally repaid the hospitality of the Abbot, by valuable information, communicated in reply to his numerous and repeated enquiries, and illustrated by rough drawings on waxen tablets; from which was compiled the fullest and clearest account of the Holy Places that has been transmitted from the ages prior to the Crusades. The work was presented by its author to Alfred, King of Northumbria, and re-edited in a more polished but abbreviated form by the Venerable Bede[3].

To return now to the Church of Jerusalem. Sophronius did not long survive the calamities which it was his lot to share and his privilege the mitigate[4]. Having earnestly contended for the faith, first as a simple monk and afterwards as Patriarch, not only within the limits of his own jurisdiction but in Europe and Africa, where it was equally endangered through the insidious policy of the Monothelites, he found in the grave a haven of rest from those storms which had harassed his declining age[5]. The throne remained vacant for many years after his death[6], during which interval the government of the See devolved virtually on the Roman Pontiff; for being prevented, by present distresses and the incursions of barbarians, from supplying a suitable successor, he administered by his vicars the

[3] Ven. Bedæ de Sanctis Locis libellus. Vol. IV. cap. xx. p. 442. Giles's Edit.

[4] Theophanis, Chron. in ann. Heraclii 26, p. 281, 2. Eutychii, Ann. Tom. II. p. 290.

[5] As he touchingly describes in his Epistle to Sergius (Ap. Labbe, Tom. VI. col. 854): ἐμοὶ βιωτικῶς θαλαττεύοντι, εἶτα καὶ κινδυνεύοντι.

[6] Eutychius, l. c., says only 29 years. So again in p. 361, an error corrected by Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. col. 280.

ecclesiastical affairs of Palestine, which however suffered materially from this arrangement[1].

The vicarial functions were first assumed, without any canonical authority, by Sergius, Bishop of Joppa, whose irregular proceedings involved the polity of the Church in confusion, and occasioned no little embarrassment to Stephen, Bishop of Dora, who was regularly appointed by Pope Theodore to administer the affairs of the Patriarchate. A better choice could not have been made, for Stephen was already well known to the Churches both of Syria and Italy; having been formerly sent by Sophronius on a special mission to the apostolic See on matters relating to the Monothelite controversy[2]. His vigorous exertions for the restoration of order were interrupted by the artifices of his enemies, who preferred against him certain groundless charges, in order to procure his dismissal from his post. They succeeded in their endeavours; for although the accused was able to refute the calumnies, yet Pope Martin judged it expedient to remove him from his office, and he was superseded by John, Bishop of Philadelphia, to whom was committed the charge of all ecclesiastical functions and offices within the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch; a sufficiently wide jurisdiction, in the supervision of which he was assisted by other ecclesiastics delegated by the Pope. We subsequently find a presbyter named Theodore exercising the same powers, and represented by a monk of his own order named

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[1] The too copious materials for the uninteresting history of this interval are to be found in the letters of the Vicars and Popes, contained in the 6th volume of Labbe's Concilia. Sufficiently copious extracts are given by Le Quien, l. c. col. 280—289.

[2] See his letter read at the Lateran Council, A. D. 649. Ap. Labb. Tom. VI. col. 103.

George, in the sixth general Council, assembled at Constantinople against the Monothelite heretics.

It was not until the commencement of the eighth century, after a widowhood of about sixty years, that the line of patriarchs was restored to the Church of Jerusalem, in the person of John V., whose memory has been rescued from oblivion by the annalists[3], and from the imputation of heresy by that renowned father of the Greek Church, his friend and name-sake of Damascus[4], with whom he was associated in the defence of the sacred images, against the iconoclastic violence of Leo the Isaurian[5]. His successor Theodore, in his Synodical Letters to the other patriarchs, expressed his conformity to their sentiments on this subject, and the monks of Palestine held the same prominence in this struggle that their predecessors had taken in the theological controversies of past centuries.

But the Christian history of this period is involved in great obscurity, and the acknowledged inaccuracy of the only ancient writer that has exhibited in continuity the order and periods of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, has further added to the confusion[6]. Nor are the few facts that the annalists have preserved, relative to the native Church of the seventh and eighth centuries, of

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[3] Theophanis Chronographia, p. 314, &c. in ann. 1mo; Justiniani II. A. D. 693 (705). He gives him 30 years. Eutychius Alex. (Annal. Tom. II. p. 359) gives him 40 years, from the 7th of Moawiah (A.D. 668). This is much too early. Vid. Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. col. 290.

[4] Sti Joannis Damasceni, Epist. de Hymno Trisagio, sectt. i. xxvi. Tom. I. pp. 481, 495. Ed. Le Quien.

[5] Ἰωάννης σὺν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόποις τοῖς ἀναθέμασι τὸν ἀσεβῆ ὑποβάλλει. Theoph. Chron. in A. D. 729, p. 342.

[6] Le Quien, in his invaluable work, already so often referred to, has done all that learning and diligence can do to elucidate this subject.

such a character as to occasion any deep regret at their paucity. The struggle for the due honour of the sacred pictures, against the intemperate zeal of the Iconoclasts, is not one that will engage the warmest sympathies of those who have had the opportunity of observing the full development of a practice sanctioned by the authority of the Second Nicene Council. It was, indeed, almost inevitable that the measure of reverence there defined should not degenerate in the popular mind into such excesses as are the scandal of the Greek and Latin Communion, which the more enlightened of their own ecclesiastics deplore, but know not how to remedy. And it may safely be affirmed, that even a puritanical abhorrence of images is not less in accordance with the feeling of the early Christians than is the actual veneration shewn them in those Churches either with that feeling or with the spirit of the later synodal determinations.

The accession of the house of Abbas to the Khalifat[1], and the removal of the seat of government from Damascus to Bagdad, founded on the eastern banks of the Tigris by El-Mansur, the second prince of this family, were not favourable to the interests of the Christians. A dynasty which had waded to the throne through the blood of their co-religionists was not likely to spare those whom they despised as infidels; and a frequent change of local governors exposed them to many vicissitudes of fortune, according to the caprice of their tyrants[2]. Bishops were banished on false accusations; the Christians were prohibited from building new Churches, from exposing the Cross in public, and

[1] See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. lii. Vol. x. p. 27, &c. Milman's Ed.

[2] Willermus, Tyrensis, Lib. i. cap. iii. ap. Gesta Dei, p. 630.

from arguing with the Moslems on questions touching the faith; the exemption of the religious orders from taxation was removed; the treasuries of the Churches were secured with the Khalif's seal, and their consecrated vessels offered for sale to the Jews[3]. Then, during El-Mansur's visit to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Ramadan in the eighteenth year of his reign, he commanded the Jews and Christians to be branded in the hand; until the persecution waxed so hot that many of the latter sought refuge from his tyranny beyond the sea, in the dominions of the Christian Emperors[4].

Yet were not the pilgrims of the west deterred by the increased perils of the way. It was during the reign of El-Mansur that our countryman St Willibald, Bishop of Eichstädt, visited Palestine with seven companions[5]; and the vexatious interference to which they were subject proves that the country was under a more vigilant police, and strangers subject to a stricter surveillance than before. Apprehended as spies at Emessa, they were examined by a person of distinction, as to their country, and the object of their journey. Their answers satisfied the old man: "he had often seen men of their kin coming from those parts; they sought no evil, but were simply fulfilling the law of their religion." They were detained in prison notwithstanding; though the sufferings of their captivity were much alleviated by the charitable offices of a merchant of the city who would gladly have redeemed them from their chains. As this was not permitted, he daily supplied them with dinner and supper, sent his son every Thursday and

[3] Theophanis, Chronographia, p. 361, in ann. 2 and 3. Abdelæ (i. e. El-Mansur), A. D. 748, 9, (755, 6).

[4] Ibid. p. 376.

[5] S. Willibaldi, Hodœporicon, cap. viii. ap. Canisii Thes. Tom. II. p. 110.

Saturday to attend them to and from the bath; and when he accompanied them to Church on the Lord's Day, he led them by the market, that if they fancied anything there exposed for sale, he might procure it for them at his own charges. Thus they remained, a gazing-stock to the natives, who came daily to the prison to feast their eyes on the young, handsome, and well-clad foreigners, until they were released through the good offices of a Spaniard who had influence with the governor.

Even after this, their liberty of movement seems again to have been impeded, as in the course of their wanderings they were fain to return once and again to Homs, in order to procure from the governor a passport to travel without molestation[1]. This they found of service at a fortress on a promontory near Tyre, then called "the head of Libanus[2]," occupied by a garrison, who had orders to apprehend all travellers not provided with such a document, and to send them to Tyre. Arrived at this city they were again deprived of their liberty, and their baggage subjected to a strict search, the result of which might have been serious, as the transgression of the commercial laws was visited as a capital offence.

Another episcopal pilgrim to the East during this reign was Madelveus of Virdun, whose friendship with the Patriarch Eusebius is an interesting token of the amity which continued to exist between the Churches of the East and West. The ardent devotion of the stranger, and the floods of tears daily shed at the se-

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[1] Ibid. p. 113.

[2] The Thalamartha in this connection I cannot identify: but the "caput" and "turris Libani" answers exactly to the Ladder of Tyre at the Ras el-Abiad, where is still a guard-house with a solitary sentinel. Only this is not Lebanon.

pulchre of his crucified Lord, first commended him to the Patriarch's regard, and his admiration and affection were secured by the angelic countenance, the modest address, the gentle gait, and reverent dress of his western brother. He introduced him to his family, entertained him at his table, and would not have suffered him to depart, had he not been divinely warned to prefer the advantage of the Church to the gratification of his own private wishes. He bestowed on him at parting precious relics of many saints, with a crystal goblet, wonderfully cut; and so they parted amid kisses and tears and mutual benedictions[3].

One is loath to believe that this pleasing and probable narrative is a mere fiction, but it must be owned that the usual authorities exhibit no Patriarch of this name at the time specified. The difficulty may however be removed by supposing an omission on the part of the annalists, or an error in the name of the Patriarch in the French Chronicle.

Although the Bishop of Virdun does not appear to have met with any annoyance in his journey to Jerusalem, inasmuch as he landed at Jaffa, and there re-embarked, yet the perils or annoyances to which travellers were exposed, is strikingly illustrated by the following facts. When Tarasius of Constantinople had sent two messengers to the three Patriarchs of the East to inform them of the calling of the seventh General Council, and to invite their presence and co-operation; and when they had come on their mission as far as Jerusalem, through a thousand perils, the bishops and

[3] Chronicon Virdunense Hugonis, ap. Labbæi Nova Bib. MSS. Tom. I. p. 112. Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. col. 301, who discusses the difficulties and dates.

priests to whom they there addressed themselves, dissuaded them by their earnest remonstrances from proceeding further on their errand, as a measure fraught with most dangerous consequences, not only to themselves, but to the Churches and people, oppressed with the yoke of slavery and with the exaction of intolerable tribute, but yet enjoying a security and peace which this mission, by exciting the suspicion of the infidels, might completely mar. They therefore deputed two monks to represent the three Sees at the Council, and forwarded an explanatory epistle with the Synodical letter of their former bishop Theodore, in attestation of their orthodoxy[1].

Their actual patriarch, Elias II., was at this time an exile in Persia, having been ejected from his See through the machinations of an ambitious and unprincipled monk, on a frivolous and groundless accusation[2]. Theodore was a student in the College[3] of the Holy Resurrection at Jerusalem, and occupied a cell contiguous to that of Basil, with whom he had formed an intimate friendship. To him he communicated his ardent and insatiable desire to procure his promotion to the Patriarchal throne, and the government of the Church of St James. The expulsion of the ruling patriarch he hoped to effect by means of the governor of the garrison, with whom he had great influence, and his brother, a skilful physician, still

[1] See the Letters as recited in the 2nd Nicene Council, Actio 3ª ap. Labb. Tom. VII. col. 169—185, and the names of the deputies John and Thomas in Act. 7, col. 879, and the subscription of the former only, p. 887, ibid.

[2] The following notice is contained in the Life of St Stephen (a monk of St Saba) by Leontius, in Acta Sanct. Julii. Tom. III. Die xiii. cap. v. p. 549, &c.

[3] I know not how better to translate σπούδαιον (a σπουδάζω) in this context.

greater[4]; but he was anxious to be assured of success before he undertook the enterprise. He therefore prevailed on his friend, against his better judgment, to attend him to the cell of a recluse of St Saba, noted for his sanctity, and for the gifts of prophecy and healing with which he was endowed. They found St Stephen observing his Lenten Fast in the lower caves of the desert of Calamon[5], and requested him to signify to them the object of their visit and the success of their design, which they were ashamed to avow. The holy humble man, having vainly endeavoured to excuse himself, at length yielded to their entreaties, and promised at the end of three days to fulfil their desire. In this interval, the temporary success of the dark plot, followed by the miserable and immediate ruin of the projector, was revealed to him in a vision; and he earnestly dissuaded the unhappy man from his sacrilegious purpose. But he, like a wild horse, rushing blindly forward to his destruction, sought only by means of bribery and other corrupt agencies to attain the summit of his ambition, nor ceased until, having removed the holy Elias through the tyranny of the civil power, he gained the eminence to which he had aspired. He held it with no firm grasp; and after a very short time was driven away with curses and execrations, and died miserably in Persia, from whence, after a long and cruel captivity[6],

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[4] As the *hakîm* at the present day may exercise great influence over the same officer.

[5] Part of the wilderness of the Jordan, so called from a monastery of that name on the bank of the river; for which see this same Leontius, cap. iii. no. 25. Ibid. p. 540. Johannes Moschus, Prat. Spirit. capp. xxvi. xl. clxii., and Phocas, xxiii. xxiv. ap. Leonis Allatii Symmikta, pp. 33, 35.

[6] This is manifest from a passage in the same narrative of Leontius, cap. ii. no. 19. Ibid. p. 537, c.

the injured Elias returned with joyous welcomes to resume his functions.

But the peace of the city was soon to be disturbed by alarms, and the land once more to become the theatre of war and desolation[1]. Towards the close of the 8th century (A.D. 796), dissensions, commencing from trivial causes, inflamed a civil war between the Joctanite and Ishmaelite tribes of Arabs in the vicinity of Palestine. The strong feeling of clanship, which had so long kept the two families asunder, served now to swell their respective ranks, and two large hostile armies overran the country with fire and sword. Many populous cities were completely desolated. Eleutheropolis became a desert; Ascalon, Gaza, and Sariphæa were sacked; bands of robbers infested the thoroughfares, so that travellers congratulated themselves if they escaped with their lives. The villagers were fain to leave their property in the fields to the mercy of the barbarians, and to seek safety for themselves in the fortified cities. But even these afforded an insecure asylum. Their inhabitants, as was the case in Jerusalem, forsaking their ordinary occupations, betook themselves to strengthen their fortifications, and prepare for a siege: trenches were dug, walls and gates were built, and sentinels posted night and day to guard against a sudden assault of the marauders. Nor were the precautions unnecessary. The Joctanites, like desolating fire, sweeping the whole mountain region, threatened to attack the Holy City, and make themselves masters of

[1] The following is taken from the Passion of the twenty holy martyrs of the Lavra of St Saba, by the monk Stephen, in Acta Sanct. Martii, Tom. III. p. 167, &c.

the citadel. They actually mustered their whole force for the assault, and would have succeeded in the attempt, had not the city-guard, though few in number, inspired with divine valour, driven them from the walls, and so rescued the venerable places, and a vast multitude of believers of both sexes and of all conditions, from their sanguinary violence. The Arabs next directed their attacks to the numerous monasteries situated in the valley of the Jordan, and to the farms about them; and the Convent of St Saba alone for the present escaped. But its occupants were kept in continual terror for several months, suffering a daily martyrdom: their supplies from the city were frequently intercepted, and a large armed camp of the Arabs, established in their immediate vicinity, exposed them to perpetual alarms. The brotherhood however would not disperse: they continued stedfast night and day in prayer and mutual exhortation, committing their bodies and souls to God, nerving themselves for the fiery trial which awaited them. Such indeed it proved; for the ruffians in their second assault upon the convent, shut up the fathers in a cavern, and kindling faggots at the entrance, smothered many of them alive, and subjected the rest to horrible torments. Twenty in all died; many others, dangerously wounded by the arrows and swords of the Arabs, were saved by the surgical skill of Thomas a monk.

By what means this formidable insurrection was finally quelled does not appear; but the strong and impartial administration of the Khalif who now held sway in the East, afforded some relief to the faithful. Indeed, the reign of Hârun er-Rashîd (A.D. 786—809) is a bright spot in the dark annals of Jerusalem's

history under the Abbasside Khalifs, and presents to us the two most powerful monarchs of the West and of the East, a Christian and a Muselman, known to each other only by report, united in bonds of amity by the mutual veneration which their respective characters inspired.

The biographer of Charlemagne represents that the friendship of Hârun the Just was so highly valued by the monarch of the West, that he preferred it to the alliance of all the kings and princes in the whole world, and judged him alone worthy to be treated with distinction. The first advances were made by the western Prince, whose principal design was to afford some alleviation to the miseries of the Christian subjects of the infidel rulers[1]. His merciful purpose was not frustrated, though it was some years before he learnt the good success of his undertaking.

Whether the envoys had visited Jerusalem on their journey to Bagdad, or whether their master's friendly disposition towards the Christians of the East, as indicated by this diplomatic mission, had become known to the Patriarch by some other means, does not appear; but long before the return of the envoys, that dignitary, having established frequent intercourse with the Court of Aix, had propitiated the Emperor's favor and experienced his munificence[2].

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[1] Eginhardi Vita Caroli M. sect. xxvii. Bouquet's Recueil, Tom. v. p. 99, cited by Willermus Tyrensis, Lib. i. cap. iii. p. 630 in Bongar's Gesta Dei. Ob hoc maxime transmarinorum regum amicitias expetens, ut Christianis sub eorum dominatu degentibus, refrigerium aliquod et relevatio proveniret.

[2] Annales Francorum, ann. DCCC—DCCCIII. Bouquet, Tom. v. pp. 23, 4. Conf. aliud exemplar DCCXCIX—DCCCII. Ibid. pp. 52, 3. Chron. Moissiacense, ibid. pp. 78, 9. Eginhardi Annales, ibid. pp. 214, 15; et Annales Mettenses, ibid. p. 349.

The Monk who had first presented his blessing to Charles, with relics from the place of the Resurrection, was accompanied on his return by Zacharias, presbyter of the Palace, commissioned to carry alms and offerings to the venerable places. Having faithfully performed this service, the Chaplain returned in company with two monks, bearing the keys of the holy Sepulchre and of Calvary, of the city and of Mount Sion, together with the banner of the Cross—sent by the Patriarch, probably in compliance with an order from the Khalif[3]—and arrived at Rome shortly before the coronation of Charlemagne in that city, on Christmas day, A.D. 800. The strangers were graciously received and entertained until the following April, when they were dismissed with a liberal reward. It was announced shortly after, during the Emperor's sojourn at Pavia, that a Persian envoy from Hârun, and a Saracen on the part of 'Amir Ibrahím—a chief on the confines of Africa—had arrived at the port of Pisa. From them he learnt that Isaac the Jew, the sole survivor of his three ambassadors, was on his return through Africa with presents from the Khalif, who had also sent the sole elephant in his possession, in compliance with his particular request. A vessel was immediately prepared for their transport, and arrived with its ponderous freight at Porto Venere, in the month of October. The advanced season having rendered the passage of the Alps impracticable, Abu-Abbas and his keeper wintered at Borgo Vercelli, nor reached

[3] All the chroniclers say that the Patriarch sent the keys "benedictionis causa." Eginhard introduces a second embassy to Hârun, when the Khalif "non solum quæ petebantur fieri permisit, sed etiam sacrum illum et salutarem locum ut illius potestati adscribaretur concessit." Vita, C. M. l. c. What was the "vexillum Crucis," does not appear.

their destination until the following July (A.D. 802), five full years after the expedition had set out.

From this time forward Charlemagne continued to evince a lively interest in the Christians of the East; and though his bounty was not restricted to Palestine, yet Jerusalem experienced a larger measure of his liberality than other cities[1]. Gregory the Great had formerly established a hospice at Jerusalem, for the accommodation of pilgrims, and sent annually during his lifetime supplies for the food and clothing of its inmates[2]. This Prelate's example was followed by the Emperor. He ordered contributions to be levied throughout his dominions, for the restoration of ruined churches and the relief of the poor; but he placed his endowment on a more permanent footing, insomuch that, fifty years after his death, Latin pilgrims were still received in a hostel founded by him near the Church St Mary, adjoining that of the Holy Sepulchre, which possessed a splendid library, and owned twelve houses besides fields and vineyards, and a garden in the valley of Jehoshaphat[3].

The Patriarch Thomas, celebrated for his medical and surgical skill, which he had exercised as a deacon at Jerusalem[4], then in the convent of St Saba[5], where

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[1] Eginhardus, Vita Caroli M. sect. xxvii. l. c. p. 99. Conf. Sigeberti, Chron. in ann. 790; ibid. p. 377, et Capitulare, anni 810, no. 17; ibid. p. 682.

[2] Vita S. Gregorii Papæ, Lib. II. cap. vii. sect. lii. ap. Bollandi Acta SS. Martii xii. Tom. II. p. 157.

[3] Bernardus Monachus de Locis Sanctis, sect. x. ap. Acta SS. Ord. Benedictini, ed Mabillon. sæc. iii. Part II. p. 584. More correctly printed in Recueil de Voyages, &c. Tom. IV. p. 789. Paris. 1839.

[4] Leontius, Vita Stⁱ Stephani, cap. xi. No. 136. S. S. Julii xiii. Tom. III. p. 588; apud Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. col. 344; and see the happy allusion to his former profession in the letter of Theodore Studita, ibid. col. 358.

[5] On occasion of the last attack of the Arabs. See above, p. 331.

he afterwards became Abbot, was not slow to improve the friendly relations which his predecessor, George, had first established with the West; and his two legates were associated with 'Abd-Ullah, the Persian envoy, as bearers of curious and costly presents to the Emperor[6]. But this frequent intercourse with the West was not productive of unmixed good to the Churches of the East; and during his presidency a theological discussion was first agitated, with a violence that gave earnest of its disastrous consequences in after times, though it did not immediately result in the suspension of intercommunion[7].

Among other less important innovations in the public services of the congregation of Latin Monks of Mount Olivet, the additional clause, which recognises the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, had been introduced into the Creed, on the authority of a homily of St Gregory, the rule of St Benedict, the Athanasian Creed, and other formularies; supported by the testimony of one brother Leo, formerly in the suit of Charlemagne, who remembered having heard the Creed so recited in the Imperial Palace. A zealous monk of St Saba, John by name, grounding on these innovations the charge of heresy, endeavoured to eject the Latins from the shrine of Bethlehem, on the festival of the Nativity, and produced great confusion in the Church. The altercation was renewed on the following Lord's Day, at

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[6] For a description of the presents, and in particular of the ornamental striking-clock of complicated mechanism, see Annales Francorum, in ann. DCCCVIII. ap. Bouquet, Tom. v. pp. 56 et 353. Le Quien, l. c. col. 346.

[7] The documents containing the following facts were first published by Baluzius (Miscellanea, Tom. VII. p. 14), and are reprinted by Le Quien, in his 1st Dissertation prefixed to Johannes Damascenus, sect. xiii. &c. Tom. I. pp. vi—viii., and O. C. col. 347—352.

Jerusalem, between the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary; the Greeks insisting on the inviolable integrity of the Creed which they had received, the Latins maintaining the orthodoxy and propriety of their addition, on the authority of the Holy Apostolic Roman See, the Throne of St Peter. An appeal from the Latin congregation to Pope Leo III., requesting enquiry to be made concerning the original wording of the Creed and the mind of its framers, as also concerning its use in the Emperor's Chapel, resulted in the strong reassertion of the controverted point, first in a Papal brief of the orthodox faith, and afterwards in the formal decisions of the Council of Aix[1]. The Pope, however, while fully admitting both the truth and importance of the doctrine, steadily resisted its insertion in the Creed, which was urged with very unseemly earnestness by the imperial legates. He was hardly prevailed upon to acquiesce in its retention in the Churches where it had been introduced; but he hoped that its discontinuance in the Palace Chapel, which he enjoined, would gradually discredit it in the country, and in time lead to its disuse, without that danger to the truth which its sudden ejection might occasion[2]. Not satisfied with these precautions, and the better to secure the Creed from adulteration,

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[1] Annales Francorum Mettenses, in ann. DCCCIX. ap. Bouquet, Tom. v. p. 356. Conf. Ann. Feldenses in eodem anno. Ibid. p. 333. Baronius (l. inf. cit.) thinks that the question discussed at Aix was not the truth of the doctrine, but only the propriety of its admission into the Creed. But for this conclusion there is no warrant in contemporaneous authors. See Pagius, ap. Le Quien, l. c. col. 354, 5.

[2] This interesting conversation, equally remarkable for the wise moderation of the Pope and for the importunity of the legates, is given in full by Baronius. Annales, in A.D. 809, Nos. 59—63. Tom. IX. p. 551—554, from whom it is reprinted by Labbe, Concilia, Tom. VII. col. 1194—98.

whether by addition or omission he ordered it to be engraved on tablets of silver[3], in Greek and Latin, and suspended in the Church of St Peter. The further statement of his sending to Jerusalem for learned men, instructed in the Holy Scriptures, to assist him to stem the tide of heresy which was fast spreading in the West, improbable as it is in itself, and inconsistent with other and earlier statements, must be taken with considerable allowance for the partialities of the narrator[4].

The death of Harûn er-Rashîd, and the civil discords that ensued, again embroiled the western provinces of the Persian Empire, and filled Palestine with rapine and blood. The most venerable Churches of the Holy City, including those of St Mary, Calvary, and the Resurrection, were ruined or profaned; St Saba and the adjacent monasteries of the desert were desolated. Of the Christians, some submitted to martyrdom, while others fled from the persecution to Cyprus and Constantinople, to become pensioners on the bounty of the Emperor Michael and the Patriarch Nicephorus[5]. Thomas of Jerusalem could not at once proceed to the reconstruction of the sacred edifices; but at length, when El-Mamûn, having gained the mastery of his brothers, was firmly seated on the throne of his fathers, an opportunity was presented for repairing the ruined dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of which he promptly availed himself[6]. Seizing on a time when

[3] These tablets or shields are said to have weighed 94 lbs. 6 oz. Anastasius ap. Baronium, l. c.

[4] Dositheus (Patriarch of Jerusalem), Historia Patriarcharum, Lib. Z, cap. ζ', par. δ', ε', Tom. II. p. 678.

[5] Theophanes, Chronog. in ann. Nicephori 7, p. 409, and Baronii Annales, in ann. 812, Tom. IX. p. 331.

[6] Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. pp. 421—429.

the Moslem population, with few exceptions, had fled from the city, in consequence of a scarcity produced by the devastation of locusts, he imported from Cyprus fifty trunks of cedar and fir, and being liberally supplied with funds by a wealthy Egyptian, Bokam by name, happily completed the restoration, and furnished the dome with an outer roof. On the return of the Moslems, a complaint was preferred against the Patriarch, on account of these repairs, whereby the size of the building had been increased, so that the dome out-topped that of the Sakhra. The Patriarch, with many others, was cast into prison, pending the investigation, the result of which might have been fatal, but for an aged Mohammedan, who promised to furnish the Patriarch with a line of defence which should completely baffle his accusers, for the moderate reward of a thousand dinars, and a pension to himself and his children for ever. The emergency was pressing: the terms were accepted, and the agreement signed. He then instructed the Patriarch to deny the fact, and to throw the onus of the proof on his accusers; requiring them to specify, for the satisfaction of the court, by how much the dome had been augmented; professing for himself that his repairs had left it of its original dimensions, without diminution or addition. The plea, weak as it was, and founded on a lie, was admitted; for the witnesses were not ready with their figures, where the facts were so plain to the senses. The case was dismissed, and the prisoners restored to liberty.

From this time forward the Christians appear to have enjoyed peace and protection during the reign of

El-Mamûn[1]; but their repose was rudely disturbed under his brother, El-Motasem, by the revolt of Tamîm Abu-Hareb, who raised an army of 30,000 indigent wretches, and ran through a career of pillage and murder, under the pretext of religious zeal[2]. Having made himself master of Jerusalem, he threatened to burn the Churches. They were, however, ransomed from destruction by the Patriarch, at a considerable cost, and the rebels, having withdrawn from the city, were soon afterwards defeated and dispersed by Raga, general of the Khalif's forces. Their loss amounted to 8,000 killed and 1,000 prisoners; and their leader, who had been wounded in the engagement, was also taken, and sent to El-Motasem.

The successors of the Prophet now held the provinces with but a feeble grasp, and too frequently discovered dangerous rivals in the persons of their lieutenants. The security of the Christians, therefore, was very precarious at the best, though they cautiously avoided any demonstration which might awaken the suspicions of their rulers. Their condition is well described in the letter of the Patriarch Theodosius to Ignatius of Constantinople, forwarded through his Archdeacon[3] and Vicar Elias, and by him recited in the fourth Council of Constantinople[4]. He explains to Igna-

[1] He had Christians about his person, and allowed them to build a Church. He also appointed Bokam,—the restorer of the church of the Holy Sepulchre—governor of his native district of Bura, in Egypt. Eutych. ann. ii. 430—434.

[2] Abulfaragius Bar Hebræus, Chron. Syriæ, Dynast. x. In ann. Græc. 1153 (A.D. 842), p. 160, tr. 163.

[3] I know not a nearer English equivalent for the Greek σύγκελλος, which I have rendered "assessor" above, p. 295.

[4] A.D. 869. Actio i. ap. Labbe Tom. viii. col. 936, 7; and Baronii Annales, Tom. x. p. 421; but the letter must have been written two years

tius that he could neither come nor send to him before, lest he should incur the suspicion and displeasure of the powers to which they were subject, who, indeed, manifested singular kindness towards them, allowing them permission to build their Churches, and to observe their customs without hinderance; acting justly, and offering them no manner of violence or injury, in any wise. By the direction of the 'Amir, he sent his Eye, the Archdeacon of the apostolic throne, with the Bishop of Tyre, whom the same officer had commissioned to represent the See of Antioch. Having applied for and obtained this permission under the pretext of seeking the release of some Saracen captives, he entreats Ignatius to persuade the Emperor to set at liberty as many as he would, that his sincerity might be unsuspected; since the safety of their whole community might turn on the success of his intercession; for, should he not succeed, he greatly feared their entire annihilation, as soon as an opportunity shall be found.

In the course of the same century, Syria and Egypt were again wrested from the power of the Khalif by the son of a Turkish slave, Ahmet Ibn-Tulûn[1], whom El-Motâz had appointed viceroy of those countries. The Khalif's brother and regent was too weak to oppose to the usurper any but spiritual weapons, and his excom-

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earlier, as Elias (col. 985) speaks of himself as "multo tempore hic demorantes, et diutius anxiati, &c." and in Act. VI. col. 1041, "nobis autem pervenientibus, et degentibus hic per duos circiter annos," &c.

[1] The best account of this usurper and the dynasty which he founded, is contained in Ibn-Khallikan's Biograph. Dictionary, translated by Brn. De Slane, Paris, 1842, Vol. I. p. 153, &c.; Deguignes, Histoire des Huns, &c. Livre IX. cap. i. Tome II. p. 129, &c.; D'Herbelot's Dictionnaire, art. *Thouloun*. Other particulars are given in Historia Halebi, ed. Freytag, p. 21, &c. and notes.

munications were answered by anathemas equally effective. The rebel left an hereditary government to his children, which they occupied until the commencement of the following century, when it was recovered to El-Moktasi, by the arms of his general Mohammed Ibn-Sulimán, who extirpated the whole family of Ahmet, and so extinguished the Tulûnite dynasty in Syria.

To the period of this usurpation belongs the letter of the Patriarch Elias III. to Charles the Fat, and to all the prelates, states, and potentates, ecclesiastical and civil, of whatever rank, and of both sexes, within the realms of France[2]; which sets forth the lamentable state of decay into which all the Churches had fallen, and his earnest desire to restore them. A favourable opportunity now offered itself, for the Prince of the country had lately been converted to the faith, (a fact of which we read in no other writer,) and had given permission for their reparation. The Patriarch was eager to avail himself of this providential opening, but he had no funds at his disposal, and could raise none, except upon security. He had, therefore, not only mortgaged the estates held by the Church in oliveyards and vineyards, but had even put to pledge the sacred vessels, and yet, with all this, the sum was insufficient: the lamps were without oil, and the monks and the poor were perishing with hunger. He therefore implores his western brethren, by the dear bonds of Christian sympathy, to enable him to bring to a happy end the restorations which he had commenced, and to redeem their lands and other property;—proposing to them the example of the Israelites

[2] This letter is given in Dacherii Spicilegium, Tom. II. p. 372, ed. 1657, Tom. III. p. 363, ed. 1723. Another letter of this Patriarch to Pope Benedict IV. is given by Mabillon, Vet. Analecta, p. 428, ed. 1723.

in the desert, the free flow of whose bounty Moses was fain to repress by the voice of a herald. Of the success of this appeal we hear nothing: the mission of Elias to Charles is not so much as mentioned by the western annalists; but from this time forward the persecutions and afflictions of the Church of Palestine, aggravated as they were by time and circumstances, and reported in Europe by the pilgrims, who still resorted to the Holy Sepulchre[1], called forth the commiseration of Christendom, and, after two centuries, led to the temporary rescue of the land from the infidel yoke.

The causes which operated to the dissolution of the Abbasside dynasty seriously affected the Christians of the East; and the insurrections which convulsed the too widely extended empire of the Khalifs of Bagdad, shook the repose of the Holy City. The fanatic attacks of the Karmathian Zealots[2] on the Haj-caravans in the desert, and their merciless slaughter of 30,000 worshippers at the Kaaba, led to the discontinuance of pilgrimages to Mecca, and the noble Rock at Jerusalem was again substituted for the black stone in the adorations of the Moslem devotee[3]. Thus would the most zealous of the

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[1] So Elias, l. c., speaks of "Tribulationes multas et magnas quas a nefanda et Deo perosâ gente perpetimur...quas ipse satis abundoque per multos hinc illum venientes cognoscitis."

[2] For Karmath and his disciples, see Gibbon, cap. lii. Vol. x. p. 71, &c. Milman's ed. and the references in n. 101. Von Hammer's History of the Assassins, (referred to by Milman) has been translated by Dr Wood, (Lond. 1835.) The part relating to the Karmathians will be found from p. 29—33 of the translation, where the author shews their connection with the Ismailites or Assassins, as also with the Fatimite dynasty, founded by one of this sect.

[3] From A. D. 929, to A. D. 950. This black stone, an aerolite, the most precious treasure of the Kaaba, was believed to have come from heaven in the time of Abraham. It was carried to Hadjar, and restored to Mecca after a lapse of 22 years, when the 'Amir of Irak redeemed it at the price of 50,000 ducats. Von Hammer, l. c. p. 31. Ali Bey's Travels, Tom. II. p. 76.

disciples of the Koran be congregated at Jerusalem, and ebullitions of bigotry and fanaticism against its Christian inhabitants become more frequent, and more oppressive. Accordingly we find, that, during the Patriarchate of Christopher of 'Askelon (A.D. 937) the Moslems attacked the Church of Constantine, on Palm Sunday, fired the southern gates, burnt down half the portico, and laid waste the Churches of Calvary and of the Resurrection[4].

About this time it was that Abu-Bekr Mohammed Ikhshid, taking advantage of the distractions of the empire, made himself master of Syria, not without some resistance on the part of the lieutenants of the Khalif Radhi[5]. He used his power to persecute the Christians, from whom he exacted large sums of money, which were only to be raised by disposing of the property of the Church. He left his government to his sons, Abuhur and Ali; but it was administered by his black slave Kafur, an officer of no mean powers, in whose person the usurpation was legitimised by the impotent Khalif. It terminated after his death through the divisions of his successors, and the attacks of the Fatimites in Egypt, and of the Karmathians in Syria.

It was during these transactions that Nicephorus Phocas, and his murderer and successor, John Zimisces, successively Regents in theory, but Emperors in name as in fact, of the throne of Byzantium, availing them-

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[4] Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. p. 529, 30. Makrizi says that they burnt the Church of the Resurrection, A.H. 323, and that of St Mary at 'Askelon, A.H. 328. Hist. Copt. p. 112. ed. Wetzer. See also Elmacinus, H.S. p. 208.

[5] For the dynasty of the Ikhshidites, see Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, &c. Livre IX. cap. ii. Tome II. p. 147, &c. Ikhshid and his two sons, Abu-Hur and Ali, were buried at Jerusalem.

selves of the weakness of the Khalif, marched a numerous army into Asia, conquered the whole of Syria, and threatened to reassert, under the walls of Bagdad, their ancient title to the Empire of the East[1]. But their victories were more disastrous to the Church of Jerusalem than had been the defeats of Heraclius. The Patriarch John VI., suspected of having instigated the Greeks to arms, paid the penalty of his imaginary treason by a violent death. He was burnt alive, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was also delivered to the flames[2].

While the dynasty of the Abbassides was lingering long in its decay, and their empire in Asia crumbling to dust, through these internal dissensions and foreign invasions, a family, which gloried in its descent from Ali, and so from Fatima the daughter of Mohammed[3], had laid on the northern coast of Africa the solid foundations of a powerful empire[4]. This dynasty, founded by 'Abd-Ullah Mehdi towards the close of the ninth century, had gradually extended the limits of their dominion, until they succeeded, after a brief struggle, in establishing themselves in Egypt; and the Ikshidites in Syria owed their extinction to them, rather than to the Khalif of Bagdad. The retirement of the Greeks left Mo'ezz-ledin-Ullah in possession of the greater part of Syria; and Jerusalem owned allegiance to the Fatimite Khalif,

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[1] For this expedition, see Gibbon, cap. lii. p. 84, &c., and the authorities referred to in n. 118.

[2] Cedrenus, Hist. Comp. p. 661, Paris ed. 1647. Tom. II. p. 374, D. Bonn. ed. 1839.

[3] This claim is stoutly denied by the Abbassides, but allowed by Makrizi and De Sacy. M. Quatremère decides against their pretensions.

[4] The origin of the Fatimites is briefly given by Deguignes, l. c., as also by Von Hammer, (see above, p. 342. n. 2.) more fully by De Sacy, in a treatise prefixed to his life of Hakem, in the Introduction to his Exposé de la Religion des Druses, Tome I. p. ccxlvii, &c., and by M. Quatremère in his Mémoires Historiques, &c. Journal Asiatique. Août. 1836.

who had established his throne in the newly-built capital of Musr-el-Kâhirah, on the eastern bank of the Nile. The native Christians at first found cause to congratulate themselves on the change of masters, and the Egyptian bondage appeared for a time more tolerable than that from which they had been released[5]. The scanty annals of their Patriarchs, indeed, still allude to their endurance of infinite tribulations and persecutions from the heathen[6], which called forth a pathetic appeal from Pope Sylvester II.[7] But these troubles, whatever they might be, were thrown completely into the shade when the accession of El-Hakem Biamr-Ullah exposed them to a repetition of the horrors enacted by the Persians under Chosroes[8].

This monster in human form, whose memory is still reverenced by the Druses as the latest incarnation of the Deity! was the third Khalif of the Fatimite dynasty. He succeeded his father 'Aziz at the early age of eleven years, and during a reign of a quarter of a century exhibited to the world an example of what unrestrained passion, when fomented by religious fanaticism (if it were not rather madness united to atheism[9]), can effect. His indiscriminating phrensy vented itself alike upon all classes of his subjects, but the Jews and Christians were especial objects of his hate; and his ingenuity exhausted itself in devising schemes for their annoy-

[5] Willermus Tyrensis, lib. I. cap. iv. p. 631, in Bongar's Gesta Dei.

[6] See e. g. the notices of Christopherus II. and Joseph II., by Theodoricus Pauli ap. Le Quien, O. C. col. 473.

[7] Gerberti Epistola, CVII. "Ex persona Hierusalem devastatæ Universali Ecclesiæ." Bouquet, X. p. 426. Muratori Script. Ital. Tom. III. p. 400. It was written in the first year of his Pontificate, A. D. 999.

[8] De Sacy's life of Hakem, just referred to, contains all that is known of the monster. Renaudot, Historia Patriarcharum Alex. p. 387, &c. relates the persecution.

[9] So Elmacinus, Hist. Sarac. III. 5, p. 260.

ance and degradation. Many, in consequence, fell from their stedfastness and embraced Islâm; some, perhaps, were found among the 16,000 registered believers in Hakem's divinity[1].

The special motives which actuated him against the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem are variously stated. Two chroniclers of the time[2] declare that he was instigated by the hereditary enemies of the Christian faith[3], who made it their business to alarm him by the report of preparations going on in Europe, for the invasion of Palestine; representations which the letter of Sylvester, and the consequent descent of the Pisans on the coast of Palestine[4], as indicating the general feeling in the West, would fully justify. The Jews of Orleans suborned an apostate Christian to convey to the Khalif a letter, written in Hebrew characters, and concealed in his staff, for greater security, which is described as a master-piece of falsehood and wickedness. It succeeded in its object, and resulted in the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was witnessed and reported in Europe by Radolph, Bishop of Perigueux, who chanced to be at Jerusalem at the time[5]. A general persecution of the unhappy Jews was the immediate consequence, if it was not the cause, of the discovery of a plot, possibly invented as an ex-post-facto justification of the barbarities which were practised upon them.

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[1] Elmacinus, l. c.

[2] Radolphi Glabri Historia, lib. III. cap. vii.; Bouquet, Tome X. pp. 34, 5; Ademari Chronicon, in A.D. 1010; Ibid. p. 152, 3.

[3] Ademar, l. c., joins the Saracens of Spain with the western Jews, as authors of the calumnies.

[4] Muratori, l. c. Histoire Littéraire de France, Tome VI. p. 570. Paris. 1742.

[5] Ademar, the Chronicler, was living at the time at Charbonois in the next Department.

Other motives are ascribed to him by later writers[6]. 'Aziz, the father of Hakem, had taken a Christian to wife, and her two brothers, Jeremiah and Arsenius, had been raised by his favour to the patriarchal thrones of Jerusalem and Alexandria respectively. This connection involved Hakem in the suspicion of Christianity, and in order to clear himself from the imputation, and to give to the infidels a signal proof of his own unbelief, he resolved on the demolition of the most sacred of their Churches.

The account of Abul-Faragius Bar-Hebræus[7] differs from both these, though it need not discredit them; for several causes may have conduced to the disastrous result. The author of the persecution, he says, was an enemy of the Christians, who represented to the Khalif Hakem, that when the Christians were congregated at Jerusalem for the celebration of Easter, the crafty Bishops of the Church were in the habit of anointing with oil of balsam the iron chain by which the chandelier above the sepulchre was suspended, and after that the Arab governor had sealed the door of the tomb, they set light to the end of the chain above, which ran down and communicated the flame to the lamp within; then they cried out with tears, "Kyrie Eleison," as though they saw a ray from heaven descending on the sepulchre, and were by this means confirmed in the faith.

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[6] Willermus Tyrensis, I. iv. p. 631. This writer, in common with Guido, Albericus, and others, (ap. Le Quien, O. C. iii. 476) represent Hakem as the son of the Christian wife of Aziz, and Jeremiah or Orestes as his maternal uncle. Elmacinus mentions only a daughter as the fruit of this union. p. 247. I suspect that Hakem had another mother.

[7] Chronicon Syriacum, p. 215, 16, tr. 219, 20; and De Sacy, Vie de Hakem, p. cccxxxvi. &c.

This account may be easily reconciled with that of Severus, quoted by Renaudot and De Sacy, to this effect. A Coptic priest, and monk named John, had vainly endeavoured to persuade his Patriarch Zacharias to consecrate him to the office of Bishop. Full of indignation at the Patriarch's steady refusal, he betook himself to Cairo, where he prepared a petition to the Khalif, full of calumnious accusations against the Patriarch, couched in the following language: "Thou art the king of this country, but the Christians have a king far more mighty than thou, owing to the immense wealth which he has amassed. He sells the bishoprics for gold, and conducts himself in a manner displeasing to God." In order to reconcile this statement with the account of Abul-Faragius, it is only necessary to suppose that the calumnious charges, mentioned by Severus, equally involved the Melkite Patriarch of Jerusalem, and included the jugglery of the holy fire. The imposition had been practised for at least a century and a half, being first noticed by Bernard the Monk, who visited Jerusalem during the presidency of the Patriarch Theodosius[1].

But whatever may have been the immediate occasion, the fact is certain, that in the fifteenth year of his reign (A.D. 1010) Hakem Biamr-Ullah issued orders

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[1] The date of Bernard's visit is generally given as A.D. 870. As it is a matter of some importance, the following observations may determine it more nearly. He set out from Italy during the life of Pope Nicolas I., (died Nov. 12, 867) while Bari was in undisturbed possession of the Saracens; but Bari was recovered by the Franks in 871, after a siege of four years. There were then two co-ordinate governors in Egypt, which could be only before the year 869, (Deguignes, Tom. II. p. 130) when Michael was Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 847—871, and Theodosius of Jerusalem, 864—879. It was therefore probably not later than 867.

for the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and a Christian secretary was employed to write the fatal sentence to the Governor of Jerusalem[2]. "The Imám commands you to destroy the temple of the Resurrection, so that its heaven may become earth, and its length may become breadth." The order was too punctually executed, the zealous governor would even have exceeded the rigour of the letter, and made an ineffectual attempt to remove the rocky cave of the tomb[3]. A miraculous intervention is not necessary to account for its preservation. The accumulation of the débris of the buildings may have preserved it from material injury, or Christian gold may have availed—if not to guard it inviolate, yet to render the attempts at its destruction abortive. The Patriarch Orestes, who enjoyed only the privilege of a priority of suffering, encouraged his flock, both by precept and example, to endurance of present evils, by the sure prospect of future rewards. He was deprived of sight, and carried in chains to Egypt, where, having been subjected to a variety of tortures, he received a martyr's crown[4]. And now the Christians were reduced to ex-

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[2] De Sacy, Vie de Hakem, p. cccxxxviii. Will. Tyr. l. c. substitutes the governor of Ramleh, whom he calls Hyaroe. Renaudot (p. 391) says, the name of the Secretary of the Divan was Ibn-Khaterin, a Nestorian Christian, who was driven to such desperation that he smote his hand on the ground, broke the joints of his fingers, and died in a few days.

[3] Glaber, l. c.: "Ipsum quoque concavum sepulchrum tumulum ferri tuditibus quassare tentantes, minime valuerunt." Ademar, l. c.: "Lapidem vero monumenti cum nullatenus possent comminuere, ignem copiosum superadjiciunt, sed quasi adamas immobilis mansit et solidus." The attempt on the rocky cave is not mentioned by other writers.

[4] Ademar, l. c.: "Nemo pro Christo morte dignus fuit præter Patriarcham Hierosolymorum, qui variis suppliciis occisus est." Guido, l. c., gives the other particulars, but, consistent in error, sends the Patriarch to Babylon.

tremities which they had not experienced since their subjugation to the Moslems[1]. Enormous tribute was exacted of them, in violation of privileges and immunities granted by former Khalifs; the celebration of the solemnities formerly allowed was now prohibited or subjected to violent and brutal interruptions; and not only was liberty of worship, but liberty of speech denied, the false accusations of unprincipled informers eagerly believed, and the faithful subjected to most cruel punishments for the lightest offences. Neither was the persecution confined to Jerusalem. Egypt drank deep of the bitter cup[2], and orders were sent to all the provinces subject to the Fatimites for the destruction of the Christian Churches. In the short space of two years 30,000 Churches were reduced to ruin[3], and their vessels of gold and silver transferred to the palace of the Khalif, or plundered by the instruments of his tyranny.

But the visitation, however severe, was much needed; and mercifully designed for the chastisement and correction of the corrupt Church. If the state of the Coptic community, of which we are particularly informed[4], may be taken as a sample of the Christianity of the East, vital religion was indeed at a low ebb. The avarice of the bishops was such that ordination was set to sale, without any fear of God, or any respect for the sacred canon, the worthy candidates only being rejected.

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[1] Guido, l. c.; Willermus Tyrensis, l. c.

[2] Many particulars are given from oriental sources, by Renaudot, Hist. Pat. Alex. p. 387, &c.; De Sacy, Vie de Hakem, l. c. p. cccxxxviii. &c.

[3] Abulfaragius (Chron. Syr. p. 215) says some thousands. Makrizi gives the number in the text. Historia Coptorum, ed. Wetzer, sect. 448, p. 120; and ap. Renaudot, l. c. p. 395, from A. D. 1012—1014.

[4] Renaudot, l. c., pp. 387, 8.

This venality naturally produced a race of ignorant and vicious priests, by whom the sacred offices were neglected and the Holy Sacraments profaned. No marvel then that the corruption pervaded all classes, and that the Christians employed about the court, many of whom had risen from the office of secretaries to a dignity and wealth equal to that of Vizírs, exhibited in their worst form those vices to which prosperity is most exposed. A Moslem writer[5] attributes the persecution to their intolerable insolence and pride, which led them to oppress their fellow-subjects, and at length drove the Khalif to phrensy and provoked his deepest hate. Two Christians of the court were the first victims of a persecution which blazed for ten years.

At length the capricious humour of the tyrant took a milder and more generous turn, so strange that miracles were called in to explain it[6]. At first he only permitted the Christians and Jews to withdraw from his dominions—a privilege of which many availed themselves. Then, after a time, he ordered the demolished Churches to be rebuilt, and restored the materials with such of the property as could be recovered. Renegades were permitted to recant and to return to the profession from which they had apostatised. Their numbers were very large, for the palm of martyrdom must needs be at a discount, where simoniacal practices are rife, and ignorance and vice are in the ascendant: the easy terms

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[5] Makrizi, l. c. sect. 432, p. 116.

[6] Glaber and Ademar say that the persecution ceased the same year. De Sacy, after Severus, refers its abatement to A. H. 404 (A. D. 101$\frac{3}{4}$) and its cessation to the second month Safân, A.H. 408 (July, A. D. 1017), Vie de Hakem, p. cccxcvii. &c. Renaudot, p. 394 and 397, assigns the revocation of the persecuting edicts to A. H. 411, (A. D. 1020) the year of the tyrant's death.

on which the lapsed were restored argues ill for the discipline of the Church[1].

Now came the turn of the guilty minister of Divine vengeance. The fate of Hakem forms no exception to the rule which has been observed to obtain in the deaths of notorious persecutors. After the cruel pastime of the day in Cairo, he would frequently retire to a mountain east of the city, there to pass the night in astrological dreamings, or in magic incantations and sacrifices to the planet Saturn[2]. At such times he laid aside his state, and appeared clothed in garments of black wool, riding on a black ass, attended by the grim ministers of his dark and devilish superstition. One morning his ass was found houghed, his two attendants slain, and his own garment stabbed through with seven wounds[3]. The body was never afterwards seen, which gave colour to the opinion long entertained by many, and still cherished by some, that he yet survived, an idea which gave occasion to many impostures, and to several attempts to personate his reality. According to the common opinion he was assassinated during his nocturnal wanderings at the instigation of his sister, who carefully concealed his body, and ordered the execution of the accomplices of her guilt[4].

The restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is assigned by the western annalists to the very year of its destruction. Miraculous intervention in

[1] Renaudot, l. c. p. 396.

[2] Ibid. p. 390.

[3] So Renaudot's authorities, l. c. p. 397. Abulfaragius, p. 220, and Elmacinus, p. 258, state the particulars somewhat differently. The former says he was strangled.

[4] Abulfaragius mentions the provocation, p. 219. He and Elmacinus agree in the disposal of the body, and the punishment of the murderers. See the full account in De Sacy, l. c. ccccvi. &c.

behalf of the monks of Mount Sinai, producing compunction in prince and people, according to one author[5] resulted in an order for the reparation of the building; though in a style much inferior to the former both in size and magnificence. Another, not less veracious writer[6], would have us believe that Mary, the Christian mother of the Khalif, assisted by offerings from all parts of the world, undertook and effected its reconstruction with square and polished stones. And if it be true that an incredible multitude of people from all parts began again to flock to Jerusalem—a fact too well authenticated to admit of question[7]—it may well be believed that, on the abatement or cessation of Hakem's persecution, the site of the Holy Sepulchre was speedily recovered, and a temporary building erected for its protection, on the ruins of the old church. The permanent restoration did not certainly take place for some years, under circumstances which may be collected by harmonising the apparently discordant accounts of eastern and western writers, Christian and Moslem. Negociations for the erection of this more substantial structure having been opened with the Khalif Daher, the son and successor of

[5] Ademar, Chron. l. c. p. 152.

[6] Rodulphus Glaber, ibid. p. 35.

[7] Thus Rodulphus Glaber, l. c. in ann. 1010: "Tunc quoque de universo terrarum orbe incredibilis hominum multitudo exultanter Hierosolymam pergentes, domui Dei restaurandæ plurima detulerunt munera." And again Lib. IV. cap. vi. p. 50, in A.D. 1033: "Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cœpit confluere ad Sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantam nullus hominum prius sperare poterat." He then enumerates all ranks of men and women. Of individuals may be named, Simeon, monk and hermit, (A.D. 1023.) Le Quien O. C. No. lxxxiii. col. 483, ac. Odolric, bishop of Orleans, A.D. 1033, when the mockery of the Holy Fire was practised as before. Glaber, l. c. p. 51. Robert Duke of Normandy, and a large company: ibid. and Chronique de Normandie. Bouquet. XI. p. 326, &c. And in Robinson's Bib. Res. II. p. 49. Glaber tells us that this conflux portended the approach of Antichrist, at the end of that century.

Hakem, by Romanus Argyrus[1], were probably suspended by the Emperor's death[2], and only renewed and concluded by Mostanser Billah with Michael the Paphlagonian, on condition of the release of 5000 Moslem prisoners, and a truce of thirty years[3]. Preliminaries being thus arranged, the collection of funds and materials for the work would require some further time; but the work was taken in hand under the direction of Greek architects from Constantinople, and completed by the Patriarch Nicephorus at an enormous expense, chiefly borne by Constantine Monomachus, in A.D. 1048, thirty-seven years after its demolition[4].

But even this restoration did not comprehend the Basilica of Constantine, or rather of Modestus, nor the other extensive buildings connected with the Sepulchre. A circular Church surmounted by a substantial dome enclosed the cave; but Calvary, and other sacred sites about it, were guarded from desecration by detached chapels erected over them, which were only connected and incorporated into one building after the occupation of the city by the Franks[5]. Yet this restoration, such as

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[1] Willermus Tyrensis, I. vi. p. 632, calls him Heliopolitanus. He reigned from A.D. 1028—1034.

[2] Cedrenus in A.M. 6542 (A.D. 1034) says that Romanus, having obtained permission, sent workmen to undertake it, but that on his death his successor Michael completed it. p. 731. Paris ed. 1647.

[3] The release of prisoners, on this condition, is mentioned by Abulfeda. Annal. Mus. A.H. 429, (A.D. 1037-8), Tom. III. pp. 96, 7. Quatremère, Mémoires, &c. sur l'Egypte, Tome II. p. 297. Cedrenus alone mentions the thirty years truce invited by the Khalif in A.M. 6544, (A.D. 1036,) p. 739.

[4] Willermus Tyrensis l. c. Cedrenus, (p. 737) in A.M. 6543, (A.D. 1035) records an earthquake which lasted forty days, and was fatal to many at Jerusalem, by the falling of churches and houses. This may have destroyed the building mentioned by Ademar, &c. Abulfaragius, p. 228, says that it caused part of the wall of the temple at Jerusalem to fall.

[5] So seen and described by Sœwulf as late as 1103. Recueil de Voyages, &c. Tome IV. p. 840. Their incorpo-

it was, afforded the faithful consolation amid the imminent dangers, and the thousand perils of death to which they were exposed, while the infidels ceased not to devise against them, and against their brethren at Bethlehem and Tekoa, where only Christians were to be found, new modes of torture and fresh varieties of injurious treatment[6]. They were buffeted and spit upon, loaded with chains and cast into prison, subjected to calumnious accusations of the basest sycophants, and impoverished by their endeavours to satisfy the exorbitant demands of a rapid succession of greedy governors. The rich treasures, rapidly accumulated in the Church of the Resurrection, were plundered, and its demolition frequently threatened[7].

Meanwhile the political state of the Holy Land was subjected to violent convulsions, analogous to the frequent earthquakes which affected its physical condition; and the struggles for ascendancy between the Abbasside and Fatimite dynasties were a repetition of the conflicts between the rival Macedonian kingdoms.

The Egyptian Khalifs had succeeded in establishing their authority over Syria and Arabia; so that whatever might become of the pretensions of their family, however their claims of descent from Ali might be opposed by the sages of Bagdad, yet they were admitted in the Kaaba at Mecca and in El-Aksa at

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ration by the Crusaders is related by Willermus Tyr. Lib. VIII. cap. iii. p. 747.

[6] Willermus Tyrensis, Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 633.

[7] The events of the long and troubled reign of El-Mostanser Billah (A. D. 1036—1094) are given in sufficient detail from oriental sources, by Quatremère, in a Life of this Khalif, inserted in his Mémoires Géographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte, &c. Tome II. p. 296, &c. He relates the spoliation of an immense amount of Church property by Mostanser, (cir. 1054), p. 318.

Jerusalem, where the khotba, or public prayer for the sovereign[1], was daily made for El-Mostanser Billah, as the orthodox commander of the faithful.

This privilege or pre-eminence he had enjoyed for the space of thirty-five years, when his fortunes met with a reverse from a power which had been gradually growing up in the very heart of the Persian Empire, the developement of which was to prove fatal alike to both the rival dynasties, and so afflictive to the Christians as at length to arouse the whole of Western Europe to arm in defence of their oppressed brethren of the East. The Turks, whose political existence dates from the middle of the sixth century, when their ancestors first left their native seats in the Golden Mountains, to handle, in their own cause, the swords which they had so long forged for others, had extended their influence in Persia under the Saracens, until they had gradually usurped all but the shadow of power, which was still claimed by the Khalifs of Bagdad. In the middle of the eleventh century the destinies of Asia were in fact ruled by the Seljukian Sultans, nominally the servants, but virtually the tyrants of the "Prince of the Faithful,"—a venerable phantom, who slumbered in inglorious ease in his palace at Bagdad, leaving to his lieutenants the task of propagating the faith of the Koran which their ancestors had embraced[2].

The nomad hordes of Turkistan, converted into a

[1] The khotba was first made in the name of Hakem at Mecca, in A.H. 403, or 404, (A.D. 1012—1014.) De Sacy, l. c. p. cccIxiv. His power was recognised at Aleppo in A.H. 404. Ibid. p. cccIxxxiii.

[2] The authorities for the Seljukian dynasty are amply given by Deguignes, Livre xi. Tome II. pte 2de, p. 1, &c.; and Gibbon, chap. lvii. Vol. x. p. 329, &c.; J. de Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, Livre i. Tome I. p. 11, &c.

race of formidable warriors, having changed the pastoral crook for the cimeter and the bow, had already vindicated to themselves and their cattle the possession of the rich pastures of Khorassan, when Toghrulbek, the grandson of Seljuk, was appointed by lot to their command. The revolted provinces of Persia were speedily reduced by his conquests to their allegiance to the Abbasside Khalif, and the conqueror was rewarded with the viceregal office of Amir el-Omra[3], supreme ruler of the consolidated Empire. He was invested with much ceremony at the capital, and his name was inserted in the khotba after that of the Khalif Kaïm. He was succeeded by his nephew Alb-Arslan, whose career of conquest, scarcely checked by the desperate valour of Romanus Diogenes, worthy of a less degenerate age, extended the western bounds of the Persian Empire over Georgia and Armenia, into Cappadocia and Phrygia. Every succeeding wave of the crimson tide advanced further than the last, until they met the rolling waters of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, during the reign of Melik-Shah, the son and successor of Alb-Arslan, who also extended his own power, rather than that of the Khalif Moktadi, his lord, to the very frontiers of China.

While his cousin Suliman was engaged in the reduction of Asia Minor, the Syrian Empire of the Fatimites was invaded by his lieutenant Isar el-Afsis, in command of a Turkoman army, at a time when it was torn to pieces by intestine divisions, and the title of the Khalif Mostanser was disputed by revolted Amirs

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[3] Prince of princes. The office was first held by the prince of the Bowides, and corresponded to that of the Mayor of the Palace in France.

in almost every province and city of his dominion[1]. Having discomfited a large army of Arabs in a night attack near Tiberias, and made themselves masters by stratagem of their impregnable fortress and place of arms, Ammon[2] in the Belka, where the Arabs had deposited all their treasures, the Turkomans made tardy progress with the conquest of Syria. They restored Ramleh which they found in ruins; made unsuccessful attempts on Damascus, Tyre, and Acre; and being forced to abandon the idea of invading Egypt, they formed the siege of Jerusalem, which was protracted until a sack of corn sold for seventy dinars. The Egyptian garrison was commanded by a Turkish officer, whose fidelity was not proof against the claims of consanguinity; so having satisfied or compromised his loyalty, and secured his own life and property, he opened the gates to the besiegers, and the immense wealth which the city contained was placed at their disposal. Afsis used his victory with moderation; the persons of the inhabitants were respected, and sentinels were set to guard their goods from pillage. He required only that prayer should be made in the name of the Abbasside khalif and his Sultan.

But his dominion was for some time limited to Jerusalem and Ramleh, and threatened by hostile confederations of the partisans of the rival khalifs; and it was not until five years after this conquest that he became master of Damascus, whose fertile gardens he had yearly ravaged at harvest-time, until corn was sold

[1] For this period I draw materials from M. Quatremère's Mémoire sur la Vie de Mostanser, in his Mémoires sur l'Egypte, Tome II. p. 296, &c.

[2] What M. Quatremère writes, Oman, (l. c., pp. 413, 14,) can only be Ammon of Moab.

at more than 200 dinars a sack, and the inhabitants were almost driven to devour one another. The forbearance shown to the inhabitants of Jerusalem was not extended to the Damascenes, and the licentiousness of the soldiery called down their execrations on the conqueror. As nearly all the cities of Syria were now reduced, Afsis was emboldened again to march on Egypt. His expedition consisted of Turkomans, Kurds, and Arabs, to the number of 20,000, and Cairo was threatened for fifty days, while the country suffered all the horrors attendant on a barbarian invasion. At length he was completely routed by a very inferior force, and with difficulty escaped at the head of a small band. Arrived at Gaza, he found the gates shut against him, and lost part of his men in an attack of the people of the town. Nearly all that remained were killed by the inhabitants of Ramleh, and Afsis arrived at Damascus with ten men. The fidelity of this capital had been secured by the presence of his brother, but the standard of revolt was unfurled in Jerusalem and in all other cities of Syria. They were however soon reduced to obedience. The Kadi and Notaries of Jerusalem with 3000 of the people were put to the sword; and the frightful effects of these continued struggles in the desolation of the country is marked by the fact, that in place of a population of half a million, which Damascus formerly boasted, the number was reduced by famine and emigration to three thousand, when it was again besieged by Nasr ed-duleh, general of the Egyptian forces. Afsis was compelled to call to his aid Taj-ed-duleh Tutush, son of Alb-Arslan, to whom his brother Melik-Shah had assigned as an appanage all the conquests that he could make in Syria. The Egyptians

raised the siege on his approach, and retired with precipitation. He was received by Afsis at the entrance to the city, but felt or feigned an affront because he had not advanced further to meet him. His sharp reproaches brooked no contradiction, explanation was vain, and the unfortunate general was arrested and executed on the spot. Thus Tutush found himself master of Damascus, whose inhabitants had cause to congratulate themselves on the change, as he treated them with lenity and justice. He entrusted the government of Jerusalem and Palestine to a distinguished Turk named Ortok, who had to maintain a perpetual contest with the Egyptians, but they wrested from his grasp all the maritime cities of the Phœnician coast. He was succeeded by his two sons Sokman and Ilghazi, who governed conjointly for the sultans or themselves; the contentions which ensued on the death of Melik-Shah (A.D. 1098) having again introduced anarchy, and split the empire into numerous subdivisions.

Meanwhile the state of the Christians had been gradually deteriorating; and if they were included in the easy terms offered by the first Turkish conqueror, their fortunes had since undergone such a reverse that their sufferings were aggravated beyond all past precedent, and they groaned under a bondage more intolerable than they had hitherto known[1]. Still the innumerable perils of the way, increased as they were by this late revolution, could not repress the ardour of the Western Christians of all conditions, who still flocked in crowds to pay their adorations at the Holy Sepulchre[2].

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[1] William of Tyre, I. x. 636.

[2] An interesting notice of some of these pilgrimages of the eleventh century will be found in Dr Robinson's Bib. Res. II. p. 48, &c.

Yet the melancholy picture of the state of Christendom, drawn by the pen of one who would not overstate its corruptions[3], forbids us to hope that the zeal which vented itself in foreign pilgrimages was either intelligent or rightly directed. "The people were faithful only in name; princes and subjects, clergy and laity, had all alike departed from purity both of faith and morals. Sacrilege, violence, gross fornication, injustice, luxury, and a long catalogue of other sins, betokened that the world was declining towards evening, and that the second advent of the Son of man was at hand; for the love of many had waxed cold, and faith was no more found in the earth. The bishops, instead of correcting the prevailing abuses, were grossly negligent; 'dumb dogs, not able to bark;' accepting persons; leaving the sheep to wolves, as hirelings; given to simony; followers of Gehazi. In short, 'all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth;' and nature itself gave token of approaching judgments; for there were prodigies in heavens and signs upon earth; pestilence, and famine, and earthquakes."

Such was the condition of the world when the nations of the West and of the East were brought into deadly collision[4]. The spark that produced the tremendous explosion was kindled by an obscure individual, a French hermit, of the diocese of Amiens. He had come as a pilgrim to Jerusalem (A. D. 1094), where his sympathy was awakened by the sufferings of the native

[3] The following description is taken from William of Tyre, I. viii. pp. 634, 635.

[4] I may say, once for all, that I follow in the history of the earlier Crusades, the collection of writers in the Gesta Dei per Francos, but especially William of Tyre. A short outline is given by Gibbon, cap. lviii. where a tabular view of references to this interesting collection of Bongar will be found. Vol. XI. p. 29. Milman's ed.

Church, and his righteous indignation aroused by the flagitious practices of its ruthless oppressors. An *aureus*[1] was exacted for admission to the city; not one in a thousand of the wretched pilgrims, who had lost their all on the road, could satisfy the demand; and their tribute and maintenance imposed an intolerable burden on the inhabitants. They were constantly exposed to insults in their visits to the holy places, whose sanctity was no protection against the infidels. The churches, which had been repaired with great labour and cost, were violently entered even during the celebration of the divine offices, when the tyrants would sit upon the altars, overthrow and trample under foot the sacred vessels, insult the clergy with abuse and blows, and pluck the venerable patriarch from his seat by the hair of his head or beard. They would even occasionally proceed so far as to throw him into prison.

Distressed beyond measure at these barbarities, Peter sought an interview with Symeon, offered his condolence, and recommended him to write to the sovereign pontiff of the Roman Church, to the kings and princes of the West, since he must now despair of all succour from the East. For himself, he undertook to make known throughout the length and breadth of Europe the facts of which he had been assured by ocular proof, and to leave no means untried to furnish a remedy to these bitter persecutions. His aid was thankfully accepted, and he departed on his

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[1] "A gold Byzant, equivalent to about five Spanish dollars." Bib. Res. II. p. 48, note 3. The value of the Spanish dollar is now four shillings and fourpence English. This fee was exacted as early as A.D. 1025, and is first mentioned in the pilgrimage of Robert Duke of Normandy. Bouquet's Recueil, Tome XI. p. 328.

errand. Most faithfully did he execute his voluntary commission.

Peter the hermit is described as of short stature, and a contemptible presence as regards the outer man; but he had a mighty spirit, quick wit, a piercing eye, and a pleasing flow of eloquence, which he turned to the best account in preaching the first Crusade. The cause was strenuously taken up by Pope Urban II. The council of Clermont, convened by that pontiff, witnessed the success of his earnest exhortations; the watch-word claiming the Divine sanction for the undertaking, ran like wild-fire through the countries of the West, and Europe was convulsed to its centre with preparations for the Holy War[2].

Various were the motives which induced the thousands of Italy, France, and Germany, to arm for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Some were actuated, no doubt, by deep and sincere devotion to their Lord: they looked upon Palestine as "Immanuel's Land" in a peculiar sense. The feudal laws, which then prevailed, would inculcate the duty of the vassal to fight for the expulsion of the unbelievers to whom it was enslaved; and the authority of the Church, holding out to them the sure promise of eternal reward, still further enflamed their religious ardour; the zeal for pilgrimage being increased by the glorious prospect of a martyr's crown. But whether it were "the mightiest lever known to the moral world, imagination," or superstition, or simply worldly motives, that "upheaved all Christendom from

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[2] For the Council of Clermont (A.D. 1095) and the Pope's appeal, see Willermus Tyrensis, Hist. Lib. I. capp. xiv. xv. Cited also by Labbe, Concilia, Tom. x. col. 511 &c., where see fuller particulars, and another earnest and eloquent address of the Pope. See also Wilielmus Malms. de reb. Angliæ, IV. 3.

her natural station," and stirred to its lowest depths the elements of society, he must be blind indeed who does not see, and ungrateful who will not acknowledge, a higher Providence directing the mistaken zeal of His creatures to His own merciful purposes; checking the desolating course of the cimeter and the Koran in Europe, by the terrors of the Cross and sword in Asia[1].

From the very commencement of Islâm, the disciples of the true and false faith had been arrayed in deadly hostility; they were natural antagonists, as both claiming universal dominion. Mohammed had avowed the principle of propagating his religion with the sword; the greatest delights in his carnal paradise were awarded to those who gained a martyr's crown on the battle-field, engaged in conflict with the unbelievers. The genius of the Christian religion was widely at variance with this martial spirit; the means of its diffusion had been, and were ever to be, such as its Founder had prescribed and its first missionaries had practised. But it is unreasonable to view the Crusades simply in a religious aspect. The civil liberties and the social relations of every nation and of every individual in the Christian Commonwealth were at stake, and they were not only justified, they were bound by all that was most sacred, to oppose force to force, and to resist to the utmost the invasion of their altars and their homes by a strong and relentless foe. Possibly the rude unso-

[1] Possibly the Embassy of the Greek Emperor Alexius to the Council of Placenza, (Labbe, Ibid. col. 501), had as much to do with the Crusades, as the letter of Symeon, or the representations of Peter. Wordsworth, in the sonnet which I cite, pleads for them, as also Sir J. Mackintosh, Hist. Eng. cap. iii. Vol. 1. p. 123 &c. Their effects on the civilization of Europe is shewn by M. Guizot. Lect. VIII. Hallam thinks that their benefits have been over-rated. Middle Ages, cap. vi. Vol. 1. p. 519 &c.

phisticated warriors may have mistaken their vocation, and forced a typical sense on the early history of the Jewish nation. They may have regarded themselves in the light of Christian confessors contending for the faith, instead of armed citizens engaged in a defensive war against unlawful aggression; and this delusion may have been countenanced by leaders or teachers, not learned in the phraseology of modern codes of international law, nor careful to draw a nice line of demarkation between civil and religious duties. But their imaginary Divine mission filled their hearts with higher courage, nerved their arms with increased might, and furnished motives of endurance, and comfort in trials, stronger and more availing than any lower considerations could have afforded.

Hitherto the Moslems had been the aggressors, the Christians had acted only on the defensive. And what had been the result? The crescent had supplanted the Cross over the whole of Asia and Africa. In the cradle of the Christian faith and its earliest seats, in the sees of its most famous bishops and the homes of its most renowned fathers, had the light of truth been long extinguished. The desolating locusts of the Arabian desert had occupied the fruitful hills of Spain and invaded France, spread themselves over Cyprus and Candia, covered the whole of Sicily, settled on the southern coast of Italy, and carried desolation to the gates of the Eternal City. The first and earliest of these conquests they still retained: and if they had been driven out of Aquitain by the prowess of Charles Martel, and been forced to abandon the sea-border of Apulia by the united forces of the Greeks and Franks, and had ceded Sicily to the valour of the Normans, yet

were they now advancing with rapid strides from the East; the extinct ardour of religious fanaticism being revived by the infusion of Turkish ferocity. The Eastern Empire offered but a feeble barrier to the invader, and Constantinople owed its security, not to his forbearance, but to the width of the Bosphorus and his want of a navy, which time would speedily provide, when the old horrors of barbarian incursion would be repeated with frightful aggravations. The question clearly was between a Christian invasion of Asia, and a Turkish invasion of Europe; there was no other alternative.

Thus much must have been clear to the far-sighted politicians of the day; and the question for them to decide was this: How they might best unite in one bond of alliance the incoherent and often hostile forces of the various nations of the West, and what motive they could find sufficiently potent to persuade them to undertake so difficult and dangerous an enterprise. The general policy of the Crusades few are now disposed to question; the particular details will perhaps bear examination better than the popular arguments whereby the nineteenth century has been taught to justify like aggressive operations in the remoter East against a less formidable foe.

I am compelled reluctantly to pass over the mustering of the mighty hosts under their several leaders, the various fortunes which they experienced on their passage through Europe, until they were reunited under the walls of Nicæa in Bithynia; the subsequent divisions and disputes of the princes, and the reverses or successes that attended their arms in Asia Minor, before Antioch, in Syria, and Palestine; until the remnant that had escaped the perils of the way sat down under the

walls of Jerusalem, on the seventh of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand and ninety-nine.

Since the first warning of the impending storm, the Moslem inhabitants of the city had not been inactive. In the course of the same year[1] Afdhal, vizir of the Fatimite khalif el-Mustâly, had succeeded in expelling the Turkish usurpers, and had left it in charge of Amir Iftikar ed-Duleh. This governor had no sooner heard of the departure of the Franks from Antioch, where they had experienced so serious, and he might hope effectual a check, than he set himself, by the khalif's orders, to restore the fortifications, and laid in such stores and ammunition as were necessary for the approaching siege. In a general assembly held in the court of the great mosk, it was proposed to put all the Christian inhabitants to the sword, and to root up the very rock of the Holy Sepulchre, so as to remove for ever the object of this present expedition. But perceiving that by this means they would the more exasperate the incensed minds of their dreaded enemies, and expose themselves to the risk of extermination in the event of their success, they happily abandoned the design, and satisfied themselves with imposing a fine of 14,000 aurei on the Christians, and expelled from the city all but the aged, sick, women, and children. The crusaders might have learnt a lesson of moderation from the humane exception.

The walls of the city, at that period much more circumscribed than in earlier times, appear to have

[1] So all the eastern and western writers, excepting Abulfeda, who says that this happened A.H. 489, (A.D. 1096), Annal. Mus. Tom. III. p. 308. See Wilken's Commentatio, &c. p. 30, 31. Jalal-ad-dín (p. 195) mentions both dates.

enclosed the same space as those of modern Jerusalem. Three sides, defended for the most part by a natural fosse of immense depth,—the almost precipitous valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom,—were inaccessible to the assault of the besiegers: the north alone exposed an approachable front to their attack, but that also frowned defiance from its frequent towers. The princes were encamped in the following order[1]. The prince of Lorraine, Godfrey of Bouillon, occupied the extremity of the left wing, extending from the Valley of Jehoshaphat and opposite to the tower which then filled the north-east angle of the walls. Next to him, on the right, was Count Robert of Flanders, then his namesake of Normandy, and afterwards the renowned Tancred. His position is determined by the corner-tower, afterwards called by his name, whose substantial ruins in the north-west angle of the city still furnish a valuable topographical mark for the illustration of the historical description[2]. These four generals being thus disposed along the northern line, a position was taken up by the Count Raymond of Toulouse over against the Tower of David, on the west. But as there was little prospect of making an impression on this quarter, owing to the strength of that tower which defended the Jaffa gate, and the disadvantage of his position with a deep valley interposed, he was prevailed on to remove half his army to the part of Mount Sion excluded from the city, where he pitched his camp between the walls and the

[1] Twenty-two years of study, (I learn from M. Poujoulat, *Histoire*, Vol. III. p. 156,) could not satisfy M. Michaud how the crusaders penetrated into the city until he had been on the spot to examine the ground. This is to me quite inexplicable; nothing can be clearer than the account of the chroniclers, and wonderfully consistent.

[2] Dr Robinson coincides doubtingly. Bib. Res. I. p. 471, note 1.

W.F. Wells del. A.Picken lith.

Day & Haghe lith. to the Queen.

AREA, BEZETHA, AND THE SCOPUS.

(Looking over the Tyropœon)

of a Syrian sun. The Bethlehemites and Tekoites conducted them to fountains four or five miles distant; but the enemy sallying from the uninvested part of the city, intercepted the unarmed foragers; and so perilous was the service, that the water which reached the camp was sold at an enormous price. To the horrors of drought, infection was shortly added, from the multitude of cattle that had died from want of pasture; and while the unrecruited forces of the faithful were daily diminishing by the operation of these causes, the besieged were constantly receiving fresh supplies through the open walls, and strengthening the defences of the city.

In this extremity, the seasonable arrival at the port of Jaffa, of some Genoese vessels, which hardly escaped the Egyptian fleet, revived the flagging spirits of the besiegers. Their cargo and crews were convoyed to Jerusalem by an escort from the Count of Toulouse. On their way to the port the party experienced some loss in a skirmish with a much superior force of the enemy, but the loss was fully compensated by the skill of the artificers, whom they succeeded in bringing safe to the camp. They came prepared with all necessary implements, and Raymond, whose funds alone were unexhausted, took them into his employ. Their ready ingenuity turned even the disasters of the army to account. The animals that had died from starvation, or had been mercifully killed to save them from it, were skinned, and the raw hides, nailed over the machines, served as a protection against the fire by which the enemy afterwards sought to destroy them.

In four weeks the preparations were completed, and the day fixed for the assault. But in order to secure

its success, it was resolved first to propitiate the Almighty by a general humiliation, and a reconciliation of the differences and animosities which existed among princes and people. In long and peaceful array, with bare feet, the clergy in their priestly vestments chanting solemn litanies, they first proceeded to the Mount of Olives, where they were edified by sermons from Peter the Hermit and Arculphus, an eloquent friend of Count Robert of Normandy, exhorting them to endurance, and the exercise of other Christian graces. They then visited the Church of Sion, where several were wounded from the walls, on which the enemy exposed and insulted the sacred symbol of our salvation. All was now ready.

There was a part of the wall between the Damascus Gate and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the defence of which had hitherto been neglected by the besieged, no part of the Christian army being encamped before it. On the night preceding the assault, the Duke Godfrey, despairing of forcing the strongly fortified wall before him, with incredible labour removed his machine in fragments, a distance of half a mile, and under cover of the darkness erected it against this weaker part; the other generals got all in readiness, each in his own quarter. The fashion of all their towers was much the same. They were four-sided, the part turned to the wall being guarded by a double coating, the outer one of which when let down formed a drawbridge for communication with the wall, while the second covering protected those within the tower.

At dawn of day the assault commenced: the soldiers of the Cross, animated by one spirit, proposed to themselves only one of two alternatives—victory or martyr-

dom. Even the aged and the sick, women and children, took part in the fight. The machines were moved towards the walls, under cover of a discharge of stones from engines and slings; but a deep fosse before the outworks impeded the operations of the besiegers, and the stout defence of the Moslems occasioned them considerable loss. The fosse was with difficulty filled, the castles advanced to the outworks, and a deadly struggle ensued. The shock of the assailants' missiles was broken by sacks of straw and chaff, or by beams and ropes, suspended from the walls. The castles were fired by means of brands attached to darts composed of sulphur, pitch, and oil, with other combustibles, and the flames were scarcely extinguished by streams of precious water. Huge masses of stone hurled from the battlements crushed the legs of the engines, and the soldiers by whom they were manned were thrown headlong to the earth. Meanwhile the catapults on the wall discharged incessant showers of shot, with wonderful precision and effect.

Night parted the combatants, but though exhausted with the toils of the day, neither party could devote it to repose. The crusaders, apprehensive for the safety of their engines, prepared with so much labour, and on which their success depended, watched anxiously for the morning to renew the assault: The garrison, no less fearful of a night-attack, paced the walls and guarded the gates; while the elders, passing through the streets of the city, exhorted and encouraged the people to vigilance and bravery.

At length the anxious night, worse than the toilsome day, gave place to the dawn of the memorable 15th of July. The battle raged as on the preceding

day, and in addition to the usual arts of war the Moslems called to their aid the charms of sorcery. One very large and destructive engine of the Franks had done terrible execution; the incantations of two witches were to disarm it of its power: While engaged with their spells on the wall, three girls of their company were struck by a mass from the same engine, and fell lifeless from the walls; a circumstance which occasioned great joy to the Christians and proportionate consternation to the infidels. At length, after seven hours' hard fighting, the courage of the weary and dispirited besiegers beginning to flag, they proposed to draw back their battered and smoking engines, which sadly needed repair, and to defer the attack till the following day, devoting the interval to necessary refreshment and repose; when a timely apparition on Mount Olivet, distinctly seen by Duke Godfrey and his brother Eustachius, from the upper story of their tower, revived the dying embers of zeal. The soldiers returned with fresh vigour to the action, and the last and successful struggle commenced. The outworks were carried, and the engines applied to the wall. The besieged averted the strokes of the battering-rams by long beams of great thickness suspended from the battlements by ropes: the soldiers in Godfrey's tower cut the ropes, and the beam fell to the ground. The enemy had thus furnished the means of their own destruction. The drawbridge of the castle was weak and required support, the means of which this beam so opportunely furnished. Under cover of a cloud of smoke, raised from ignited straw and flax, and carried by the wind with blinding effect into the faces of the enemy, the valiant brothers at the head of a chosen band carried the wall, and the besieged fled in all directions. The Franks

seeing their comrades in possession of the city, speedily brought their ladders, the northern gate was opened, and the crusaders were masters of Jerusalem. The panic soon spread among the Moslems, and the defence was abandoned: The Count of Toulouse, on the western quarter, ignorant of what had occurred, entered without opposition, and the Sion gate admitted the main body of his followers. It was on a Friday afternoon, at three o'clock, that the city was taken; and the chroniclers do not fail to remark, that it seemed to be divinely ordered that, at the very hour and on the self-same day of the week on which our Lord suffered for the salvation of the world in that city, His followers were permitted to see the consummation of their wishes in their triumph over His enemies, through the might of His name[1].

Alas! the soldiers of the Cross were little mindful of His precepts and example in His dying prayer for His murderers. Humanity shudders and religion revolts at the frightful carnage committed under His banner, by these inhuman butchers, flushed with victory, thirsting for blood, and wholly devoted to its terrible work[2]. The two generals, advancing from opposite quarters, met in the middle of the city, leaving the ensanguined streets behind them so thickly strewn with the mangled corses

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[1] It is singular, that even a more remarkable coincidence is mentioned by Moslem writers on its recovery by Saladin. He took it on the anniversary of Mohammed's night-journey from Jerusalem to heaven! The western writers make the siege last 39 days; (i. e. from June 7 to July 15.) Abulfeda writes 40; Abulfaragius, more than 40; Anna Comnena, half a month, (ap. Wilken's Comment. p. 30.) Jalal-Addín more than 50 days. p. 194.

[2] "Infidelium cruorem sitiens, et ad cædem omninò proclivus.....stragem operati sunt horrendam.....Tanta per urbem erat strages hostium, tantaque sanguinis effusio, ut etiam victoribus posset tædium et horrorem ingerere." Wil. Tyr. VIII. XX.

of their victims as to be almost impassable, the miserable fugitives being intercepted between the two detachments. Such as escaped immediate death fled to the court of the Temple, and a few to the castle of David. The former became the next object of attack. Tancred was the first to enter, and while his soldiers were busy with carnage, he was occupied with rapine, and pillaged the vast riches of the Mosk of 'Omar. The arrival of the other generals consummated the tragedy. The marble platform of the sacred building was deluged ankle-deep with blood, the mangled limbs of the slaughtered floated on its crimson tide; and the grim aspect of the conquerors, smeared from head to foot with human gore, was not less dreadful than the havoc in which they were engaged. Ten thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen in this confined space; the number slain in the city was not to be estimated. It had been before agreed that the victors should have for their share of the booty what each could seize for himself; and the consequence was that houses were dispossessed of their occupants by the indiscriminate slaughter of whole families, some being slain with the sword, others thrown headlong into the streets.

The transition in the events of this day fills perhaps the most striking page in the history of enthusiasm. When the arms of the conquerors were wearied, and their swords blunt with slaughter; when guards had been stationed in the towers and at the gates as a precaution against a sudden attack; the whole multitude, having laid aside their weapons, washed their hands and changed their garments; with bare feet, and groans and tears, the outward indications of a humble spirit and truly contrite heart, mingled with hymns and spiritual songs of praise, proceeded to the venerable places which

their Saviour had deigned to adorn and sanctify by His presence, but especially to the scenes of His Passion and Resurrection; kissing and embracing each sacred memorial with indescribable fervour of devotion. Their tears were tears of joy and gratitude; their sighs and sobs appeared to proceed from hearts wholly inflamed with love, and to ascend as a whole and acceptable burnt-offering to God. To this succeeded works of mercy and bountiful alms-giving. The newly-acquired spoil was bestowed with prodigal profusion on those who had obtained nothing for themselves; and they who, an hour before, with greedy avarice had seized all on which they could lay hands, now voluntarily impoverished themselves, and counted the privilege of this day their all-sufficient reward!

Had the scene closed here, the theory of temporary demoniacal possession might have explained their former fury, which nothing could excuse; but the cold-blooded butchery of the surviving Moslems is the darkest crime of this shocking tragedy. It was committed upon deliberation, contrary to the laws of war, three days after the capture of the city[1], when the boiling blood of the conquerors had had time to cool, and reason and humanity to resume their controul. Some who had escaped to the roof of the Mosk el-Aksa, to whom Tancred had given security for their lives, were put to death in violation of the treaty; and the same fate would have befallen those in the Tower of David, but for the determination of the Count of Toulouse, who enabled them to effect their escape to 'Ascalon, with their wives and children and baggage.

[1] Jalál-Addín (p. 195) extends the slaughter to seven days, and says that 70,000 were slain in the Mosk el-Aksa alone! So Abulfeda Ann. Mus. III. p. 308, and Mejr-eddin, ap. Mines d'Orient, Tome III. p. 72.

The first act of the assembled princes, after the burial of the dead and purification of the city, was the election of a king. The personal merits and important services of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, secured to him their unanimous suffrages; but the haughty spirits of his late compeers did not readily submit to his authority. Count Raymond, who had taken possession of the Castle of David on its evacuation by the Saracens, refused to relinquish his prize. He was probably disappointed, and with good reason, in his expectation of the throne; nor would the electors have disregarded his superior claims, had not his moral character been purposely misrepresented by many of his followers, who, anxious for their own return to Europe, hesitated not to calumniate their leader in order to effect it. The disputed castle was adjudged to the Duke, and the Count, having in vain attempted to quench his indignation in the waters of the Jordan, soon after returned home in disgust, but not until he had sullied his reputation by a deliberate act of vindictive treason.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANK KINGDOM, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Before I proceed to such a summary history of the Frank kingdom of Jerusalem as is consistent with my plan, it will be well to give a sketch of its Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity, the frame-work of which was constructed by duke Godfrey, assisted by the patriarch, barons, and other nobles, with the best learned of the knights, and clerks, and laics, but gradually developed and modified as circumstances permitted or necessity required; and then, in order not again to interrupt the thread of the narrative, I shall notice the Military Orders, the main stay of the throne, though their origin dates from a somewhat later period.

The foundations of the Constitution, both in Church and State, were laid by Godfrey, during his brief and troubled reign; it was of course modelled, after the pattern of the European States, where the Feudal System was in its zenith, and consequently exhibited all the excellences, and many of the defects of the state of refined barbarism, or perhaps of incipient civilization, from which that system sprung[1]. The enlightened policy of the most highly civilized nations of modern times has decided that the establishment of Christianity in a newly acquired possession is a matter of so small account as not to call for the interference of the secular power. To respect the Religious Endowments of the dominant Creed, true or false, Christian or Pagan, is the whole duty of a colonial government; though it may be sometimes expedient to administer their revenues for the better maintenance of order;—no matter though countenance be thereby given to superstition or idolatry. The diffusion of Christian truth, if not a matter of perfect indifference, may safely be left to private enterprise or sectarian competition: any recognition of distinctive doctrine, any preference of a particular body as having authority in sacred things, were illiberal and bigotted in the extreme. But the dark ages of which

[1] This is no place for a disquisition on the principles of Feudalism, its advantages and defects. Those who are dismayed at the bulk of the Assises de Jérusalem, and other feudal codes and commentaries, may consult Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. ii., and Guizot's 4th Lecture on the Civilization of Modern Europe. Sir J. Mackintosh's judgment at the conclusion of his brief sketch of the feudal institutions is, that they "probably produced more misery in their first vigour, stirred up more energy in their course, and left behind them more good, than any other system of laws by which the race of man have been governed." Hist. Eng. Vol. I. p. 117.

I treat, had not attained to this refinement of indifference. Whether they had received the tradition from pagan times, or inherited it from their fathers in the faith; or whether they did but emulate in this the religious zeal of the Moslems, so it was that the Faith and Worship, the Altars and Churches, the ministering priests and consecrated fraternities of their native lands, were not forgotten in their foreign conquests. The Church was ever the first object of their care. All the resources of art were summoned to the adornment of its material fabrics; and the first-fruits of the spoil were consecrated to the endowment of the Ecclesiastical Establishments with which the liberal devotion of the time taught them to maintain the dignity of Religion, and to attach the reverence of the people to its services and ministers. Those endowments have long since been diverted to the Mosks, or Schools, or Monasteries of the Infidels; the Establishments have been suppressed, the short-lived conquests recovered, so that the remembrance of them has perished from the land; but the footsteps of the Franks are still to be traced in the dust of many a mouldering ruin, whose stately proportion, and massive masonry, and the rich tracery in the mullioned windows, are so many monuments of their religious fervour, and reprove the nicely-calculated and niggard expenditure of a richer but more selfish age.

On the surrender of Antioch, after an obstinate defence of eight months, during which the besiegers had endured hardships and privations such as rarely fall to the lot of the besieged, the first care of the Crusaders had been the restoration of the Cathedral Church of St Peter and other sacred edifices, which had been

desecrated or profaned by the Turks[1]. Gold and silver were freely offered from the spoils, and speedily converted into lamps, and crosses, and vessels for divine service; the ikons which had been defaced or mutilated were replaced; the altars restored and furnished with copies of the Holy Gospels; rich sacerdotal vestments, and altar-cloths provided; and the clergy furnished with sufficient revenues to secure the due performance of the sacred ordinances. The Greek Patriarch John, who as a true Confessor of Christ had suffered severely from the infidels during the siege, was restored with great honor to his own throne, and bishops were appointed in the neighbouring cities, as of old. But they did not presume to elect or consecrate a Patriarch of the Latin rite, during the life-time of him who had been before ordained, lest two should appear to occupy one and the same throne, in plain violation of the sacred Canons and the constitutions of the Holy Fathers. After two years the Patriarch, having experienced the inconvenience of a Greek presiding over a Latin community, voluntarily ceded his office and retired to Constantinople[2]; after whose departure a Latin prelate, Bernard by name, was elected to the dignity by the suffrages of the Clergy and people.

Arrived at Lydda on their march to Jerusalem, they found the Church of St George in ruins; for the enemy had demolished it through fear that its timbers, which were of great length, might be converted into military engines by the invaders. Here they appointed

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[1] Albertus Aquensis, Hist. Hierosol. Lib. v. cap. i. Willermus Tyrensis, Lib. vi. cap. xxiii.

[2] So Will. Tyr. l. c.; but Ordericus Vitalis states the reasons very differently. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, Tom. ii. col. 756, 7; Tom. iii. 1153, 4.

a bishop to preside over this and the neighbouring city of Ramleh, and endowed the See with the perpetual possession of the two towns with their suburbs; dedicating the first-fruits of their labors with all devotion to the illustrious Martyr whose tomb was still shown in the Church where his mortal body slept in the Lord[1].

It was to be expected that a Prince preferred to his compeers for his piety would shew himself equally mindful of the paramount claims of the Church; nor did the Duke Godfrey consider that the unwarrantable interference of the Clergy in the Council of the princes[2], nor the degeneracy too clearly indicated by their arrogance and assumption, would hold him excused from the discharge of those claims, whatever inconveniences might result, and however the ambitious projects and worldly policy of individual ecclesiastics might embarrass his government; as indeed they proved a fruitful source of trouble to himself and his successors. When he first set out on his pilgrimage, for to him at least the expedition was such, he had conveyed his good Castle of Bouillon with all its property and large estates to the Church of Liège for perpetual alms; and having now inherited a wider domain in a foreign land he consecrated it to like uses. The Sepulchre of the Lord, and the Church of St Mary de Latinâ, had alone been spared to the Christians, of all that they had formerly possessed. Others that had been alienated were now restored—as the Church of Gethsemane, and the Basilica of Justinian, (the el-Aksa of the Moslems,) which came now to be known as the Palace or Temple of Solomon.

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[1] Willermus Tyr. Lib. VII. cap. xxii.

[2] See the account of his election. Ibid. IX. i. &c.

The Mosk, by courtesy named of 'Omar, (or the Dome of the Rock,) was converted into a Christian Church, under the appellation of the Temple of the Lord, and an altar of white marble was raised upon the sacred Rock.

Provision was next made for the due maintenance of the dignity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, according to the notions then prevalent in the ultra-montane Churches. Twenty Augustinian Canonries under the direction of a Prior, were there instituted, and endowed with ample benefices, or prebends, and with lodgings contiguous to the Church[3]. An Abbot and Canons regular were also attached to the Temple of the Lord, and to the two Churches of Mount Sion and Mount Olivet; an Abbot and black Monks of St Benedict, to St Mary de Latinâ; and a body of Monks of the same Rule, whom the Duke had selected for their piety from the best ordered Convents of France, and who had punctually performed the prescribed offices, night and day, throughout their long wanderings, were placed, by their own request, under an Abbot, in the Church of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, ample provision being made for their maintenance. In course of time similar establishments were founded in the principal towns, which need no particular mention.

The appointment of a Patriarch was deferred for a time, but not for the same reason as at Antioch. The venerable Symeon, who had held that dignity was absent

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[3] Alb. Aqu. VI. xl. p. 285; Will. Tyr. IX. ix.; Jacobus de Vitriaco. cap. lviii. p. 1078. The Canons of the Holy Sepulchre swore obedience only to the Patriarch, who was to them in place of an Abbot. To them and their prior pertained the election of the Patriarch, but probably not until a later period. William of Tyre complains that this order, instituted by the first princes was changed by the Patriarch Arnulphus. XI. xv.

in Cyprus at the time of the investment of the city; having gone to that island for the purpose of raising the exorbitant fine of 14,000 gold bysants, imposed upon his community[1]. He had sent presents of fruit and other provisions to the princes, at the commencement of the siege, hoping by their means to recover his See, in redress for the afflictions which he had endured[2], but he died apparently before the capture of the city. The Franks seem not to have entertained any doubt of their competency to select a successor from their own body, without the slightest reference either to the local Church or to the Supreme Pontiff of the West: the only impediment was that no worthy candidate could be found. An unprincipled aspirant to the dignity was obtruded for a time by a tool of his own, but was soon compelled to abdicate. A Chancellor, or Vicar, was appointed for a few months, when Daimbert, Bishop of Pisa, was elected to the office, in grateful acknowledgement perhaps of the services of his countrymen, but much to the detriment of the Church's interests. The erection of Episcopal Sees kept pace with the conquests of the Franks, until the ancient divisions of Palestine, Philistia, Galilee and Moab, had each its Archbishop and suffragans distributed as follows[3]. The ancient Metropolitan See of Cæsarea of Palestine had one suffragan Bishop at Sebaste; the Archbishop of Tyre, or Sûr, four—at Acre, Sidon, Beyrout, and Cæsarea Philippi; the Archbishop of Na-

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[1] Willer. Tyr. VII. xxiii., and VIII. xxiii.

[2] Albertus Aqu. VI. xxxix; Le Quien, O. C. III. col. 499.

[3] Jacob. de Vit. LVI. p. 1077, and Jean d'Ibelin, Assises de la Haute Cour. ch. cclxi.—cccxviii. Tome I. of Beugnot's Lois, p. 415—417. This last authority gives a fifth archbishop to Bessareth without any suffragan. I cannot identify the place.

zareth, sometimes named of Bisan, one at Tiberias; while the Archbishop of Petra or Montreal had no Latin Suffragan subject to his jurisdiction, but only the Greek Bishop of Mount Sinai[4]. Besides these, there were three other Suffragans immediately subject to the Patriarchal throne without the intervention of any archbishop, at Bethlehem, Lydda, and Hebron. These, with the five Abbots and the one Prior of the Holy City, all of mitred dignity, formed the Synod of the Patriarch for the administration of Ecclesiastical affairs; and the phænomenon of such an institution, the growth of a few years in a half-conquered country, is perhaps worthy of more than a passing notice, of more than the supercilious glance which the modern politician will vouchsafe it[5].

Such was the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the kingdom under the immediate jurisdiction of the Patriarch, who held a chief spiritual seigniory, co-extensive with the temporal sovereignty of the King[6], which will next claim attention[7].

The laws and customs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, collected and digested by John of Ibelin in the 13th

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[4] Jean D'Ibelin calls this archbishop by the name of Babbat (crede Rabbat, i.e. Rabbath-Moab), the Filadelfe (Philadelphia) of the Greeks, transferred in the time of king Amaury to Crac (Kerak), known as the Archbishop of the Rock of the Desert. He names the suffragan from Faran.

[5] Le Quien has given catalogues of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, and of the Archbishops and Suffragans of the Latin rite. Oriens Christianus, Tom. III. col. 1241, &c.

[6] "Il y a au reiaume de Jérusalem deus chiefs seignors, l'un espirituel, et l'autre temporel: le Patriarche...et le Rei, &c." Jean d'Ibelin, chap. cclx. Tome I. p. 415.

[7] The following summary is taken from the Assises de Jérusalem, in the splendid edition of M. Le Comte Beugnot, cap. i—v. Tome I. p. 21, &c. Paris. 1841, in his Recueil des Historiens des Croisades.

century[1], present a curious and very valuable type of a mediæval monarchy; the founders of which appear to have been far in advance of their times, and to have had more regard for the administration of justice and the maintenance of civil order than is commonly imagined. Acquaintance with these laws and usages was ever considered the most admirable qualification for the kingly office[2]; and the lords of whatever rank gained considerable proficiency in judicial science, for they not only presided in their own courts of judicature, but were bound to assist in that of the chief suzerain, whenever he chose to summon them.

The two secular courts[3], instituted for the administration of justice, owed their origin to the Duke Godfrey, and were established with the concurrence of his own vassals and of the burgesses—the two parties whose interests were immediately concerned. The sovereign himself was Governor and Justice of the High Court; the Judges were taken from his own liege knights; and himself, with all that held of him or his, were amenable to this Court. He was represented in the Court of Burgesses by a Viscount of his own appointment, commonly a person illustrious for his birth or acquirements; and the Jury was composed of the most loyal and discreet citizens of the order. It exercised jurisdiction over all of its own class, and over such others, freemen, not

[1] A brief account of this noble and distinguished lawyer is given by M. Le Comte Beugnot, l. c. p. 21, note a.

[2] See William of Tyre's eulogy of king Baldwin III. Lib. XVI. cap. ii., and of king Amaury, Lib. XIX. cap. ii., cited by Beugnot, p. 27, note c.

[3] The first part and volume of the Assises de Jérusalem, above referred to, contains the Assises de la Haute Cour; and in the IInd. Pt. and Vol. (Paris. 1843) the Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois, with valuable introductions, notes, and illustrations, by the Editor.

lieges, as preferred its jurisdiction to that of the High Court, which had absolutely no right nor power in what concerned the burghers. The laws and usages of the two courts were not uniform, for it was rightly held that the conditions of the two classes were so unlike, and the mutual relations of the lieges so peculiar and exceptional, that one Code could not serve for the two courts of judicature. The constitution of the courts in the capital was exactly imitated in the various baronies and seigniories of the kingdom; a Justice with Judges in the High Court, and a Viscount with a Jury in the Court of Burgesses, were established in all the principal cities throughout the land; and their decisions were not arbitrary, but guided, as are those of modern courts, by written laws, or in failure of these, by established precedent[4]. It is a remarkable evidence of the wise and conciliating policy of the conquerors, that when they transplanted the laws of their native country in a foreign soil for the benefit of their own people, they so far acceded to the wishes of the native Syrians, as to allow them a court of their own, where justice was administered according to their ancient usages, by a *reyis* and jury of their kin; with the exception of quarrels of blood, or such as involved the loss of life or limb. Similar courts were established throughout the country, under the presidency of the local bailiffs[5].

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[4] The places and persons having "court, et coins, et justice," are enumerated in chap. cclxx. of the Assises de la Haute Cour.

[5] "Bailli de la fonde" (Assises, chap. iv. Tome I. p. 26), apparently the Frank officer, whose duties are described in the Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois, chapp. iii. iv. and note c. Tome II. p. 21. This Syrian Court was afterwards superseded by the "Cour de la Fonde," a mixed Jury composed of 4 natives and 2 Franks. Beugnot's Lois, Tome II. Introd. pp. xxiv, v, and Assises, chap. ccxli. p. 171, and notes.

Such was the machinery of government, so admirably adapted to the peculiar circumstances of this mixed kingdom, that it might perhaps be advantageously adopted, in all its main features, in those colonies where mixed races and religions present like difficulties to the home administration in these times.

The territorial divisions for civil purposes did not coincide with the ecclesiastical dioceses; and although, in some cases, their limits might accidentally coincide, it is obvious that the selection of episcopal and baronial cities was guided by different considerations, reference being had in the one case to religious association, or perhaps to ancient precedent; to convenience or defence in the other. The baronies were held on the common feudal tenure of military service under the king as chief suzerain; but the term of service was much more extended than in Europe[1], as the exigencies of the kingdom imperatively required. The four principal baronies of the kingdom were these[2]: the earldom of Jaffa and 'Askelon, with the seigniory of Ramleh, Mirabel, and Ibelin; the princedom of Galilee; the seigniory of Sidon, with Cæsarea and Bisan; and the seigniory of Kerak and Montreal, including all the country beyond Jordan, and comprehending Hebron. These several seigniories were not united, but held by inferior lords under the chief baron, and all bound to furnish a

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[1] In Europe 40 days was the usual term, though it was sometimes extended to 60. In the kingdom of Jerusalem it was a year, but not continual, as Beugnot says, for it could not be required beyond that term: "que plus que un an de term ne peut on acuillir semonce." See Assises de la Haute Cour, cap. ccxvii., and notes b, p. 345, and c, p. 346. Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. I. p. 127.

[2] There are some slight discrepancies between Jean d'Ibelin, chap. cclxix., and Marinus Sanutus ap. Bongar, Tom. II. p. 174, which it is not worth while to reconcile.

certain contingent of knights and men-at-arms, at the call of the King. Jerusalem, Tyre, Acre, and Nablouse, belonged immediately to the crown. The Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli, though without the confines of the kingdom, were grand fiefs and vassals of the King, bound to him by oath of fealty, obliged in common with the barons to hold themselves ready to take the field against the Saracens, with men and horses and arms. In cases of pressing emergency, the patriarch, bishops, and ecclesiastical bodies, had to furnish their quota[3], as had also the burgesses of the kingdom.

But their united forces would have proved a weak barrier against the incessant incursions of Turks and Saracens, and the kingdom would probably not have survived the second king, had not the formation of the Military Orders of the Temple and of St John provided for the defence of the tottering throne a band of devoted warriors, whose very pastime was war, and the stern reality of the battle-field a recreation from the severer discipline of the cloister, and the more irksome restraints of peace.

The former College originated in the voluntary devotion of a small band of noble knights, binding themselves to the protection of the Christian pilgrims, associated under the name of "The poor fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ[4]." The foundation dates from a period little posterior to the capture of the city, in which they

[3] The service required of the various barons, &c., is stated by Jean d'Ibelin, chap. cclxxi, ii. It amounts to 577 knights, and 5005 men at arms. There are some errors, (see the notes), and the quotas of the grand fiefs of Antioch and Tripoli are not included.

[4] The institution of this order is given by William of Tyre in Lib. XII. cap. vii.; and by Jacobus de Vitriaco, cap. lxv. I refer with pleasure to "The Knights Templars" of C. G. Addison, Esq. for the history of this military College.

had distinguished themselves by their prowess; but they had no fixed place of abode until the nineteenth year of the Frank kingdom, when Baldwin allowed them to share with him the Palace or Temple of Solomon, from which they derived their name. This building, erected by Justinian, had undergone many extensive alterations during the Saracen domination; but it is probable that the hospitals formerly connected with it were still standing, and, with the addition of other buildings, would afford accommodation to the rapidly increasing numbers of the Templars[1]. The powerful advocacy of St Bernard, the distinguished Abbot of Clairvaux, created an enthusiastic interest in their behalf; their recognition in the Council of Troyés, and the confirmation of their rule by a papal bull, gave them the fullest sanction of the Church; and the order soon became the most popular in Europe[2]. Kings and princes of the highest name felt that they honoured themselves by its patronage, and lands and manors and churches were given or bequeathed to it in various nations[3], until its rich endowments tempted the cupidity of the sovereigns, and finally led to its irretrievable ruin.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the church of the Holy Sepulchre is a large heap of ancient ruins, entered by a gateway, whose fragments, exhibiting a variety of rich and exquisite ornament[4], with a Latin inscription

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[1] Addison's Templars, p. 10, &c. 2d Ed. Something has been said of this building above, and much more must be said hereafter. See above, p. 206.

[2] Templars, p. 14, &c. An abstract of the rule is given, pp. 18—29.

[3] For a list of their possessions and privileges, see Templars, pp. 94, &c. and 334.

[4] The diaper-work on this gateway, and the lace-work round the small square-headed doorway, with a curious key-stone, which gives entrance to the cloister, are beautifully executed, and the latter is in perfect preservation.

on the cornice, not easily deciphered, will tempt the architect or antiquary to pause and examine it, notwithstanding the very disgusting odours of the neighbouring tannery. The deserted wreck itself will amply repay a visit. From the ruined apse of a large church a flight of steps leads up to a small court surrounded by a cloistered corridor, on the south side of which are three large rooms in a fair state of preservation. The northernmost of these, whose shell is entire, was formerly a chapel, as is still evident from its appearance; albeit the sacred building is now desecrated as a depository of dung for the fires of a neighbouring bath. These are the remains of the Hospital of the Knights of St John, another religious order, which claims a passing notice. There were two hospitals, one for males, the other for females, with chapels dedicated, the former to St Mary Magdalene, the latter to St John, the almsgiving patriarch of Alexandria, whose interest in Jerusalem, already recorded, fairly entitled him to such a memorial[5]. They were founded by the merchants of Amalfi in the eleventh century; and the self-denying charity of the society, whose original duties consisted in attending the sick and destitute pilgrims whom devotion had attracted to the city, challenged the admiration of the Crusaders, while the zeal of the latter added fresh fuel to the devotion of the Hospitallers. Having resolved to dedicate themselves to their self-imposed task by the bond of monastic vows, they assumed a distinguishing habit, and the honourable title of "Guardian of the Poor" was conferred on their Superior. Subsequently they under-

[5] For the institution of the Hospitallers, see Willermus Tyrensis, Lib. XVIII. cap. iv. v. Jacobus de Vitriaco, cap. lxiv. See also Addison's Templars, p. 61, &c., and for St John, see above, p. 303.

took the protection of the pilgrims, after the manner of the Templars.

The rapid increase of their endowments led to the relaxation of their original severity, and to the corruption of their manners; and William of Tyre bitterly complains that their exemption from patriarchal jurisdiction, inadvertently granted them by the Pope, had fostered in them a spirit of independence and contempt for all ecclesiastical authority, which broke forth into violent excesses, and led them to claim for their property dispensation from tithes and other imposts, so as greatly to impoverish the Church. Yet such was their influence with the Pope and Cardinals, that the personal representations of the Patriarch and bishops were unavailing: the privileges of the Hospitallers were confirmed by the tacit recognition, at least, of the Court of Rome; and the worthy Archbishop could only pray that they might be brought to a better mind, and return to allegiance to their mother, whom they had, with very few exceptions, unnaturally deserted, and of whom she might justly complain, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me[1]."

But however the piety of the Military Orders may have declined, (and the worst charges have never been proved,) they were never wanting in devotion to the cause which they had espoused. If they ceased to be lambs in peace, their enemies still found them lions in war; ever in the van of the advance, the rearmost in the retreat, the Templars on the right, the Hospitallers on the left of the battle,—they earned for themselves

[1] For these dissensions see Will. Tyr. Lib. XVII. cap. iii—viii. in A.D. 1154.

a deathless fame, which the cruel calumnies of powerful and rapacious enemies have not been able to blast. When the trumpet sounded the charge, the modern Maccabees devoutly chanted in chorus the Anthem, "*Non nobis Domine;*" then couched the lance, and, led on by the Holy Cross, rushed on the foe, resolved to conquer or to die. In the thickest of the fray their white mantles, with the red-cross badge, the symbol of martyrdom, were sure to be seen, rallying round their party-coloured banner "Beauseant," white and black, in emblem of their diverse aspect to friends and foes: and in ardent emulation, at their side, fought the Knights of St John, distinguished by a black mantle with a white cross on the breast. This last Order long survived the spoliation of its property, and presided in luxury and ease, first over the Island of Rhodes, next over Malta; having renounced the patronage of the Almsgiver for that of the Baptist, but without retaining the spirit of liberality or self-denial which the examples of their patrons might have commended to their imitation.

The foundation of the Teutonic order[2], the third thread in this threefold cord, dates from a still later period, and its history can hardly be said to belong to the Holy Land. But it had its commencement at Jerusalem in a hospital of St Mary, very similar to that of St John in its original intention. It was first established as a hospice for the accommodation and maintenance of Teutonic and German pilgrims, by a worthy member of the former nation, and chiefly supported by distinguished countrymen, who laid aside

[2] Jacobus de Vitriaco, cap. lxvi.

their secular habit, assumed monastic vows, and devoted themselves in a spirit of self-renunciation to minister to their poorer brethren. Having caught the martial spirit, they adopted the rule and ordinances of the Templars, without forsaking the care of the poor, combining in their constitution the principles of the two more ancient Orders, as their black cross and white mantle might indicate, and proving themselves not unworthy of comparison with either. As their voluntary poverty was not tempted by large possessions, their humility and religious fervour did not so soon decay, and the devout prayer of their historian is, that God would avert from them ensnaring riches, the enemy of all religion.

Having thus given a brief sketch of the constitution and the military resources of the Frank kingdom of Jerusalem, and in so doing anticipated the progress of events, I must now resume the thread of the narrative, and cull from the copious annals of the time such notices as will best illustrate its history and the causes of its rapid decline.

The uncrowned king of the Holy City had scarcely established himself in the capital, before he was again summoned to the field[1]. The Crusaders had indeed attained the summit of their desires, Jerusalem was free, but they were completely isolated in the midst of their conquests. Their dominion was limited by the

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[1] The events of Godfrey's reign are contained in Albert of Aix, Lib. VI. cap. XXXVIII.; Lib. VII. XXI. Will. Tyr. Lib. IX. I avail myself of F. Wilken's "Commentatio de Bellorum Cruciatorum ex Abulfedâ Historiâ," Gottingæ (sine anno), to facilitate a comparison between the Eastern and Western writers, though it is not always necessary to notice the discrepancies.

city-walls, the country had still to be won by the sword. In their haste to embrace the Sepulchre, they had left the strong maritime cities in undisputed possession of the enemy. Jaffa only was in their power; and its open and dangerous roadstead was watched by the Egyptian cruisers, or menaced by its fleet. The strongly fortified city of 'Askelon afforded protection to the Khalif's troops, and fresh reinforcements with abundant stores were constantly pouring in. The Abassides and Fatimites were equally anxious to free this debateable ground from their common foe, the persecutor of their common faith, and the Turks dissembled their suspicion and hatred of the Egyptians, through dread of the foreign invader.

A large army was encamped before 'Askelon, prepared to march for the recovery of the Holy City; but Duke Godfrey did not wait for their attack. He first recalled Tancred, and his brother Eustachius, whom he had sent to receive the submission of the Nablousians, and to provide for the security of that important district. Then, having sought to propitiate the Divine favour by prayers and litanies, and committed the city to a trusty guard, he descended with the Count of Flanders to the plain of Ramleh; where having clearer intelligence of the enemy's position, he summoned the Count of Toulouse and the other princes from the city. Their rendezvous was at Ibelin, in the land of the Philistines, whence they advanced in nine divisions on the enemy, ignorant of his strength, certain only that it far exceeded their own. They gained a bloodless victory: for a large booty in oxen, and horses, and camels, which they had surprised and taken in the plain, followed by instinct their line of

march, and swelled their force, or at least their show, to a formidable amount, in the eyes of the enemy, who fled in dismay, leaving their camp, filled with all manner of stores, to be plundered by the Christians. Possibly the city itself might have surrendered in the panic, had not Count Raymond secretly encouraged the garrison to a spirited defence, in the prospect of the speedy departure of the princes, which he made it his business to promote[1]; and of which, having failed in an attempt on Arsûf, and done his best to defeat the success of Godfrey by describing his weakness to the citizens, himself set the example, which was followed by Count Robert of Normandy and the Count of Flanders. Tancred was appointed Lord of Tiberias, with the princedom of all Galilee and of the maritime city of Kaifa, the ancient Porphyrium[2], which he administered with singular prudence until he was transferred, within two years, to the larger principality of Antioch.

Towards the close of the year Duke Godfrey received a visit from his brother Baldwin, Count of Edessa, who had fought his way to Jerusalem, in company with Boamund Prince of Antioch, and a large number of pilgrims newly arrived from Italy, among whom was Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, afterwards elected Patriarch. The two princes, having celebrated Christmas at Bethlehem, returned to their own governments; and the Duke was left with no more than 300

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[1] Abulfaragius (Chron. Syr. p. 282), and Albertus Aq. (Lib. VI. cap. li. p. 289), say that the city purchased its security by the payment of 12,000 dinars.

[2] Kaifa had been granted by the Khalif of Bagdad to the Jews, on payment of an annual tribute. Their defence of the city against the Christians, and the disputes of these latter, is given by Albert of Aix, Lib. VII. capp. xxii—xxvi. p. 300, &c.

horse and 2000 foot, to achieve the subjugation of the land.

His first attempt was upon the port of Arsûf, well garrisoned and provisioned; but convinced that nothing could be done without ships, he deferred the siege to a more convenient season, which he did not live to see. He was more successful in an expedition against the Bedawín east of the Jordan, and only returned to his capital to die there, after a brief reign of twelve months. He was buried beneath Calvary, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,

The many excellent qualities of Godfrey had so endeared him to his people, that a successor was sought from his own blood; and as he had died childless, the princes and soldiers unanimously resolved to invite his brother Baldwin, Count of Edessa, to the vacant throne[3], and a deputation was sent to urge his acceptance. Nothing is more remarkable in the early history of the Frank kingdom than the cool intrepidity with which the princes encountered overwhelming odds, and the success which attended their foolhardy enterprises. A force of 700 horse and as many foot was deemed sufficient to escort the new king from Mesopotamia to Jerusalem, through the heart of a difficult country, in the face of a watchful foe[4]. He arrived safely notwithstanding, and having remained at Jerusalem six days to refresh his men, and set in

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[3] The letter in the name of the "Milites et principes regni Jerusalem," is given by Albert of Aix, Lib. VII. cap. xxx. p. 302.

[4] The affair at the Nahr el-Kelb is one of the most spirited in the annals. It is related by Fulcher of Chartres, who was present, though he would, as he honestly owns, have been any where rather. Gesta Perig. Franc. chap. xxii. p. 403. Will. Tyr. x., v. vi.

order the affairs of the kingdom, he was not deterred by the advanced season from again taking the field, with 150 horse and 500 foot, and presented himself suddenly before 'Askelon[1]. But this city was too well guarded to be taken by a *coup de main*, and the king was fain to retire from before the walls. So he satisfied himself with the slaughter of a hundred robbers in the neighbouring villages, who were drawn from the fastnesses of the caves, in which they had sought refuge with their wives and children, by lighting fagots at their entrance, which left them no other alternative than suffocation or surrender[2]. He then directed his march, by Hebron and the Dead Sea, to the country of Moab, and passing Kerak penetrated as far as Wady Mûsa and Mount Hor, without encountering any opposition; for the Bedawín had retired before him into the heart of the desert. He returned to Jerusalem on St Thomas's day, and was crowned at Christmas, in the church of Bethlehem. More ambitious than his predecessor, he could not altogether forego the regal state, yet would he not presume to wear a diadem of gold and jewels, where the King of kings and Lord of lords had submitted to wear a crown of thorns, for the redemption of the world[3].

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[1] The events of the reign of Baldwin are given most fully by Albert of Aix, Lib. VII. xii. p. 302, &c.; most graphically by Fulcher of Chartres, who was one of his knights. Gesta Perig. Franc. cap. xxi. &c. p. 402, &c.; most elegantly and succinctly by William of Tyre, Lib. x. xi.

[2] Alb. Aq. VII. xxxix. p. 305. Fulcher, Carnot. xxiii. p. 405. Will. Tyr. x. viii.

[3] Jean d'Ibelin says that Godfrey "ne vost estre sacré ne oint à roi el dit roiaume, por ce qu'il ne vost porter corone d'or là où le rei des reis Ihesu Crist le fiz de Dieu porta corone d'espines, le jor de la Passion." Assises de la Haute Cour, chap. i. p. 22. Comp. Alb. Aq. VIII. xliii. p. 307, of Baldwin I., after whom it became the custom and the *law* to perform the Coronation at Jerusalem. Assises, chap. vi. p. 29.

But indeed the Frank kings of Jerusalem were doomed to find that the office with which they were invested was no sinecure. The helmet was their crown, the coat of mail their robe of state, the heavens their royal canopy, and the saddle of the war-horse their throne. After presiding at the High Court in the Palace of Solomon for three days, to administer justice to his subjects, King Baldwin left the capital to prosecute the conquest of the country, in which he was more successful than his brother.

His first expedition was to the East of the Jordan, where he made a night attack on an Arab encampment, and took a great booty with a large number of prisoners; exciting admiration by his clemency, while he inspired terror by his arm. His next exploit was more dignified. Having engaged the services of a Genoese squadron, arrived at Jaffa in the spring, he resolved on the siege of Arsûf. The conditions of service were these: They should be entitled to the third part of the spoil in every captured town, and a street in every conquered city should be assigned to their citizens. Arsûf was taken almost without a struggle; Cæsarea offered a spirited but fruitless resistance; and a large Egyptian army was no match for 260 squires and 900 men-at-arms in the plain of Ramleh. But the prestige of invincible prowess in the field was broken the following year by a signal defeat in the same plain, and the king was taught by bitter experience that there was some limit to the superiority of his soldiers' hearts and arms over the numerical strength of the enemy. He was rash enough to advance with scarce 200 knights against an army of 20,000 Egyptians, and was defeated with considerable loss. He with

difficulty escaped with a few companions to Ramleh, where he was hemmed in by the victorious Saracens; and that anxious night would have been his last, had not an Arab chief in the enemy's camp repaid a debt of gratitude which he owed him, by providing the means of his escape. Leaving his companions to their fate, he fled to the mountains, and thence through unnumbered perils to Arsûf, and finally to Jaffa; where having received a small reinforcement from Tiberias, he sought to repay with interest the disgrace and loss which his own folly had incurred.

The following year, after the celebration of Easter, the king, having summoned his forces from the whole of his dominions, encamped against Acre; but as he had now no navy to assist his operations, he was obliged to confine his attack to the gardens and orchards in the vicinity, and to satisfy himself with the slaughter of a few straggling citizens, and the capture of the cattle that came within his reach. The city capitulated the following year, after a siege of twenty days, in which the exertions of the land army, commanded by the king in person, had been backed by the co-operation of a Genoese navy of seventy galleys. They had arrived in the country in the spring; and, emulating the fame or envying the fortune of their countrymen, the captors of Cæsarea, had enrolled themselves in the king's service on the same conditions. The acquisition of Acre, with its secure harbour and strong land-works, was of the utmost importance to the Franks, and they retained possession of their hard-earned prize, not without many a struggle, after their other conquests had been wrested from their power.

I am compelled, in this hurried sketch, to confine

myself within bounds of the Frank kingdom, or the chequered fortunes of the outlying principalities of Antioch and Edessa, weakened by the ambitious projects of the rival princes, even more than by the repeated attacks of the enemy, would form an interesting episode in the history of the Crusades. These outposts of the Frank force were designed as a diversion for the Moslem arms, and certainly answered the purpose to admiration, occupying all the energies of the Turks, and leaving the king at liberty to repel the attacks of the Egyptians, who gave him little respite.

In the fifth year of his reign another considerable armament was sent to 'Askelon, consisting of 15,000 troops and a large marine force. The land army marched from 'Askelon in two divisions; one taking the road to Ramleh, with the view of inviting the king to an engagement, while the other, keeping along the coast and assisted by the fleet, should attempt the recovery of Jaffa. At this port the king had hastily concentrated all his forces, which however amounted to no more than 500 horse, and 2000 men-at-arms: yet such was the terror inspired by their array when they took the field, that the two divisions of the enemy's army united for mutual protection, and a desperate engagement took place. The Egyptians were totally defeated; nearly 4000 Moslems being left dead on the field, among whom was the Amir of 'Askelon. The Christian loss was only sixty men. The fleet meanwhile lay in the port of Jaffa, until, hearing of the destruction of the army, they sailed up the coast to Tyre, and soon afterwards made for Egypt. Twenty-five of their vessels were driven ashore by a storm, and their shipwrecked crews, to the number of 2000,

fell into the hands of the Christians. Jebeil, or Byblis, was next taken; and soon after the city of Tripoli fell into the king's hands, in the ninth year of his reign. These conquests were also achieved by aid of a Genoese squadron of seventy galleys, and were held in fief by Bertram, son of Count Raymond of Toulouse, on condition of personal service to the king of Jerusalem. Still four maritime cities, Beyrout, Sidon, Tyre, and 'Askelon, remained in the hands of the infidels; and the subjugation of the country was not complete so long as these strong-holds afforded them a vantage-ground from which to impede the advancement of the new plantations of the Franks. The first of these cities was taken two years later by the aid of some galleys which had wintered in the country. But as the Genoese were expensive allies, the king was glad to avail himself of the gratuitous services of a Danish and Norwegian fleet for the subjugation of Sidon in the same year. A subsequent attempt on Tyre was less successful, for the king was forced to abandon the siege at the end of four months. He soon had intelligence of the approach of a more formidable enemy than he had yet encountered: the Turkish general Mendûk marched a numerous army into Syria; and leaving the principality of Antioch undisturbed, passed through the whole of Cœlosyria, and encamped at the south of the Sea of Tiberias. Baldwin summoned the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli to his aid, but with his usual temerity precipitated the engagement before they could come up. He fell into an ambuscade of the enemy, left 30 knights and 1200 foot dead on the field, and scarcely escaped with his life—leaving his camp and baggage to be plundered by the Turks. The two powerful vassals

arrived next day, but too late to retrieve the consequences of the king's folly; and the skirmishers of the Turks committed frightful ravages in the land. Meanwhile the garrison of 'Askelon, taking advantage of the unprotected state of Jerusalem, sat down for some days before its walls. Meeting with no resistance, they slaughtered many stragglers, and burnt the newly-gathered crops: then fearing the return of the king, they decamped, and retreated to 'Askelon. The Turkish army also, having intelligence of the arrival of fresh pilgrims from Europe in the autumn, retired upon Damascus. Two years later, when the king and his barons had been called to assist his lieges in Antioch against the attacks of Toghteghin, Sultan of Damascus, the men of 'Askelon made two attempts upon Jaffa, assisted in the former by an Egyptian fleet of seventy sail. But the town was gallantly defended by the citizens, though few in number, until the rumour of the king's approach warned the enemy to retreat.

Baldwin devoted the last two years of his reign to strengthening the defences of his kingdom, and providing for the protection of his subjects. He constructed the castle of Montreal, in Sobal Syria, or Moab, as a refuge for the Christians beyond Jordan, and as a security against hostile invasion from the South: and because the population of the capital was so very scanty as scarcely to suffice for the defence of the outworks, and towers, and walls, against the sudden assaults of the enemy, he deliberated anxiously within himself and took counsel with others, how to remedy the evil. Such of the Moslem population as had escaped the general massacre at the capture of the city, had not been suffered to remain—for the pious princes would have con-

sidered it as sacrilege that any but Christians should be permitted to reside in a place so sacred: The native Christian inhabitants had been well nigh exterminated or expelled by the Moslems on the approach of the Christian army; and the Franks were so few in number that one street was more than sufficient for their accommodation. There were beyond the Jordan a large number of Syrian Christians dispersed in the various villages, suffering daily martyrdom from the infidels. These the king tempted with privileges and immunities to take up their abode in the city; and many, attracted by reverence of the holy places, or love of liberty, migrated with their wives and children and all their cattle, exchanging the wooded mountains and fruitful pastures of Gilead for the barren hills of Judea, through hatred of the infidel yoke; and when the trade of the city was afterwards thrown open by the remission of all customary dues on articles of commerce, it soon recovered its prosperity[1].

Returning from an exploring excursion to the shores of the Red Sea, the king erected another fortress at Iskanderûn, on the coast, five miles south of Tyre, to harass the Egyptian garrison in that city, and in the following year marched a large army into Egypt, and took the city of Pharamia by assault. Soon after this, being attacked with a severe illness—the effect of an old wound which he had received on returning from his first attempt upon Tyre—he was carried in a litter to El-Arísh, where he died, in the 18th year of his reign, and was buried near his brother at Jerusalem.

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[1] It was Baldwin II., A. D. 1121, who passed this free-trade measure. Will. Tyr. XII. XV.

He was succeeded by his kinsman Baldwin de Burgo[2], whom he had appointed Count of Edessa on his advancement to the throne, and who chanced to be at Jerusalem at the time of his demise. It was on this account that his claims were preferred to those of Eustachius, the brother of Godfrey and Baldwin, now by inheritance Count of Bouillon; for the assembled barons judged that the exigencies of the kingdom would brook no delay in the appointment of a successor. The history of one Frank king so nearly resembles that of another in all its main features (scarcely the names requiring to be changed,) that having given some details of the first Baldwin's reign, as a specimen of the sweets of power, I may be allowed to dismiss his successors more summarily—for a history of the Crusades falls not within the compass of these volumes.

I have not judged it necessary to thread the labyrinth of the Turkish dynasties[3], or to perplex myself and my readers with the uncouth names of the sultans of Iconium and Mosûl, or of the petty kings of Damascus, Aleppo, and Mardín, descendants of the Seljukian sultans, or of the Turkoman family of Ortok, whose desultory attacks upon the Christian kingdoms of Edessa and Antioch furnished constant exercise and occupation to the Frank princes and their vassals. With the name of Ilghazi the son of Ortok we are already acquainted[4], as his father's successor, conjointly

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[2] Will. Tyr. Lib. XII. XIII. records the events of this reign. Comp. Wilken's Comment. pp. 56—70.

[3] The clue may be found by those who wish it in the Tables of Deguignes, Histoire des Huns, Liv. v. cap. XX—XXIX. Tome I. p. 241, &c., and at the end of Wilken's Commentatio. It is sometimes extremely difficult to identify the names, as they are Latinized by the chroniclers.

[4] See above, p. 360.

with his brother Sokman, in the government of Jerusalem, until his expulsion by the Fatimites. This general, as king of Mardín, and his nephew Balak Ibn-Baharam, a powerful Amir, became so formidable to the Christians, invading their territories with large armies, that the northern principalities demanded the king's constant presence; and when Prince Roger of Antioch had been killed in battle with Ilghazi, the sole government of that princedom devolved on him. Subsequently Jocelin, Count of Edessa, fell into Balak's hands; and while the king was engaged in providing for the defence of that barony, he was himself made prisoner, and confined in a fortress beyond the Euphrates for eighteen months.

But the kingdom was strenuously administred during his detention, first, by Eustace Grener, an experienced general, hereditary lord of Sidon and Cæsarea. He raised the siege of Jaffa, formed by the crews of 70 Egyptian galleys; then routed a land army of 16,000 with a force of 7,000, leaving that number of the enemy dead on the field. He died soon after this victory, and the regency was ably filled by William de Buris, lord of Tiberias. The arrival of a Venetian fleet, in command of the Doge, Dominic Michael, proved the annihilation of the Egyptian navy, with so terrible a slaughter, that the decks were flooded ankle-deep with blood, which also crimsoned the sea over a circuit of two miles[1]. The Constable and barons gladly availed themselves of the services of this valiant prince to reduce the remaining cities to their power. The

[1] The historian admits "fide videatur carere," but, "qui interfuerunt, constanter asserant." Will. Tyr. XII. xxiii.

first lot fell upon Tyre; the conditions of service were arranged, and the blockade was formed on the 15th of February, A.D. 1124, and was continued until the capitulation of the city, on the 29th of June. Two months after this, the king was released for a large ransom, leaving hostages for its payment; and having failed in an attempt to levy the sum on the citizens of Aleppo, he returned to Jerusalem, to commence a series of splendid victories, with few reverses, in reprisals for his captivity. But success availed little. The Moslem losses, however serious, were soon repaired, and the hydra-headed monster defied the vigilance and the power of the Franks. The stores and ammunitions of 'Askelon were constantly replenished from Egypt, and four times a year an armament was fitted out for this service. On the North, Dasmascus with other cities of Syria, still in undisturbed possession of the Turks, supplied fresh recruits to their armies; Bedawín of the Arabian desert, Kurds of the Armenian mountains, Turkomans from the steppes of Tartary, poured in amain to fill the vacant ranks; and it was evident, from the first, that the strength of the Christians consisted chiefly in the divisions of the enemy, and that the concentration of the Moslems must ultimately prove the downfal of the Franks. It happened also that the consolidation of the Turkish power took place exactly at the time when the short-lived vigour of the Christian kingdom, having reached its culminating point, was hastening to its decline; and instead of Godfrey and his valiant associates, the throne was filled by imbeciles, and the counsels of the nation distracted by petty animosities and private feuds.

Baldwin de Burgo was succeeded by his son-in-law,

Foulques, Count of Anjou[1], whom he had sent for during his lifetime, with the advice of the spiritual and lay lords of his kingdom; for as in the failure of male issue, the kingdom would pass to his eldest daughter Mélisende, it was deemed advisable to provide her a husband capable of maintaining the dignity of the throne. But the Count was advanced in years; his powers of memory and other faculties were much impaired; and a superannuated veteran, however respectable, was not qualified for such a station, at such a time. His bodily activity was not equal to his mental energy; the state required a steadier hand to guide it through the storms with which it was assailed, between intestine commotion and hostile aggression. During his reign Cæsarea Philippi, or Baneas, was recovered from the Franks by Shems-el-molûk Ismäil Ibn-Buri, king of Damascus—an inconsiderable loss perhaps in itself, but important as indicating that the tide had turned, and that the Christians were unable to hold their own. Additional evidence of the same melancholy truth was afforded in the burning and pillage of Nablouse by the Damascenes, but especially by the surrender of Montferrat to the Atabek, 'Emad-ed-dín Zenki, lord by grant of Mosûl, and by conquest of Aleppo and great part of Syria, the most formidable enemy that the Franks had yet encountered. The garrison of 'Askelon was also growing more insolent, and required the erection of several new forts[2], which, how-

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[1] Will. Tyr. Lib. xiv. xv. and Conf. Wilken, A.D. 1131—1141.

[2] Viz. Castellum Arnaldi at Latrûn, xiv. viii.; Gybelin at Beit-Jebrin, xxii.; Ibelin, near Esdûd (Azotus), xv. xxiv.; and Blanca Guarda at Tell es-Sâfieh, xxv.

ever they succeeded in curbing the aggressions of the Egyptians, were yet an admission of weakness.

But this weakness became more apparent on the accession of Baldwin III. the elder son of Foulques, at the age of fourteen[3]. Under the regency of the Queen Dowager Mélisende, a princess of great experience and of masculine energy of character and action, the kingdom indeed prospered, and the people enjoyed security and peace, which was speedily interrupted when the young king assumed the reins of government. Even before this, the Frank power was rapidly declining in the North, under the vigorous attacks of Zenki, and of his still more renowned son and successor, Nûr-ed-dín. The intelligence of the capture of Edessa by the former, and of the extinction of the Christian government in that principality, produced a lively sensation in Europe, and revived something of the old ardour of the crusading spirit, which had evaporated under the sad realities and sober experience of half a century. Pope Eugenius III. was the patron, and St Bernard of Clairvaux the most distinguished preacher, of the second Crusade; and the eloquent exhortations of the holy Abbot were even more persuasive and more successful than had been those of the Hermit. Two crowned heads engaged in the undertaking. King Louis VII. of France, as an act of penance, and the Emperor Conrad III. of Germany, as an act of devotion, assumed the Cross, and personally led large armies to the East; but they set forth under evil auspices, with unhappy omens, and nothing prospered. The cause which they came to serve was even weakened by their advocacy. The false

[3] The reign of Baldwin III. and the Second Crusade are given by William of Tyre, in the XVI. and XVII. books of his history. Comp. Wilken's Comment. from A. D. 1142—62.

friendship of John, Emperor of Constantinople, was more disastrous to them than the open enmity of the Sultan of Iconium, and they scarcely escaped with their lives, and not without serious loss, from the snares that were spread in their path. Arrived in Palestine, it was resolved in a council at Acre to form the siege of Damascus; the city was invested and reduced to the last extremity. But the mutual jealousies of the princes, and the treacherous counsel of some one in the camp, came to the aid of the Damascenes: the siege was abandoned, the Emperor returned home, and the King of France, though he remained a year in the country, attempted no other enterprise.

No marvel that such a miserable exhibition of disunion and weakness increased the confidence of the Turks, and that from that time forward the fortunes of the Christians manifestly declined[1]. The principality of Antioch, after being banded about, as a prize of questionable value, between the Latin Prince and the Greek Emperor, was violently occupied by Nûr-ed-dín. Thus the outworks of the kingdom had both been carried; and it may be questioned whether their possession had conferred any real benefit during the fifty years that they had remained in the hands of the Franks. If their temporary occupation, as has been said[2], effected a diversion for the Turkish arms, during the subjugation of Palestine, it is no less clear that their continued retention distracted the energies and divided the forces of the kingdom, beset on all sides, and depending for its chief protection on the uncertain contingencies of pilgrimage, or the adventurous spirit of naval enterprise. If the

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[1] Will. Tyr. XVII. iv. expressly ascribes this consequence to the failure of the second crusade.

[2] See above, p. 401.

outlying princedoms of Antioch and Edessa could have been abandoned with safety and honour, it had been better to concentrate their small resources within the natural ramparts of the Holy Land, formed by rivers, mountains and deserts; then might the throne have been strongly supported, instead of falling by its own weight, in consequence of too rapid growth, and premature decay, before the expiration of a century. But perhaps the ambition of the barons was only to be satisfied by such appanages as these princedoms provided.

While the kingdom was thus declining, and as if to precipitate its dissolution, an unnatural war was being carried on in Palestine—the king was in arms against his mother, for evil counsellors had advised him that he was now beyond the age of tutelage, and should no longer submit to the controul of a Regent. After long negotiation an accommodation was effected, by a partition of the kingdom, the King selecting Tyre and Acre with their suburbs, leaving the Queen Dowager in possession of Nablouse and Jerusalem. Soon after, he became dissatisfied with this distribution, marched an army to Jerusalem, occupied the city, and besieged his mother for many days in the Castle of David. She was forced to relinquish her title to the capital; her son swore never to molest her in the possession of Nablouse, and tranquillity was restored on this basis.

After a fruitless attempt to restore the affairs of the princedom of Antioch, the King returned, to defeat a large body of Turks encamped against Jerusalem. Elated with this success, it was unanimously resolved to form the siege of 'Askelon, and a solemn oath was taken of the princes not to desist from the attempt until the

surrender of the city. It was an arduous undertaking, and the hopes of the besiegers and besieged alternately rose and sunk as reinforcements from Egypt, or fresh arrivals of pilgrims from the West, caused either scale to preponderate. At length the city capitulated in the sixth month of the siege; but the acquisition of this important position was too late to be of any material service to the Franks—for Nûr-ed-dín had meanwhile possessed himself of Damascus, thereby greatly augmenting his power; and the remainder of the King's reign was passed in ineffectual attempts to curb his advance in the North, and to prop up his tottering throne by a matrimonial alliance with the Imperial family of Constantinople, which certainly relieved his exchequer from financial embarrassments.

He died without issue, five months after his mother, in the thirty-third year of his age, the twentieth of his reign, (February 10th, A.D. 1162). He was succeeded by his younger brother Amaury, Count of Joppa and 'Askelon, then in his 27th year, who occupied the throne eleven years and five months. The great part of his reign was passed in Egypt—first as the avowed enemy and afterwards as the doubtful ally of the Khalif Adhed Le-din Ullah, whose sun was hasting to its setting. For two rival vizirs, who had usurped all real power, embroiled the country in a civil war, which resulted in the deposition of Adhed, and the extinction of the Fatimite dynasty. The assistance of Nûr-ed-dín being implored by the weaker of the two rivals, he sent his lieutenant Shirkû to espouse his cause—too happy to avail himself of this pretext for the subjugation of a country which he had long coveted. But his ambitious projects were long impeded by the Christian allies of the Khalif, and might

possibly have been ultimately defeated, had not the bad faith of Amaury obliged Adher to call in his aid against a more dreaded foe. Shirkû became general of the Khalif's army, which office he left to his more renowned nephew Salah-ed-dín, whose abilities had already become known for the defence of Alexandria, as governor under his uncle[1]. Having restored the spiritual supremacy of Bagdad while he established his own temporal sovereignty in Egypt, his next care was to extend this latter by the addition of the dominions of the Atabeks in Syria, which he accomplished on the death of Nûr-ed-dín.

Meanwhile Amaury having in vain implored the succour of Europe against the storm which he saw gathering over Palestine, had left his throne to his son Baldwin IV., a child of thirteen years of age, during whose minority the kingdom was administered, first, by Raymond Count of Tripoli, and Lord of Tiberias, and afterwards by Guy of Lusignan, brother-in-law to the king, by marriage with his sister Sybilla, the young widow of William Longsword, Marquis of Montferrat. But Guy's incompetency or timidity excited universal indignation, and Raymond was restored to the Regency.

The final struggle between Saladin and the Christians soon reached its height. It first commenced with doubtful success; but the advantages of the Christians were presently counteracted by defeat; the disgrace that covered the Turkish arms in the plain of 'Askelon was nobly wiped off on the banks of the Jordan, at Jacob's Bridge; and a frightful famine which ravaged

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[1] We are so happy as to have the Life of Salah-ed-dín, written by his intelligent secretary and friend, Bohadin Ibn-Jeddad. Schultens, Lugd. Bat. 1732.

the country enhanced the sufferings of the Christians. A truce was concluded for two years; but Saladin found or feigned a pretext for breaking it, and Galilee was overrun with fire and sword. The crisis was hastened by the death of Baldwin, after concluding a second treaty with Saladin; when the regency became an object of contention to the old rivals Guy and Raymond. But the sudden death of the young king, seven months after his uncle, terminated the dispute; for Sybilla contrived to secure the promotion of her husband to the vacant throne—if she did not, as is too probable, remove her son in order to vacate it. In any case, the corruption of morals in the Frank kingdom had proceeded so far, that such an unnatural murder would have been nothing strange. The Patriarch himself was a notorious example of extreme licentiousness, and the nations which had received from that country the light of pure religion, now saw in it a pattern of all kinds of iniquity. So God abhorred his inheritance, and forsook it, and went not forth with their armies; and Saladin became the staff in His hand to vent His indignation on the apostate people. The king was utterly unequal to meet the pressing emergencies; the fidelity of the most powerful vassal of the kingdom had been alienated by disappointment, his malice thirsted for revenge, and to his secret understanding with the enemy are ascribed the calamities which ensued.

The Christians were so infatuated as to violate the truce to which they owed all their safety, and that in a manner most calculated to exasperate the Moslems. The caravans of pilgrims to Mecca were attacked, the sacred cities themselves threatened, and satisfaction for the outrages refused. Saladin was not slow to profit by

the opportunity thus afforded him: having sent forward his son Afdhal with a large detachment, he himself shortly followed with a force of 80,000 men. The disastrous battle of Tiberias shattered the Christian power, delivered the king and princes into the hands of the enemy, and left the undefended cities of Palestine an easy prize to the conqueror[1]. The warlike monks of the Hospital and of the temple, who had lately sustained severe loss in an encounter with Afdhal on the banks of the Kishon, were almost annihilated in this fatal battle: and such as were taken were led forth to execution on the morrow. Refusing, to a man, the offer of life on the condition of apostacy, they calmly prepared for death; at sunset they looked down from the Mountain of Beatitudes, on the fairest scene in Palestine, on a lake conscious of the voice of Him whose sign they bore, then entered at His call on the unfathomed depth before them, in full confidence of His upholding arm.

And now the desolating flood poured through the country uncontrolled. Sefidin, the brother of Saladin, entered from the south, and advanced to meet his victorious countrymen; cities and castles one after another fell into their hands, for there were none left to defend them; and three months after the battle of Tiberias, eighty-eight years after the conquest of the Crusaders, the green and yellow banners of the Moslems were unfurled before the walls of Jerusalem, at the hour of evening prayer. The enthusiasm of the army of Saladin on beholding the walls of their Beit-el-Makuddus, and the sacred domes of es-Sakhrah and el-Aksa, was little

[1] For the following events see Bohadin Vita Saladini, cap. xxxv. &c., and the Continuator of William of Tyre, in Martene and Durand's Collectio Vet. Script., &c. Tom. v. col. 601, &c., and Radulphus de Coggeshall, ibid.

less intense than had been that of the Christian army on its first approach; the terror of the besieged Saracens on that occasion could not exceed that of the Christians now[1]. Every mark of humiliation which superstition could invent or devotion practise, was had recourse to by the inhabitants to avert the wrath which their sins had provoked. The day of grace had passed, the God of battles had deserted their standard; yet so gallantly did the brave defenders resist the violent assaults of the infidels for fifteen successive days, the clergy and monks assisting on the walls amid showers of arrows aimed with unerring precision and deadly effect, that Saladin was compelled to remove his army from the west side of the city, where he had first encamped before the Tower of David, and to proceed more systematically with the siege. The point selected for his operations was the north-east angle, where the wall was weakest. Ten thousand well-appointed cavalry were commanded to intercept fugitives from the city; a still larger force of archers, "armed at point" to protect them from the missiles of the besieged, discharged their "iron sleet" incontinently into the city; while the remainder, under the direction of Saladin and his generals, worked the engines with unwearied diligence night and day. In two days a mine was formed beneath the angular tower,

[1] A lively account of this siege is given by Radulfus Abbot of Coggeshall, who was an eye-witness; and it gives a reality to the narrative to read it from the pen of one who bore a mark of it while writing: "Cadebant autem sagittæ sicut stillæ pluviarum, ita ut nemo digitum ad propugnanda sine læsione poterat ostendere; Erat vero tanta multitudo vulneratorum, ut vix omnes medici civitatis vel hospitalis tela corporibus infixa valebant extrahere. Nam et facies hæc referentis sagitta per medium nasum infixa vulnerata est, atque extracto ligno ferrum usque hodie permansit." l. c. col. 568. See also the Continuator of William of Tyre: col. 613, &c. Bohadin was also present. Vita Saladini, cap. XXXVI. p. 73, &c.

which fell with part of the adjacent wall, and a dangerous breach was effected. Happily the Sultan deferred the assault; but no bribes could induce the dispirited soldiers to stop the gap, and on the morrow it was carried. Saladin indignantly refused to grant terms of capitulation, and the hour of retribution for the former enormities of the Crusaders seemed to have arrived. But despair had succeeded to fear in the hearts of the Christians: and the few remaining knights of the two Military Orders were the salvation of their brethren, in their last extremity. They charged the enemy with determined resolution, and drove them from the breach; and Saladin, fearing further results of their desperation, now listened to the proposal which he had lately rejected; a capitulation much more lenient than they had a right to expect was granted, and the Moslems took quiet possession of the city. Ten gold bizants for every man, five for women, and one for children under seven years of age, was the price stipulated for liberty and security; hard terms indeed for the poorer class, whom they necessarily enslaved, but infinitely easier than those exacted by the Franks under similar circumstances—death in war, or death in peace. The Templars and Hospitallers, faithful to their vows, devoted all their funds to ransom their poorer brethren, whom they escorted in safety to Tripoli; but many were led captive by their conquerors, and bitter were their tears in the house of their bondage[2].

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[2] It is computed that 14,000 men, women, and children, were reduced to slavery at this time; and although universal corruption was practised by the collectors, 100,000 dinars came into the treasury. Jalal-Addín, p. 221. Mejr-ed-dín, ap. Mines d'Orient, Tome III. p. 118, and the authors cited in Wilken's Comment. p. 145—148, and notes. See also Templars, p. 179, &c.

The dismay of Christendom at the fall of Jerusalem was equalled only by the joy of the Moslems at its recovery, which they celebrated with all imaginable tokens of gratitude. The Koran was restored to the pulpit, the voices of the Muezzin again called to prayer, the mosks rang with the shout of victory and the confession of Islam. The Noble Rock was disencumbered from its abominations, and extreme was the horror of the Moslems to discover that it had suffered diminution by violence. The walls and pavement were purified from Christian defilement with rose-water from Damascus; the golden cross, torn from its height to be replaced by the crescent, was dragged in dishonour through the streets, amid the triumphant exultation of the Moslems; while the weeping Christians tore their hair, beat their breasts, and rent their garments at the heart-rending sight of such awful desecration[1]! The lodgings of the Templars on the west of el-Aksa, with their granaries and offices, were removed, all things were restored to their former condition, and the mosks richly furnished with lamps and carpets. The Sultan having written an account of his successes to the Khalif of Bagdad, and given the necessary instructions for the repair of the fortifications, made an ineffectual attempt upon Tyre, and then proceeded to Damascus.

But the gallant defence of Tyre by the youthful Conrad of Montferrat, the death of Frederic Barbarossa, the quarrels of Philip Augustus of France and Richard Plantagenet of England; the long and obstinate siege of Acre, and its ultimate surrender to the Christians;

[1] With the above accounts, compare Epistola Terrici Præceptoris Templi ad Henricum II. Regem Angliæ, ap. Rogeri de Hoveden Annales, Pt. II. p. 645. in Rerum Ang. Script. Ed. H. Savile. 1601.

W.P. Wilts del. — A. Picken, lith.

THE DAMASCUS GATE, JERUSALEM.

their slow advance along the coast, debating every inch of ground with determined valour until they reached the mountain-barrier of Judea, whose narrow defiles, guarded by the squadrons of Saladin, defied their further progress;—these, with the daring deeds of the military friars, and the feats of prowess displayed by the lion-hearted Monarch in the fields of 'Askelon, must be sought for elsewhere[1]: only one effect of this formidable but unsuccessful enterprise can be mentioned.

On the advance of the Christian army towards the South, through the bloody fields of Cæsarea and Arsûf, the fortifications of 'Askelon, Lydda, and Ramleh, were demolished by the Sultan, who determined to concentrate all his forces on the principal point of attack. He repaired in person to Jerusalem to superintend the preparations for defence which were there in progress. He took up his quarters in the deserted Hospital of the Knights of St John[3], and devoted all his energies to the work. The labourers furnished by the governor of Mosûl, aided by 2,000 Christian prisoners, were employed in digging a deep fosse, and erecting a wall of massive stones with the materials thus provided. Their principal exertions were directed to the northern part of the wall, between the Gate of the Column and that of the great Altar, afterwards named the Gate of Abraham[4], once the

[2] For this period we have Roger Hoveden, ut sup. p. 679, &c.; Visanauf. Richardi Regis Iter Hierosol. Lib. III.—VI. ap. Hist. Angl. Scrip. v. Oxon. 1687. Tom. II. p. 331, &c. This writer speaks as an eye-witness; as does also the Moslem Bohadin, Saladin's Secretary, ut sup.; Mejr-ed-dín, in Mines d'Orient. Tom. IV. p. 215—237, is more brief, but clear. Compare generally, Wilken's Comment. sect. iii. A. H. 583, A. D. 1187, &c.

[3] "A l'hotel Aksa, près de l'Eglise du Sepulchre." Mejr-ed-dín, l. c. p. 227, 228.

[4] The former gate, here called, as still by the natives, Bab-el-'Amûd, is more commonly known as the Damascus Gate; the latter is called indifferently the Jaffa, Bethlehem or Hebron Gate.

most assailable part of the fortifications, but now strengthened with bastions. 'Aadel prince of Kerak, brother of Saladin, was set over the work, but the Sultan himself was personally present from morning to night, encouraging the workmen by his exhortations, and stimulating them by his own example: bringing stones in the saddle-cloth on his horse, until his zeal was emulated by the inhabitants of all conditions, and the work of many years was accomplished in six months. But the precautions were unnecessary. The Christians were effectually checked at Beit-nubah, or Latrûn, the entrance to the hill-country of Judea. Once indeed a party forced its way as far as Kul'onieh, not more than five miles from the city, but were glad to save themselves by a precipitate retreat. Soon after, a truce was concluded, and the English King set out on his disastrous return.

The forces of France and England, with the ruins of the German armament, arrived either too late or too early to accomplish their object. Had they reached Palestine in time to prevent the fatal battle of Tiberias, or to secure the victory of the Christian arms; or after that the death of Saladin had left his dominions to be weakened by the divisions or dissipated by the rivalry of his successors, the Crusaders might have retained or renewed possession of the Holy City. But now all was vain.

On the death of Saladin, his son Efdhal succeeded to the government of Syria, and another son, 'Aziz, to the throne of Egypt. The latter conspired with his uncle 'Aadel to expel Efdhal from Damascus, and 'Aadel seized the government of Syria. 'Aziz died shortly after, leaving as his successor Mansûr-Mohammed his

son, a child of nine years[1]. The Amirs invited his uncle Efdhal to the regency, which he accepted. An unsuccessful attempt to revenge his wrongs, and recover his former dominion from the usurper, led to his ruin, and 'Aadel became master of Egypt, which he governed nineteen years: when his dominions were divided between his sons, Moaddham-Isa and Kamel-Mohammed. The former, who is the Coradinus of the Western annalists, possessed himself of Syria, leaving Egypt to his brother. It was while the Franks were besieging Damietta, that Isa, fearing their projects against Jerusalem, sent a party of sappers and miners from Damascus to destroy it, and the city was reduced to a heap of stones, except the great Mosk, the Tower of David, and the Church of the Sepulchre[2]. Two years later it was proposed by the brothers to cede Jerusalem, 'Askelon, Tiberias, and all the places on the coast conquered by Saladin, retaining only Kerak and Chaubek, on condition of the Franks evacuating Damietta. The liberal proposal was rashly declined; an indemnity of 3,100 ducats being demanded for the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem, besides the cession of the reserved fortresses. The Franks were soon after forced to capitulate on very different terms—the unconditional surrender of their highly-valued prize.

A few years after this, reinforcements from Europe[3]

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[1] The history of the Eyûb dynasty, after the death of Saladin, is contained in the same Arabic history, continued in Mines d'Orient, Vol. v. pp. 145—156. See also Jalal-Addín, p. 264, &c.

[2] See Abulfeda in A. H. 616. (A.D. 1219) ap. Wilken, p. 190. Chron. Turon. ap. Martene et Durand, Tom. v. col. 1061, and Jacobus de Vit. H. O. Lib. III. p. 1137.

[3] Matthew of Paris, in ann. 1227, (p. 338), relates, that from England only more than 60,000 fighting men, besides women and old men, set out for the East.

and the divisions of the house of Eyûb, put the Franks in possession of the ruins of Jerusalem. Kamel of Egypt, meditating an attack on his nephew Nasir Daûd, the successor of Isa at Damascus, entered into correspondence with the Emperor Frederic II., then the tardy champion of the Christian cause in the East, which resulted in an armistice for ten years. The Franks were to receive Jerusalem with its ruined walls, which they were not to rebuild[1], nor to violate the sanctity of es-Sakhrah esh-Sherîf, or of Masjid-el-Aksa, but Christians and Moslems should have equal liberty to visit and worship at those sacred places. Lastly, Lydda and Bethlehem, with all the villages between them and Jerusalem, Nazareth and the villages between it and Acre, the towns on the coast between Acre and Jaffa, Sidon with its plain, were ceded to the Christians, in addition to all that they had retained or recovered. Thus was Jerusalem again delivered over to the Franks, to the infinite disgust of the Moslems; and Nasir did not neglect the opportunity thus afforded him of injuring the reputation of his uncle, by procuring an eloquent preacher to pronounce a panegyric on the Beit-el-Mukaddus, and the injury done to Islám by its surrender to the infidels. His touching elegy drew tears from the auditors[2]!

Indeed, the surrender of Jerusalem on such terms

[1] So say the Moslem writers, but the Frank authorities cited below affirm that they were at liberty to repair the fortifications both of Jerusalem and other cities.

[2] For the Crusade of Frederic II. see Ricardi de S. Germano Chron. ap. Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. Tom. VII. p. 1002–13. Matth. Paris. A. D. 1227, p. 329; A. D. 1228, pp. 345–351; A. D. 1229, pp. 356, &c. The latter is the Emperor's own minute account in a letter to King Henry III. of England, dated Jerusalem, March 17, 1229. More briefly in Guillelmi Tyr. Contin. cols. 697–699, and Marinus Sanut. Lib. III. pars xiii. cap. XII. p. 212. And compare Wilken's Comment. pp. 196–199; and Mejr-ed-dín, l. c. p. 151.

was regarded with as little favour by the Christians as by the Moslems; the sacrilegious compromise was severely visited on the Emperor, already excommunicated by the Pope; the Holy City was laid under interdict by the Patriarch[3], and though the Church of the Sepulchre and other sacred places were purified and reconciled, yet no religious services were performed in them during the Emperor's continuance in the city. Attended only by his trusty barons, and the Teutonic knights, he entered the Church, took the crown with his own hand from the altar, placed it on his head, and was proclaimed King of Jerusalem, without any religious ceremony. He had become an object of loathing and abhorrence to all orders and degrees of Christians; and the knights of the Temple and Hospital were not ashamed to instigate the Infidels to destroy him on his pilgrimage to the Jordan. He shortly afterwards returned to Europe, leaving the Christians in nominal possession of Jerusalem; but the defenceless state of the city, and the constant expectation of invasion from the neighbouring Moslems, kept them in perpetual insecurity and disquietude[4]. Several times they were forced to betake themselves for protection to the Tower of David, which alone of all the fortifications had escaped demolition. In the midst of these troubles they sent to implore fresh succour from the West, and Gregory IX., mindful of his favourite project of another Crusade, convoked an assembly of princes at Spoleto[5], which Frederic II., now reconciled for a time to the

[3] See the scurrilous letter of Geroldus in Matth. Par. p. 359.

[4] See e.g. Guill. Tyr. Cont. Lib. XXIV. sect. 92, col. 700, and XXV. 6, col. 704.

[5] A.D. 1234. See Labbe, Tom. XI. Pars I. col. 481.

Roman See, dignified with his presence. The Jews became aware of the preaching of a new Crusade, but the eloquence of the Dominican and Franciscan friars was vainly employed to awaken the enthusiasm of the people, whose indignation was aroused by the late discovery of the fact, that it was rather with a view to self-aggrandisement than to the recovery of the Sepulchre that the Pope encouraged this prodigal expenditure of blood and treasure; and his bad faith and vacillating policy created intense disgust[1]. It was nine years before Thibaut, Count of Champagne and King of Navarre, set out with a company of French barons and knights for Palestine[2].

Before their arrival, Nasir, son of Kamel, now Lord of Kerak, on intimation received that the Franks, in contravention of the stipulation, were engaged in repairing the walls of Jerusalem, had besieged and taken it, and levelled the Tower of David with the ground. The army of the King of Navarre was completely routed and dispersed near Gaza, the chiefs contested among themselves the blame of defeat, and finally made separate treaties with their conquerors; for the Christians and the Moslems were equally divided among themselves, though they could on occasion combine to oppose a common foe, or to destroy a suspected ally.

The year following the Duke of Cornwall arrived in Palestine with a party of English Crusaders; after that the Pope, who had proclaimed the crusade, had endeavoured with consistent duplicity to hinder the expedition. They were not a little surprised to find the land abandoned to the Moslems, with the exception of a few

[1] See Matt. Par. pp. 483, 514, 537.
[2] For this expedition see Guil. Tyr. Contin. Lib. xxv. sect. 29, col. 720, &c.

towns on the coast[3]. Richard was brother of Henry III. of England, and nephew of Cœur-de-Lion; so that his very name and kindred were sufficient to inspire terror in the Moslems, and augured success to his arms. But the princes of France, envying his fame or despising his country, basely deserted him: the Knights of the two Orders, conscious of their weakness, were unwilling to break the treaties which they had respectively made with the Sultans of Damascus and Cairo; and, without such aid, military aggression was vain. Duke Richard therefore was forced to confine himself to the pious work of burying the bones of those who had fallen on the field of Gaza, redeeming captives, and renewing the treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, by which Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Mount Tabor, were given over to the Christians, who now availed themselves of their unrestricted liberty to rebuild the walls and to occupy the mosks of the Holy City; and a worthy disciple of the prophet, who passed through Jerusalem during their occupation, was scandalised to see with his own eyes the profanation of the Noble Rock by cups of wine placed on it by the Monks[4].

But the afflicted heart of Kadi Jemal-ed-dín Ibn Wasil was soon to be comforted. The wild Kharezmian hordes, driven from their country by an invasion of the Tartars under Genkiz-Khan, had spread themselves over Asia Minor and Syria. Saleh-Eyûb of Egypt sought the alliance of their chief Barka-Khan against his uncle Saleh-Ismaîl of Damascus, who had ceded to

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[3] For this crusade see Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. in A.D. 1239, p. 516; A.D. 1240, pp. 526, 536, 7, 545, 547, 568. Guil. Tyr. Contin. XXV. 36, l. c. col. 724. Mar. San. l. c. cap. XVI. p. 216.

[4] See Mines d'Orient, Tom. v. p. 154.

the Christians the principality of Galilee with several strong forts in the land, as pledges of a treaty for the conquest of Egypt[1]. Twenty thousand Kharezmian cavalry swept through the countries of Baalbek and Damascus, Tripoli and Galilee, and presented themselves before the devoted city, so insufficiently fortified and garrisoned, that its defence was declared hopeless; for the tardy succour of the confederate Sultans had not yet arrived. Six thousand men, with their wives and children, set out from the city, for the territory of the Christians; trusting for security to their treaty with the Sultan of Kerak and the villagers; but these latter attacked them in the mountains, killed some, took others and sold them for slaves. Such as effected their descent to the plain of Ramleh fell into the hands of the Kharezmians, and scarcely three hundred escaped with their lives. The city was taken without a struggle, the few Christians who had remained behind, and sought sanctuary in the Church of the Resurrection, were embowelled before the Sepulchre: the priests who were ministering at the altars were beheaded, and the sacred places insulted with all kinds of pollution. The slabs of marble around the Sepulchre were thrown down, the sculptured columns before it taken away, and sent as trophies to adorn the tomb of Mohammed[2]. The graves of the Christian kings of blessed memory, who had been buried in the same Church, were ransacked, and their

[1] For the Arabic history see Wilk. Comment. p. 201, &c. And for the Kharezmian irruption, the graphic account in the letters of the bishops, abbots, and princes in Palestine, to those in Europe, ap. Matt. Par. in A.D. 1244, p. 631, &c. Guil. Tyr. Con. xxv. 41, col. 728, &c.

[2] Makrizi (ap. Wilken, p. 202, note o) says that they destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; but the contemporaneous account, which enters into fuller details, is more trustworthy.

bones scattered abroad. The churches in and about the city shared the same fate, and no refinement of injury was spared; so that the Christians were taught to regret the tender mercies of the Saracens, who in all their assaults had venerated the sacred places, or at least refrained from their violation.

The Kharezmians then marched to the South, and united their forces to those of the Sultan of Egypt in the plain of Gaza, to await the attack of Saleh Ismaíl with his Moslem and Christian allies. The Franks, consisting of 600 knights with their men-at-arms, formed the right wing; the troops of Nasir Daûd of Kerak, in command of Zakir, the left; while the Amir Mansûr of Edessa, in command of the Damascenes and other Syrians, composed the centre. This combined army experienced a signal and sanguinary defeat; more than 30,000 were left dead on the field of battle, 800 were taken prisoners: of the Christians, to whose obstinate rashness this overthrow is attributed, scarcely one-fourth escaped, the remainder being taken or slain; among the latter were numbered the Grand Masters of the Templars and the Hospital, with the greater part of their brethren. The cities and lands ceded to the Franks, with Damascus and other cities of their ally, now reverted to the Sultan of Egypt, and Jerusalem was never afterwards recovered by the Christians.

The Fifth Crusade under St Louis, having spent its strength in Egypt, exhibited its weakness in Palestine[3]; where the French Monarch passed three years and a half without so much as visiting the Holy City, which

[3] See generally, Joinville (Vie de Louis IX.), William de Nangis (Annales, &c.), and the extracts from Arabic MSS. Paris, 1761, and comp. Wilken, p. 205, et seq.

he could not deliver and would not see enslaved[1]. He repaired the fortifications of Acre, Kaifa, Cæsarea, and Jaffa, and hoped to be put in possession of the whole country by the Mamlûks, who desired his friendship. But their reconciliation with the Sultan of Damascus blighted these prospects; the intelligence of his mother's death determined the King to return to his country; the two Religious Orders were left without the controul of a superior to curb their rivalry and animosity, which broke out afresh with implacable fury; and their mutual swords prevented the cimeters of the infidels, soon to be unsheathed by a new race.

The government of Egypt had now been usurped by Moëz Ai-bek, the Turkoman founder of the Mamlûk dynasty, who had cleared his way to the throne by the removal of Turan-Shah, the son of Saleh Eyûb, and the last of the Eyubite family: the usurper was content to hold the sceptre first as Atabek or regent of the Queen-mother, but afterwards assumed the title of Sultan. A few more murders placed Bibars Bendokdar on the throne, just at the time when the Abbasside dynasty of Bagdad became extinct in the person of Mostassem-Billah, through the invasion of the Mongol Tartars, after it had existed, but not reigned, upwards of five centuries. The contentions which ensued between the Mamlûks and Tartars afforded a brief respite to the Christians, but when Bendokdar found himself at liberty to turn his arms against them, his energetic and perse-

[1] "Tandis que le Roy estoit à Jaffe l'en li dit que le soudane de Damas li soufferroit bien à aler en Jérusalem par bon asseurement. Le Roy en ot grant Conseil; et la fin du Conseil fu tel que nulz ne loa le Roy que il y alast, puisque il couvenist que il lessast la cité en la main des Sarrazins." Joinville, p. 116.

vering attacks on the ruins of their power left little for his successors to accomplish[2]. Four years sufficed to put him in possession of the principal cities and forts, which the Christians had recovered by treaty, force, or fraud since their expulsion by Saladin; and their occupation was now limited to Acre and a few towns on the coast. On the first intelligence of the successes of Bendokdar, St Louis had again equipped himself for the sacred war, and embarked his three sons and 60,000 men in a disastrous expedition to the coast of Africa; and our Henry III. permitted his son Edward to assume the Cross. But the strength and the life of the French king were madly thrown away before the walls of Tunis, the Black Prince alone of all the chiefs arrived in Palestine, and the united forces of the Crusaders amounted to no more than ten or twelve hundred men. A predatory attack on Nazareth, attended with circumstances of more than common ferocity, was the only fruit of this expedition; and the Prince, having made a treaty with the Sultan, returned to Europe, to adorn a tale of questionable veracity, in which his Princess Eleanor figures to greatest advantage[3], and to practise the lessons of arms which he had learnt in the East.

The attempt of Pope Gregory X. to bring about a reconciliation with the Greek Emperor, and to organise an European league in aid of the Christians of the East, whose desperate condition he had himself witnessed, promised well for a time; and Italy, France, and Greece, were preparing to unite once more against

[2] Makrizi's History of the Mamlûks, translated, with copious notes, by M. Quatremère (Paris. 1838—1842), gives fullest details. See also Templars, cap. viii. p. 435, &c.

[3] See Milman's Gibbon, cap. LIX. note 106, and editor's note †, Vol. XI. p. 160.

the common foe[1]: but the attempt was rendered abortive by the death of the Pope, when the preparations had scarcely commenced; the Crusade was abandoned, and the Christian cause irrecoverably lost. Its ruin was hastened, as usual, by the excesses of the impotent Franks, whom the death of Bendokdar and the invasion of the Mamlûk dominions by the Tartars, had buoyed up with delusive hopes of a revival of their fortunes. The violation of the treaties concluded with Kelaûn, the usurper of the throne of Egypt, furnished a ready pretext to that Sultan to recommence hostilities, of which he gladly availed himself. Nearly all the cities that still remained to the Franks were reduced, and Acre itself was again menaced, as it had been by Bendokdar; but it was reserved for Ashraf Khalîl, the son of Kelaûn, to achieve the conquest. The extent of his preparations declares the importance and difficulty of the undertaking[2]. His force, consisting of 140,000 foot, 60,000 horse, and 300 military engines, was aided by the divisions and jealousies of an insufficient garrison of 12,000 men, further weakened, during the siege, by the withdrawal of the King of Cyprus, with all his knights and 3000 men-at-arms. Yet the city yielded not to this disproportioned force without the most determined resistance, in which the two Military Orders were again distinguished for feats of almost superhuman prowess, vieing together in a noble emulation, better becoming their profession than the mutual

[1] For the second Council of Lyons (A.D. 1274), and the Pope's correspondence with the Emperor Michael Palæologus, see Labbe's Concilia, Tom. XI. col. 937, &c.

[2] This memorable siege of this oft-beleagured city, is the subject of a monograph, inserted in Martene and Durand's Collect. Vet. Script. Tom. V. col. 757, &c.

rivalry and the sanguinary feuds in which so much blood had been wasted. The siege was formed on the 4th of April, A. D. 1291, and pressed with incessant and unwearied energy, until the 18th of May, by which time the garrison was reduced to a thousand men. They were overwhelmed by numbers, driven from the walls, and the city was baptized with fire and blood; while the penal thunders of a terrific storm knelled the downfall of the Frank dominion in Palestine, after it had continued, with such various fortunes, for something less than two centuries, disgraced by acts of ferocity, treachery, and licentiousness, as dark as will be found in the annals of any history; round which fiction has contrived to throw a halo of romance and chivalry, as bright and beautiful as it is unreal. Truth and honour and uprightness were confined almost exclusively to the Infidels. After the fall of Acre, Tyre and Sidon offered no further resistance. The Templars' fortresses at Kaifa, Tortosa, and Atlît, were taken by storm, and the records of the triumphs of the Cross were everywhere obliterated by sword and flame. The Mamlûk Sultans of the Bahrite dynasty remained undisputed masters of the country until their extinction, and licence was granted to Christian pilgrims from the West to visit the sacred places of Jerusalem, on payment of a fixed impost.

The native Church and sects, however, continued to enjoy full toleration from the Moslems, and had no reason to regret the change of masters. During their occupation of Jerusalem, the Franks had so abused their power for the tyrannous oppression of the Melkite or orthodox Christians, that the surrender of the city to Saladin is ascribed to their impatience of the Latin yoke, which led them to favour the Saracen, and to

betray the city into his hand[1]. Certain it is that the consideration and forbearance with which the first Crusaders had regarded their Eastern brethren, was soon exchanged for feelings of distrust; and as this change cannot be accounted for by any fresh divergence of doctrine, or by new discoveries, on either side, of heretical pravity, (for all the points of difference between the Greeks and Latins had been well understood and frequently discussed long before the end of the eleventh century,) the hostility can only be explained by the rival claims of the two communities, summarily adjusted by the law of might, and resulting in that disastrous and scandalous division of the Church, which Satan has been permitted to perpetuate until this present hour. The invasion by the Latins of the Greek Sees in Syria and Palestine was more operative in the schism of East and West, than the ambition of the Roman Pontiff and the precipitation of his headstrong legate, or the pretensions of Michael Cerularius and the ritual or even doctrinal variations of Rome and Constantinople[2].

The Greek succession of Patriarchs, and probably of Bishops also in many dioceses, was continued in interrupted succession throughout[3], but Constantinople was found a more secure and peaceful residence for the occupants of the thrones of Antioch and Jerusa-

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[1] Renaudot, Historia Patriarcharum Alex. No. LXXIII. p. 545.

[2] This is admitted by Dositheus, Hist. Pat. Hieros. Lib. E′, cap. ς′, par. β′, γ′, p. 786: and, indeed, is proved by the fact that communion continued uninterrupted long after the four points of the Procession, the use of leaven in the Holy Eucharist, the Supremacy, and Purgatory, had become subjects of discussion. On the first and most important point, see Leo Allatus's Refutation of Hottinger, capp. XVIII, XIX.

[3] They are exhibited by Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. col. 500, &c.

lem, than the cities from which their titles were derived; and the Latins were too jealous for the Canon, or too suspicious of the native Christians, to tolerate a Greek Patriarch in their subject cities[4]. The expulsion of the Franks, however, opened a door for the re-admission of the Greeks, who seem to have remained undisturbed during the whole period of the Eyubite dynasty, and of the expiring struggles of the Crusaders. Their annals offer nothing of general interest, being chiefly occupied with their ambitious projects for promotion or translation, or controversies with the Latins on unleavened bread, and other ritual questions, with one honourable exception of a faint attempt to heal the division[5]. But the bitterness of the hostility, and the character of the religion of the times, is so vividly painted in the history of the Patriarch Lazarus, that I shall not be justified in omitting it[6].

Canonically elected to the Patriarchate by the Bishops in Synod, he came to Constantinople to seek the confirmation of his appointment from the Emperor Andronicus II. according to the custom of the time[7]. He was followed by an ambitious monk, named Gerasimus, with certain fit accomplices of his impiety, who made it their business to calumniate the Patriarch, with a view to set aside his election. The Emperor hesitated to confirm the appointment, though not fully satisfied of the truth of these charges; and having occasion, shortly after, to send to the Sultan on matters con-

[4] So Le Quien, l. c. col. 501. "Franci et Latini, qui nec Græcis Hierosolymitanis potestatem sui ritûs Patriarcham eligendi fecerunt."

[5] Athanasius II. cir. A. D. 1290.

[6] Johannis Cantacuzeni Historia. Lib. IV. cap. xiv. p. 754, &c. Le Quien, l. c. col. 503, &c.

[7] Le Quien. Ad Patriarchatum Hierosol. Præludia, sect. xxxviii. l. c. col. 134, &c.

nected with the interests of the Church in Egypt, he commanded his ambassadors to make the requisite inquiries in Palestine, to substantiate or falsify the accusations. But the death of Andronicus prevented the ends of justice. Party politics prevailed; Lazarus was condemned unheard, by the mere sentence of John, Patriarch of Constantinople, and his slanderer Gerasimus uncanonically substituted in his place. The injured Prelate fled to Galata, then held by the Genoese, to take measures to recover his rights. The rulers of Constantinople, with the privity of John, sent to demand the surrender of his person from the Latins, who offered the unhappy man the option of communicating with them in doctrine, or of being delivered over to his merciless persecutors. But their promises of dignity or emolument, of which they were very prodigal, availed as little as their threats to shake his attachment to the traditions of his fathers, and he was delivered over in chains, as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic, to the tender mercies of the Greeks.

But his exemplary constancy in the faith, and his firm resistance of the allurements of the Latins, under such provocation and temptation, had so engaged the reverence of John, that he rose to receive him, saluted him with tenderness and affection, seated him by his side, conversed lovingly with him, and finally withdrew his opposition. He was subsequently befriended by the Emperor, John Cantacuzene, whom he crowned at Adrianople, and by his influence with the Sultan was at length restored to the throne of Jerusalem, and commended to the protection of the local governor. But his troubles were not yet at an end.

Gerasimus, ejected from the dignity, hastened to

the Sultan to prefer fresh complaints against Lazarus, but died on the journey, and the Patriarch remained undisturbed during the remainder of that reign. But immediately on the accession of a new Sultan, a furious persecution was set on foot, without any assignable cause, and the Christians were driven, as of old, to the alternative of martyrdom or apostacy—the Jacobites alone being exempted. Lazarus was also seized, and all kinds of blandishments were used to induce him to deny the faith. When persuasion failed, recourse was had to force. The Sultan would not permit him to be put to immediate death; but Sekhun, a more ferocious enemy of the faith than his master, sentenced him to receive fifty lashes on his naked body from a thong of bull's-hide, which the Visir imagined would destroy life. But he survived the infliction, which exhausted the executioner, and the tyrant, waxing more furious, commanded the punishment to be repeated. The whole pavement was stained with blood, and the mangled flesh of the sufferer was carried down by the purple stream, leaving his bones bare to the lash. Faint from pain and loss of blood, the martyr fell to the earth, but he still breathed, insomuch that the barbarians themselves were astounded at his endurance. He was now again required to renounce his profession, but he constantly protested that nothing should separate him from the faith of Christ. Being then cast into a condemned dungeon, to die of his wounds or to be despatched by the sword, his fellow-prisoners, though chiefly infidels and sentenced to death as malefactors, were yet moved with tender compassion for him, nursed him with much care, and, having some skill in healing arts, gradually restored his mangled body to soundness. While he still

lay under sentence of death, the Jabobite bishop, who had before hated him on account of religious differences, and desired his death, moved to love and admiration by his marvellous preservation, ministered to his wants, and finally on the death of Sekhun procured his release from the Sultan, with permission to profess the faith for which he had so nobly endured.

It was some years after his restoration to his See, that, in concert with the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, he entered into correspondence with Pope Urban V., concerning the restoration of union between the Eastern and Western Churches[1]. The idea was favourably entertained by the Pontiff, who, in his rescript, encourages the Oriental Prelates to persevere in their intentions, thanks God for inspiring them with the purpose to promote so desirable an end, and exhorts them not to hide under a bushel the light that was in them, in the perception of the advantage to be derived to themselves and to the souls and bodies of innumerable others, by the reduction of the Greeks to the unity of the Holy Roman and Universal Church; but that they should set it on a candlestick, by exhibiting it in preaching and practice to all their people. He further invites them to come to Italy, in company with John Palæologus, who had signified his intention to visit Rome with several eminent and learned ecclesiastics and laics of the Greek Church, for the purpose of conferring with the Holy Apostolic See, the Mother and Mistress of all the faithful, on this momentous subject; and he assures them they shall be gladly welcomed and entertained with due honours; when, by God's grace,

[1] Le Quien, l. c. col. 512.

the schisms shall be healed, and souls saved. The tone of this letter may be thought to indicate that no progress could have been made towards this desired consummation, except on the surrender by the Greeks of all the points at issue between them and the Latins; and above all, of that great principle for which St Gregory the Great had taught them to contend, as for the charter of the Church's liberties, the principle of Episcopal Government, and of the spiritual equality and independence of the Apostolic body.

Whether the ambitious views of Urban, as expressed in this letter, convinced the Eastern Patriarchs of the futility of all efforts to promote peace, or whether they were themselves insincere,—the attempt seems to have been presently abandoned. The question was opened afresh in the following century by Manuel, the successor of John Palæologus, on grounds of civil policy and temporizing expediency: for he would have been well content, in his extremity, to purchase the aid of Europe against the Turks at the sacrifice of ecclesiastical prerogative or religious principle[2]. But the acts of the deputies who represented Joachim, then Patriarch of Jerusalem[3], in the Council of Florence, were disallowed by their principle, as they were by the universal voice of the Eastern Church; and Christendom was to learn that its divisions are not to be healed by truckling flattery and cringing diplomacy, prompted by

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[2] For the Council of Florence (A.D. 1438, 9) see Labbæi, Concilia, Tom. XIII. col. 901, &c., and Gibbon, cap. lxvi. Vol. XII. p. 101, &c.

[3] Le Quien, l. c. col. 514; and for the Synodal letters of Joachim and the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, against Metrophan of Constantinople and the Emperor Palæologus, see Leo Allatius de Perpetua Consensione, &c. Lib. III. cap. iv. col. 938, &c.

worldly motives. Experience had taught the Greeks that the Latin love was more insufferable that Turkish hate; but this conviction fluctuated according to circumstances; and the pressure of present evils occasionally disposed the unhappy Christians "to fly to others that they knew not of"—at least not in their own persons. Thus when Theophanes III., treading in the steps of his predecessor Joachim, had subscribed the condemnation of the Florentine decrees in a synod at Constantinople[1], his successor Abraham, feeling the weight of the Turkish yoke, joined his brethren of Antioch and Alexandria in a mission of peace to Pope Pius II., regretting the former condemnation of the Council of Florence, which they ascribe to the sower of tares, and desiring now to submit themselves to its decrees, and to the Roman Pontiff, whom they vow to obey as the Vicar of Christ[2]. The flattering tribute was graciously accepted; and to this it may be owing that the next Patriarch James III. was enabled, by the liberality of Duke Philip of Burgundy, to afford relief to the Christians of his community living under tribute; for the Duke was in the habit of transmitting annually large sums of money to the Patriarch, and further undertook, with the Sultan's permission, to restore the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The friendly understanding then existing between the Church of Jerusalem and Western Christendom, is further evidenced by the fact, that when the Turks had invaded Arabia, and imposed an annual tribute of 300 ducats on the Convent dedicated to St Catherine in Mount Sinai, the Patriarch

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[1] Leo Allatius, Addenda, ad loc. sup. cit. col. 1380, &c.

[2] See Joannes Gobelinus, as quoted by Le Quien, l. c. col. 515.

James, to whose immediate jurisdiction that Convent was subject, sent one of its monks with costly relics, (among which is specified a tooth of the Saint) to the kings and princes of Europe to raise the requisite sum. Under the next Patriarch, Mark III., the Church of Palestine continued still in communion with the Roman See; but the only permanent effect of this temporary reconciliation has been, that Abraham and his two successors have been handed down to posterity by their Latin annalist as most Christian men, admirable Bishops, learned doctors, and pious Catholics; but excluded from the Greek Catalogues, and passed over in silence by the orthodox historians[3]. This brief suspension of hostitilies was followed by more frequent collisions, increasing continually in violence and virulence from the commencement of the 16th century to the present time; and it is to be feared that the persevering efforts of the Franciscan brotherhood at Jerusalem, whose rival claims to the sacred places have furnished an additional ground of quarrel, have produced a feeling of irritation and mutual animosity little in accordance with Christian charity, and very unfavourable to the advancement of unity.

The political importance of Jerusalem terminates with the expulsion of the Franks from the country, from which time forward its civil history presents few incidents worthy of note[4]. The fall of the Bahrite

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[3] See Theodoricus Pauli, and the observations of the Editor. Oriens Chris. l. c.

[4] I am largely indebted in the few following pages to Munk's Palestine (published in the valuable series of Geographical works under the general title of L'Univers), Paris, 1845, p. 642, &c. He has compiled his history from original Arabic documents, existing in MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris.

dynasty having put the Circassian or Borjite Mamlûks in possession of Palestine, (A. D. 1382), the founder of the new dynasty, Abu-Saïd Barkûk, introduced extensive reforms in the government of the country, instructing his lieutenant to abolish all illegal imposts which had been introduced under former governors. During the reign of his son and successor Faraj, the approach of the terrible Mogul, Tamerlane, inspired terror in the minds of Christians and Mohammedans alike; until his impetuous career of conquest was checked at Damascus, by the intelligence of the preparations of the Ottoman Sultan Bajazet in Anatolia. After the overthrow of his enemy, Tamerlane had no leisure or no inclination to prosecute his successes in Syria; and the mothers and babes of Palestine were spared the fate of those of Aleppo, and the terrible exhibition of pyramids of human heads—the grisly monuments which that monster delighted to erect as trophies of his ferocious vengeance[1]. Not but that the fate of the Christians was sufficiently hard under their Egyptian masters, whom the recollection of the Crusades instigated to vindictive or precautionary measures of oppression, specially against those of Europe. To the Jacobites and Armenians alone some indulgence was shewn. It was during the reign of Barkûk that four Christian monks appeared publicly in the streets of Jerusalem, challenging the Mussulman theologians to enter into discussion with them on the subject of religion[2]. An immense crowd having gathered round them, they

[1] For the invasion of Syria by Tamerlane, A. D. 1400, see Gibbon, cap. lxv. Vol. XII. p. 21, &c.

[2] Makrizi (A. H. 795, A. D. 1395) in M. Quatremère's Mémoire sur l'état du Christianisme, ap. Mémoires sur l'Egypte, Tome II. p. 257.

began to speak disparagingly of Islám, maintaining with a loud voice that the founder of that faith was an impostor and juggler, and that the religion of Jesus is the only true faith. They were apprehended and condemned to be burnt alive: and the sentence was executed in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators. At a later period we read[3] of two French monks being subjected to barbarous cruelty, and we may hope that they suffered in as good a cause. The Christian merchants were shut up in their bazaars every evening, and the doors were only opened in the morning at the caprice of their Moslem keepers. The Jews experienced milder treatment, as we learn from a letter addressed by an Italian Rabbi, then resident in the city, to a relative at Ferrara[4]. Elias also furnishes some interesting details of the commercial and social condition of the inhabitants, which has been little affected by the lapse of four centuries. The numbers of the Jews had been greatly augmented, there as elsewhere in the East, by the influx of refugees from France, whence they had been expelled by Philip the Fair. They met with toleration and protection from the Moslems, which were denied them by Christian princes; and very shortly after the expulsion of the Franks we find crowds of Jewish pilgrims from the principal cities of Syria and Egypt, resorting to the Holy City for the celebration of their festivals[5]. Such as had there fixed their permanent abode were engaged in various branches of industry, working as journey-

[3] Munk, l. c. p. 643, after Bertrand de la Broquière.

[4] The letter bears date 1438, and the autograph is extant in the Royal Library at Paris. Munk, l. c.

[5] Parchi, as cited by Dr Zunz, in Asher's ed. of Benjamin of Tudela, Vol. II. p. 399, cited by Munk, l. c.

men amongst the Mussulmans, and were not subject to the degradation and vexations to which they were exposed in other countries. The trades mostly followed were those of carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers; there was also a market for silk, but the manufacture of this article was monopolised by the women. The surgeons, apothecaries, and druggists, were consummate quacks, sunk in the most profound ignorance. The necessaries of life were much more reasonable in price than elsewhere, and there was great abundance of all kinds of provisions.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, under the reign of Sultan Dhaher-Jakmak, a violent persecution broke out against the Christians of Palestine, of which Jerusalem was, as usual, the focus. The Moslems, by order of the Sultan, devastated many convents, and demolished the new constructions raised by the Christians in the Monastery of Mount Sion, and in the Churches of Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre. They took possession also of the Sepulchre of David, profaned the tombs of the Christians around it, and cast their bones out of the graves. The Franciscans, however, were allowed for the present to retain possession of the Convent of Mount Sion, but the erection of any new structure was strictly inhibited[1]. A chapel, which they afterwards erected near their cloister, gave occasion to fresh disputes; it was demolished by order of the Sultan, Ashraf-Kayetbai, (A. D. 1491), and in the following century they were finally ejected from the

[1] Munk's Palestine, p. 643. The first establishment of the Franciscans on Mount Sion, by Sancia Queen of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, will come under notice in my account of the Latin Community of Jerusalem, in the 2nd Volume.

Convent, under circumstances which will be afterwards detailed.

It was in the course of this same reign that the tranquillity of the entire city was disturbed for two whole years, by proceedings which so remarkably illustrate the insolent effrontery or tyranny of the Moslems, and the corruption of their courts of law—as still constituted—that it demands a brief recital. It is chiefly important as illustrating the measure of protection accorded to the *Riyáhs* (natives of another faith) by the Mamlûks, and is gratifying as presenting an instance of impartial justice very creditable to the Sultan.

The Moslems had a mosk situated in the Jews' quarter, only to be approached by a long narrow street. A house belonging to the synagogue fell down by accident, and opened a shorter and more commodious access to the mosk. The Mohammedans therefore opposed the restoration of the ruined house, and brought an action against the Jewish community, on the plea that the site belonged to the mosk. The Jews, however, produced their title-deeds, and the verdict was given in their favour. Their opponents now addressed themselves to the Sultan, who ordered a new inquiry to be instituted: false witnesses were suborned —a very common practice in the East; from the days of Jezebel to this time there has been no difficulty in purchasing them—and the Jews, finding their cause in danger, likewise appealed to the supreme tribunal. The Moslems now became so exasperated that they demolished the synagogue, but happily the course of justice was not allowed to be arrested by lawless violence. The investigation before the judicial Court at Cairo resulted in the establishment of the Jewish

rights; and their Synagogue was rebuilt by order of the Sultan. Then, full of indignation against the corrupt judges of Jerusalem, he ordered their arrest; the two principal Kadis were deprived and banished; and the Sheikh who had instigated the mob to destroy the synagogue only escaped a well-merited punishment by seeking sanctuary at Mecca.

The defenceless state of the city, commanded on all sides by mountains, has been the protection of its inhabitants since the invention of gunpowder. As a military position it would be utterly insignificant in modern warfare, did not the approaches to the city and the surrounding mountains, even while they command it, present a serious obstacle to the operations of heavy artillery[1]. Its inhabitants have acted wisely, however, in not trying the fortune of war.

At the commencement of the 16th century the Mamlûk Sultans exercised little more than a nominal jurisdiction over Syria. A western traveller[2], with let-

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[1] As a military opinion on this subject must needs be of much more value than my own, I make the following extracts from a paper in the seventh Volume of Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, "Addition to 'Notes on Acre,' by Lieut.-Colonel Alderson, R. E.," whose name I cannot mention without an expression of the liveliest gratitude for the valuable assistance which he has afforded me in this Work. Of the Tower of David, he says, "It would require heavy artillery to breach it. The walls, too, of the city are sufficiently strong to require something more than field-artillery to effect a breach in them; whilst their position, surrounded on every side by mountains, and difficult of approach for heavy artillery, gives to the fortifications which surround the Holy City an importance which their first appearance would not seem to justify."

[2] Baumgarten, A. D. 1507: "Nihil tunc nobis literæ Soldani...profuerunt, pro quibus octo seraphos in Cayro expromseramus; licet eas dominus Hierosolymæ cum summa acceptas et exosculatas reverentia, capitique suo superimpositas legisset...ad nummos ire oportebat, eorum uti opera, eorum fulciri præsidio. Datis itaque viginti seraphis intrandi templi et sepulchri vendita nobis licentia." Peregrinatio, p. 81. One might imagine it written last year!

ters from the Egyptian court, purchased at a high price at Cairo, derived little benefit from them at Jerusalem. The governor indeed received them with every token of submission and reverence, placing them on his head and kissing them; but "bakshísh[3]" alone could open his heart, and unclose the doors of the Holy Sepulchre to the pilgrims, while the district governors and Sheikhs of the Fellahín, and Bedawín, infested the roads like so many harpies to levy black-mail (Arabicè *kaphar*) on the well-fleeced pilgrims[4].

Ten years after this, the shadow of power vanished before the arms of the Ottoman Sultan, Selim I. (A.D. 1517,) who visited Jerusalem in person both before and after his conquest of Egypt[5]. His successor Sulimán (A.D. 1542) erected a monument at Jerusalem, which remains to this day, in the well-built walls which surround the city; and his name is perpetuated, but probably not immortalised, by inscriptions in various parts. From this period the Holy City has been the scene of a warfare of a different character, the circumstances of which I pass over without regret to myself or injury to the reader[6]. Not a year, scarcely a month, has

[3] i. e. "*present*," the first and last word which will ring in a traveller's ears who now visits the East.

[4] It is impossible to open any book of travels from the 14th to the 19th century without meeting frequent notices of these vexatious imposts, the amount of which was adjusted at the caprice of the exactors, according to the condition of the traveller. This *legalised* robbery has been discontinued.

[5] For which see Von Hammer's Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, Livre XXIV. Tome IV. p. 261, &c.

[6] A full account of this period I have met with in M. Mouravieff's History, but it is not only most unedifying, but deeply distressing and humiliating. Sufficient proof of this is given in M. Poujoulat's Histoire, Tome III. p. 252, &c.; but the fullest of all in Dositheus's History of the Patriarchs, under which title he composed two ponderous volumes of controversy, on questions touching the propriety of priests shaving their beard and cutting their hair, with other subjects equally important and edifying.

passed for three successive centuries without disputes between the three principal Christian communities which divide the City. Suffice it here to say, that the limits fixed to their respective possessions within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, as shewn in the coloured Plan, have been perpetually invaded by hostile encroachments, and defended inch by inch, with an animosity, which, however creditable to their veneration for the sacred places, is most disgraceful in every other view.

But although the annals of the Church of Jerusalem during the Ottoman domination furnish few incidents of sufficient public interest to demand notice, being still occupied with doctrinal controversies, or ritual questions, contentions between the disciples of Christ as to which should be the greatest, or endless disputes for the possession of altars, chapels, and shrines, sanctified by questionable traditions, they contain one event of great importance, as affecting the relations of the Oriental Church to the Protestant denominations of Europe. I allude to the formal condemnation of divers points of Lutheran and Calvinistic teaching in the Council named of Jerusalem, though actually held in the Basilica of Bethlehem, under the Patriarchate of Dositheus II., A.D. 1672. In order to understand its object and to estimate its importance, it will be necessary to revert briefly to the circumstances which led to this apparently aggressive, though in fact defensive, measure[1].

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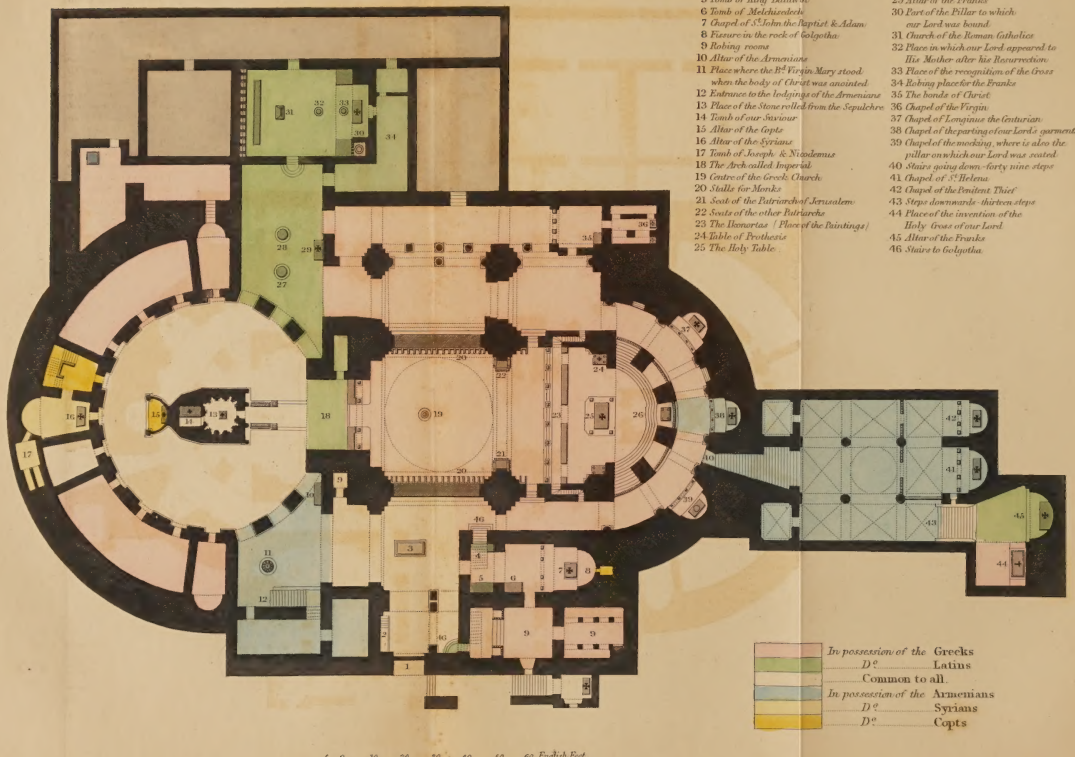
[1] In the following brief sketch of the Life of Cyril Lucar, I follow Smith's Account of the Greek Church under Cyril Lucar, London, 1680, and Collectanea de Cyrillo Lucario, Londini, 1707. Mr Neale, in his History of the Holy Eastern Church (Alexandria), Vol. II. Book VI. sectt. vii—xv., has added some valuable documents to those given by Smith and Aymon (Monumens Authentiques de la Religion des Grecs, &c. à la Haye, 1708.) A Volume edited by Kimmel, Jenæ, 1843, contains the Confession of Cyril

Plan of the Church of the Resurrection or Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem



REFERENCE

1 Entrance to the Church
2 Place for the Turkish Guards
3 Stone of Unction
4 Tomb of King Godfrey
5 Tomb of King Baldwin
6 Tomb of Melchizedeck
7 Chapel of S.t John the Baptist & Adam
8 Fissure in the rock of Golgotha
9 Robing rooms
10 Altar of the Armenians
11 Place where the B.d Virgin Mary stood when the body of Christ was anointed
12 Entrance to the lodgings of the Armenians
13 Place of the Stone rolled from the Sepulchre
14 Tomb of our Saviour
15 Altar of the Copts
16 Altar of the Syrians
17 Tomb of Joseph & Nicodemus
18 The Arch called Imperial
19 Centre of the Greek Church
20 Stalls for Monks
21 Seat of the Patriarch of Jerusalem
22 Seats of the other Patriarchs
23 The Iconostas (Place of the Paintings)
24 Table of Prothesis
25 The Holy Table
26 Throne of the Patriarch
27 Where our Lord appeared to Mary Magdalene in the likeness of a Gardener
28 Where Mary Magdalene stood
29 Altar of the Franks
30 Part of the Pillar to which our Lord was bound
31 Church of the Roman Catholics
32 Place in which our Lord appeared to His Mother after his Resurrection
33 Place of the recognition of the Cross
34 Robing place for the Franks
35 The bonds of Christ
36 Chapel of the Virgin
37 Chapel of Longinus the Centurian
38 Chapel of the parting of our Lord's garments
39 Chapel of the mocking, where is also the pillar on which our Lord was seated
40 Stairs going down forty nine steps
41 Chapel of S.t Helena
42 Chapel of the Penitent Thief
43 Steps downwards thirteen steps
44 Places of the invention of the Holy Cross of our Lord
45 Altar of the Franks
46 Stairs to Golgotha

In possession of the Greeks
D.o Latins
Common to all.
In possession of the Armenians
D.o Syrians
D.o Copts

6 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 English Feet.

Engraved by J. Dower Portsmouth

Cyril Lucar, a native of Candia, having received a liberal education at Venice and Padua, travelled through Italy, stayed awhile at Geneva, and visited the Netherlands. In the course of his travels he acquired some knowledge of the Reformed Churches, and conceived great admiration for them, though he long maintained his allegiance to the Church of his fathers unimpaired. On his return to the East, he was patronised by his countryman Meletius Pegus, Patriarch of Alexandria, promoted by him to the rank of Archimandrite, and twice sent as his legate to Poland, on matters affecting the union of a section of the Greek Church in Lithuania and Black Russia with the Latin communion. Subsequently, on the death of Meletius, he succeeded to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and after twice administering in this capacity the affairs of the Church of Constantinople during vacancies in the See, he finally attained that highest dignity in the Oriental Church. If his early prejudices, as a Greek, against the Church of Rome had been confirmed by his Italian education and foreign travel, it was not likely that they should be in any degree weakened by what he witnessed in Poland, and afterwards at Constantinople, whether as Vicar or Patriarch. The Jesuit missionaries had been there established some years, labouring assiduously, by means of schools and the confessional, to indoctrinate the minds of the Greeks with the teaching of the Church of Rome. Their exertions were warmly backed by Louis XIII. of France and his representative at the Porte; while Pope Urban VIII., through his newly in-

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Lucar, that of Peter Mogila, and the Council of Jerusalem, under the delusive general title, "Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Orientalis." In his Prolegomena is a good life of Cyril Lucar, compiled from original sources.

stituted College of the Propaganda, failed not to furnish the munitions of war, if so he might involve the East in confusion and religious anarchy.

While Cyril was becoming more and more alienated from the Latin Church, he was also growing in his attachment to the Reformed Churches of Europe, in which he had formed the acquaintance of men equally celebrated for piety and learning; and the protection which the ambassadors of England and Holland afforded to the persecuted members of his community, laid him under obligations to them as friends of religious liberty. But it is much to be regretted that his admiration for the private virtues of his Protestant friends should so have warped the judgment of this good man as to cause him to forget what was due to his own Church, and to countenance errors of very grave consequence in the Lutheran and Calvinistic communions; for by so doing he weakened his own position, gave his enemies great advantage over him, and in the end implicated his Church in those very errors from the contagion of which it was his earnest desire to deliver her, by committing her to more stringent doctrinal statements on the Roman side than she had ever before adopted.

His Oriental Confession of the Christian faith, in which he most unwarrantably set forth his own private sentiments as the deliberate sense of his Church on the Articles of Orthodox Belief, disturbed the peace of the Church long after his own troubled course had terminated in a violent death: for although the machinations of the Jesuits were for a time defeated by the British ambassador[1], yet they soon acquired greater influence

[1] See Smith's Collectanea, &c.; Narratio de turbis Jesuitarum in Oriente, p. 84, &c.; Aymon, Monumens, p. 201, &c. They are defended by Leo

than ever in the affairs of the Greek Church. Two Synods of Greek bishops were convened at Constantinople, and a third at Jassy, for the condemnation of Cyril's Confession; at the first of which Theophanes IV., Patriarch of Jerusalem, assisted[2]. Russia too was moved at the imputation of Calvinism brought on the Greek Church by Cyril Lucar, and repudiated the calumnious charge in the "Orthodox Confession of the Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East," prepared by Peter Mogila, Archbishop of Kieff, approved in a Synod of Russian Bishops, subscribed by three Patriarchs, and published with a commendatory letter of Nectarius, successor of Theophanes in the See of Jerusalem[3]. The various determinations on points of faith in these Councils and Confessions are couched in language much more precise than the Eastern Church had before adopted; and there can be no doubt that, in steering wide of the Charybdis of Geneva, they have fallen into the Scylla of Rome. But however much this result may be deplored, it was clearly the duty of the Greek Church to take what measures it deemed most expedient to arrest the progress of heresy in the East. The Œcumenical Patriarch had compromised the whole Church by his misrepresentation of its doctrine and discipline; and as the particular errors advocated by him were not checked by the measures already taken against them, Dositheus proposed to

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Allatius, De perpetua Consensione, Lib. III. c. xi. sect. ii. col. 1069, &c.

[2] The decrees of Constantinople, September 24, 1638, and of Jassy, May 1642, were recited and approved at Bethlehem; the former are given also by Leo Allatius, l. c. col. 1061; the latter by Labbe, Tom. xv. col. 1713, &c. For the 2nd of Constantinople also May, 1642, see Harduini Concilia, Tom. XI. col. 171, &c.

[3] Kimmel, p. 45, &c., gives the whole; and in his Prolegomena, sect. v. vi. p. L., &c., the incidents.

assemble another Council in the Basilica of Bethlehem, which he had newly restored, to vindicate the Church's Orthodoxy from the aspersions that had been cast upon it[1]. The two great Reformers of Wittenburg and Geneva were there condemned, with all who follow their pernicious novelties. The conclusions of Cyril Lucar were declared to be no part of the teaching of the Eastern Church, nor indeed of his teaching; for, from respect to his memory, the Synod ruled that he was not the author of the heretical Confession, but that it was a Protestant forgery, palmed upon him to give it a show of authority. So jealous indeed were the fathers for the fair fame of the deceased, that they undertook to prove from his Sermons and other writings that he could not be the author of the obnoxious document; a fact which his own repeated avowal both of it and of the sentiments which it contains, sets beyond all doubt[2]. Besides the usual re-assertion of Orthodox Belief, the particular dogmas or practices on which the Synod of Jerusalem set the seal of its authority, afterwards confirmed by the unanimous consent of the whole Church of the East, were the following. II. That Ecclesiastical Tradition is the authoritative interpreter of the Divine Word: and that the witness of the Catholic Church is not inferior to that of Holy Scripture, since both proceed from the same Spirit; III.

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[1] Ap. Harduini Concilia, Tom. XI. col. 171, &c. and Kimmel, p. 325, &c. A.D. 1672. The note of the French Ambassador M. de Nointel (Harduin, l. c. col. 271) plainly avows his part in this business.

[2] The entire want of candour exhibited by M. Aymon on the Protestant, and by Leo Allatius on the Roman Catholic side—from which other writers on either side are not free—have greatly perplexed this important passage of history. Cyril's long letter to the celebrated Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, first published by Mr Neale, (Vol. II. p. 390, n. 1) is a valuable addition to the documents.

That Predestination and Reprobation are consequential upon the Divine foreknowledge of the use, good or bad, that will be made of free will; VIII. The sole Mediation of Christ, and the intercession of Saints and Angels; IX. Justification by Faith working by Love; X. The necessity of Episcopal Order and Government in the Church; XII. The infallibility of the Church, as being under the teaching of the Spirit of truth, through its Doctors and Œcumenical Councils; XIV. Free Will; XV. The seven Sacraments; XVII. Transubstantiation, and XVIII. Purgatory. The Synod also allows the Apocryphal books Canonical authority, prohibits the general use of the Holy Scriptures, as unintelligible; approves the adoration of pictures, and vindicates the Worship of *hyperdulia* to the Blessed Virgin, and that of *dulia* to the Holy Angels and to all Saints.

That several of these Articles were new in the Greek Church, and that the determinations of the Synod are strongly tinged with the scholastic subtleties of the Latin theology, is too obvious to admit dispute, however the fact may be accounted for: and this mischievous issue of an attempt to force the Eastern Church to do homage to the Reformation ought surely to have the effect of preventing a repetition of such dishonest tampering with its testimony for party purposes[3]. Truth may be content to stand on its own merits; and error will not be established by dissimulation.

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[3] Yet this is far from being the case. Dr Pinkerton gave great offence to the Russian Clergy by falsely representing that they take the Holy Scriptures as the sole Rule of Faith. Mr Masson's Apology for the Greek Church—the object of which is to prove that it agrees with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland on all points of doctrine, church-government, and discipline !—might well give occasion to another Synod of Bethlehem, since the brilliant talents of the writer, so highly and justly esteemed at Athens, and his thorough

The few remaining incidents of importance, connected with the Ecclesiastical affairs of Jerusalem, will more appropriately find a place in the subsequent Part, when I come to speak of the actual State of the native Church in that City. The account of the last destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by fire, (A.D. 1808,) and of its restoration, may also be deferred with advantage. A few further observations on the civil convulsions in Palestine during the last century will leave me at liberty to proceed to that second division of my subject.

The Syrian conquests of the Ottoman Turks were distributed under the five Pashalics of Aleppo, Tripoli, Sidon, (afterwards transferred to Acre), Damascus, and Filistîn, the seat of which was sometimes at Jerusalem, otherwhile at Gaza[1]. But as the territorial limits of the Pashalics were arbitrary and subject to variation, that of Filistîn was at length absorbed in those of Damascus and Acre, the Holy City being reckoned to the former. The Pashas, mostly Turkish military officers, exercised unlimited and despotic authority, which first the growing power, and afterwards the declining weakness of the Porte, served to render irresponsible; while the subordinate governors ruled with an equally tyrannous sway within their narrower limits, which they scrupled not to extend, if they could, by hostile aggression and encroachments on their neighbours' districts. In this manner the Bedawî Dhaher became formidable to the Pasha of Damascus at the middle of

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acquaintance with the country, attach an importance to the book which might make his misrepresentations very injurious.

[1] Munk refers to Volney (Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, Tom. II. chap. ii.) for these divisions. Palestine, p. 644.

the last century[2], and, having established himself at Acre, administered the province of Galilee with singular prudence and moderation for the space of thirty years, during which time Palestine was constantly the theatre of civil strife: For while the Pashas of Damascus were endeavouring to recover their government from the hands of the revolted Sheikh, Ali-Bey, the Mamlûk conqueror of Hejaz and Egypt invaded the country on the south, hoping by aid of Dhaher to make himself master of Syria; and Ahmed Pasha of Beirout was in arms on the north, endeavouring to subject Acre to his rule. I cannot dwell on the ambitious rivalry of these robber-chiefs, for such indeed they were. Dhaher was betrayed, the usual number of assassinations followed in due course, and Ahmed was advanced to the pashalic of Acre and Sidon, with the government of Galilee and the coast of Palestine, where he earned for himself the honourable appellation of Jezzar (butcher), by his atrocities. With this sanguinary monster was our gallant countryman Sir Sidney Smith associated, in the defence of Acre against the French army under command of Bonaparte[3], who seemed to vie with the butcher of Acre in acts of cold-blooded inhumanity[4].

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[2] Munk (p. 646, &c.) has abridged the life of Sheikh Dhaher from Volney. Ibid. chap. i.

[3] The military operations of this Syrian expedition are contained in a Rélation de la Campagne de Syrie,... par un Officier d'artillerie de l'armée d'Orient. Paris, 1839, (published also in the Journal des Sciences Militaires, 2me Série. Tome xxv.), and in Col. Alderson's notes on Acre above referred to.

[4] I allude, of course, to the barbarous murder of the 4000 prisoners of war at Jaffa, and the *humane* proposal to poison his own sick at the same place: both these facts are attested by French historians. M. de Bourrienne, an eye-witness, is an unexceptionable authority for the former; Mémoires, Tome II. p. 226, cited by Munk, p. 649. M. Thiers, Histoire de la Révolution Française, ibid. p. 650, for the latter.

His characteristic reply to a proposal to visit Jerusalem on his march up the coast, declares at once its insignificance in a military view, and his interest in its sacred associations: "Jerusalem does not enter into my line of operation[1]."

The city has since shared the fortunes of Syria, without having in any way guided them, or being materially affected by them. It passed into possession of Mohammed-Ali in 1832[2], and was restored to the Ottoman power after the memorable bombardment of Acre, in Nov. 1840[3]; having in the interim suffered the dishonour of a capture from the undisciplined Fellahîn—the "bold peasantry" of Palestine, who held possession of it for some days[4]. It has latterly enjoyed the distinction of a resident Pasha, instead of being subject, as before, to the pashalic of Damascus; but since the united wisdom of Europe has thought fit to destroy despotism and restore anarchy in the country, it has experienced, as may be supposed, a questionable security; the tranquillity of which is liable at any moment to be disturbed by the lawless sheikhs of the country, whose violence Ibrahim Pasha was alone able to repress by the terrors of the sword. Within the last three years, Mustafa Abu Ghoosh, one of the most powerful chiefs in

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[1] Poujoulat, Histoire, Tome III. p. 253.

[2] See the peaceable surrender of Jerusalem to Mohammed-Ali in "Histoire de la Guerre...en Syrie, par MM. de Cadalvène et E. Barrault." Paris. 1837, p. 67.

[3] An account of the return of Jerusalem to its allegiance to the Porte, may be seen in Mr John's work on the Anglican Cathedral Church, &c. p. 4, note 1, and a full detail of all the events connected with it, in the Parliamentary Papers on the Affairs of the Levant.

[4] The city was invested on Sunday, May 25th, 1834. The garrison defended it until the following Saturday night, when they retired to the citadel: and the Fellahîn held the town until the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha on Friday, June 6th.

the country, having waylaid and murdered two government officers, had the insolence to threaten an attack on the Holy City, if the impotent Pasha attempted to resent the injury or to restrain the farther outbreaks of his lawless violence. So low has she now fallen who defied for months the arms of Imperial Rome!

And now who shall venture to dissipate the darkness of that night in which the wisdom of Providence has been pleased to envelope the events of futurity? Who shall declare the future destinies of the Holy City? That it is yet to be the theatre of great and important actions, may be concluded with sufficient warrant from the language of inspiration; and some who have most deeply studied the pages of prophecy, look to it as the appointed scene of the last great struggle of antichrist, and of the revelation of the Son of Man[5]. The restoration of the Jews is by many expected to precede this final consummation; and the remarkable preservation of that wonderful people must be regarded as a striking confirmation of their view who expect a literal fulfilment of prophecy, besides that higher spiritual interpretation which is ever being accomplished in the people of Christ, who are "Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." Whether the declining power of the Ottoman Empire will retain its feeble hold of Palestine until the hour for the restoration arrive, it were presumption to determine. The days of that Empire seem indeed to be numbered, and infatuation, the precursor of destruction, is apparent in its counsels. Are the Jews as yet prepared to receive their posses-

[5] I shall not be expected to enter on a prophetical disquisition. I only adopt what appears to myself the most probable interpretation of Holy Scripture; but I hope I should not dare to dogmatize on such a subject.

sions, if such be the Divine purpose concerning them? Awful indeed were the prospect of their restoration in an unconverted state. The preceding pages have shown how the spirit with which they are animated against the disciples of Christ has manifested itself on various occasions, without provocation; and when we call to mind the many centuries of oppression and bloody persecution which they have endured, without the opportunity of retaliation or revenge; the long catalogue of wrongs and insults tamely borne, but treasured up in the dark recesses of the unregenerate heart against a day of retribution, who can contemplate without a shudder the consequences of their speedy restoration to power and political independence?

If, then, in mercy to the Church, their restoration be delayed until the blessed influences of the Gospel of Christ have penetrated their hearts, enlightening them with the precepts of love, and teaching them to bless and pardon their persecutors, what is to be the condition of Palestine during this interval?

I cannot forbear adducing the opinion of a popular French writer on this subject[1]. It need scarcely be said that the first step in a plan of operations in any part of the globe, must, according to a Frenchman's theory, be the humiliation of England; "that terrible vulture of the political world, who has pounced upon Mount Lebanon, the borders of the Nile, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean; whose only idea of civilization is to convert the world to her own advantage. The welfare of the human race demands that vigorous ob-

[1] M. Poujoulat, Histoire de Jérusalem, Tome III. p. 275. I only adduce the passage as a specimen of French policy in the East, and for the purpose of introducing the few following remarks.

stacles be offered to the monstrous development of Britain's power. In order that the fall of the Ottoman Empire may subserve the cause of civilization in the East, she must be checked. The only means to effect this is the union of France and Russia. The active and persevering spirit of the latter requires the genius of France to enable her to fulfil her destinies; and France, on her side, demands this grand support to enable her to triumph over an enemy whose glory is of necessity the abasement of her own. Austria will of course assist. This accomplished, France, the champion of the Faith, guided by her conquering genius, is to plant the Cross on all the Asiatic capitals, as thirty years ago she planted her standard on all the capitals of Europe[2]; and the regeneration of the East is to be accomplished by her missionaries!"

Now, without advancing any claim to political discernment, still less to prophetic prescience, I venture to pronounce that there is no combination further without the reach of probability than this—no expectations less likely to be realized. Russia must forget the French invasion and the sacking of Moscow—both must forget the memorable retreat for which Russia offers her annual *Te Deum*, before such a coalition as that here contemplated can be effected; and the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, the Church of the Russian Empire, must acknowledge the Pope's claims to Supremacy, which she has resisted since they were first advanced, before she will delegate to French priests the duties which she is commissioned to perform. The

[2] This flourish will be thought to be exaggerated by me; I can assure the reader that I translate the nonsense verbatim, and have omitted as much equally silly. But the passage will repay a perusal.

protection of the oppressed Christians in the East has devolved on the Autocrat of Russia; it is his high prerogative, it is his solemn duty as a Christian and as a faithful son of the Holy Church Catholic. That duty he will perform. The establishment of the orthodox Church in his dominions commends it to his special regard; the extension of their limits so as to comprehend the seat of the chief Patriarch of the Armenians, has entitled that important community to his countenance and support; and the fact of the frontiers of the two most formidable Mohammedan powers bordering on his gigantic Empire, gives a weight to his arbitration which no other Christian sovereign can exercise. And I confess that when I observed the silent and beneficial influence of Russia, as exercised by her representatives in the East, with a degree of impartiality which I did not expect, but especially when I contrasted it with the busy, restless interference of the French political agents, aiming only at the aggrandisement of Rome, with a love too fierce even for its favoured objects, I could not participate in the jealous and suspicious fears with which my countrymen are wont to regard Russian diplomacy. And further, when I discovered that the laws of Russia have contrived to reconcile the firmest possible support to the national Church, with the greatest degree of toleration to other religious communities, better than any country[1], I could not but feel that the extension of those laws might prove most salutary to the East in its present distracted state. On the other hand, the suppression of many ancient

[1] In proof of the former, I appeal to the Oustaff, or Code of Laws for the Regulation of the Holy Governing Synod, &c. &c.; and to the testimony of foreign residents in Russia for the latter.

Sees in Georgia, on its annexation to the Empire at the commencement of the last reign, with the subjection of that whole Church to the Holy Governing Synod of Russia, (whose constitution is not unexceptionable in itself, and which certainly could exercise no rightful jurisdiction over independent bishops without the free consent of their church,) had led me to apprehend an uncanonical interference with the ancient Patriarchates, in the event here contemplated. But these apprehensions have been much allayed by the liberal and enlightened policy displayed on occasion of the late vacancy in the highest dignity of the Armenian Church, when a free election by the whole body was not only allowed, but invited and ensured, by the high authority of an imperial ukase[2]. And if the report of some late enactments had awakened alarm in behalf of the Jews, (whose interests demand the second consideration in all views of Eastern politics,) a more accurate knowledge of the facts of the case, and the promulgation of an edict affecting them, dictated by a spirit of consideration worthy of a Christian monarch[3], has convinced me that the lives and liberties of the Israelites would be no less safe in the custody of Russia than of any other Christian power.

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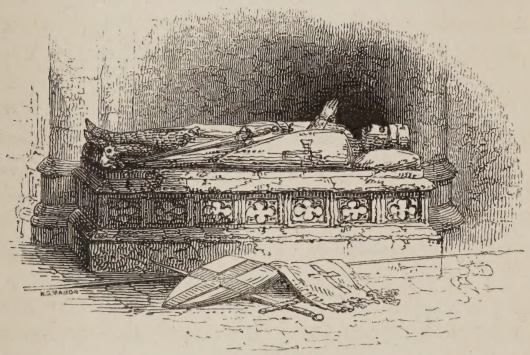
[2] The free election of the Patriarch Narcissus to the highest dignity of the Armenian church took place at Etchmiazine, April 17th, 1843, and was confirmed at St Petersburg, August 10th, in the same year. The appointment had been for centuries in the hands of the Porte, where all has been carried by bribery. Who would not desire that the most disgraceful simoniacal proceedings, relating to the orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, might be terminated in the same manner? and what other European sovereign would permit a free election by the whole Church?

[3] I allude to an ukase, dated Gatchina, November $\frac{13}{25}$, 1844, addressed to the minister of public instruction, relating to the education of the Jews.

England has already shewn what she can and what she will do in the East. She spread the wings of her protection—to adopt the Frenchman's comparison of the vulture—over the persecuted Jews at Damascus, because they were friendless and oppressed; and if she did light upon Mount Lebanon for a while, it was that she might defend the lives and liberties of the Maronites, endangered by the fury of the Druses, or the bigotry of the Turks; and this she did for the name of Christ which they bore, though she knew them to be the stanchest Romanists in the world. She procured for the Syrian Jacobites an order for the restoration of six churches and monasteries between Damascus and Aleppo, which the Latins, aided by their French allies, had unjustly seized; and that not from enmity against Rome or France, still less from sympathy with Monophysite heresy, but as an act of justice, which had been grossly outraged. This is the gauge of England's policy in the East. She will protect the weak against their oppressors, without respect of persons. She will procure the administration of even-handed justice to all alike, as far as her influence extends. Nay, she has done much more.

Acting through the moral weight of her ambassador to the Porte, whose uncompromising firmness and irreproachable uprightness command the respect, while they provoke the hatred, of the most corrupt court in the world, she has broken down the mighty barrier of Mohammedan prejudices, and cast an ægis over all the Christians of the East, beneath which they may henceforth enjoy full liberty of conscience, free from the terrors of penal statutes; and she will use all her endeavours that those merciful enactments be respected

in their fullest meaning. This is what England has done; this is what, by God's help, she will continue to do; and woe to those who attempt *to check* her while she holds on in this course. Rather let the other nations of Europe imitate her enlightened policy; and if the balance of power can only be maintained by upholding the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, at least let them provide that its protracted existence occasion no detriment to the Christian name, nor hinder the progress of that Faith to which they owe all the superiority, moral, religious, and political, which they now enjoy over that power which was once the terror of the world.



APPENDIX I.

NOTE 1.

SOUTHERN BORDER OF PALESTINE.

I AM thankful to be able to throw light on a subject so much involved in obscurity as this has been; and the reader will, I am persuaded, feel deeply grateful to my friend, the Rev. J. Rowlands, for his most valuable communication, and will congratulate him that his persevering efforts were crowned with such complete success.

I shall introduce the long extract from his very interesting letter by a few notes of a journey which we took in company, alluded to more than once, and which will serve, I hope, to render his geographical remarks more intelligible. Our object was the southern boundary of the Holy Land. In the autum of 1842 we left Jerusalem for this excursion, and having secured the services of Sheikh Salim of the Tyahâhs, we quitted Hebron about mid-day, on Monday, the 3rd of October, and passing Ziph, Kirmel (Carmel), M'aín (Maon), we encamped, at a quarter past five, at a place called 'Ayn 'Gowain, in Wady Gophain. Leaving this place on the following morning at seven, we descended at half-past nine into the plain of Malekh, and saw Tell Arad some miles to the S.S.E. Here we halted at a Bedawí encampment for three hours, then passed "Bîr el-Malekh," a very old and well-built well, at three o'clock. Our way lay over a wide plain, bounded on the south by a range of hills, the country inhabited by the Kenites and Amalekites. Shortly before five we came to some water at a place called Arárah (Aroer), and at a quarter past six encamped. Quitting this on the following morning at a quarter past six, we came, in two hours and a half, to the hills at the south of this large plain; crossing the first ridge of which we entered into an elevated plain called Wady Rakhmah, extending east and west; having followed this for some distance, we halted at a well of the same name for three hours, and then proceeded southward. At three o'clock we turned to the left of our path, and having ascended a ridge, a scene of awful grandeur burst suddenly upon us with such startling effect as to strike us dumb for some moments. We found ourselves standing on a gigantic natural rampart of lofty mountains, which we could trace distinctly for many miles east and west of the spot on which we stood, whose precipitous promontories of naked rock, forming as it were bastions of cyclopean architecture, jutted forth in irregular masses from the mountain-barrier into a frightfully terrific wilderness, stretched far before us towards the south, whose horrors language must fail to

describe. It was a confused chaos of chalk, and had the appearance of an immense furnace glowing with white heat, illuminated as it now was by the fierce rays of the sun. There did not appear to be the least particle of vegetation in all the dreary waste: all was drought and barrenness and desolation. Immediately below was the wide and well-defined Wady Murreh, running from west to east, which a few hours to the east divides into two, at a singularly formed hill called Moddera; the southernmost retaining its name, and going east into the Araba, the other, called Wady Fikreh, N.E. to the Dead Sea. We felt no doubt that we were standing on the mountain-barrier of the Promised Land, and this impression was confirmed by our Sheikh pointing out, some hours to the west, in a valley, the site of Kaddese, the Cadesh of Scripture, mentioned in the border. We much regretted that we could not now investigate further this interesting subject, but my friend was afterwards able to accomplish this journey, and has kindly permitted me to give the result of his researches, as communicated in a letter addressed to me at Jerusalem, dated from Malta.

Before proceeding to this it may be well to state, that on our return, we found Beersheba to be eight hours from the spot which I have described, nearly due north. Our course from Hebron had been about south by west.

"From Gaza our course was to Khalasa: on our way we discovered ancient *Gerar*. We had heard of it at Gaza, under the name of Joorf el-Gerâr (the Rush or Rapid of Gerar), which we found to lie three hours S.S.E. of Gaza, within Wady Gaza, a deep and broad channel, coming down from the S.E., and receiving a little higher up than this spot Wady es-Sheriah, from the E.N.E. Near Joorf el-Gerâr are traces of an ancient city, called Khirbet el-Gerar (the ruins of Gerar). Our road beyond, to Khalasa, lay along a plain, slightly undulated. This plain must be 'the land of Gerar.' Here we 'sojourned' for two days (one of which was a Sunday), with Abraham 'in Gerar.' *Khalasa* (ancient Chesil, I think,) must have been a large city—the remains are very extensive—heaps of stones and portions of houses, &c. Our road from Khalasa was nearly in a direct line all the way to Suez, passing near the south-east extremity of mount Halal. Two hours and a half from Khalasa is an ancient site, called Sebâta; only a few traces of a city, pottery, &c. This, I thought, must be Hormah, or ancient Zephath (Judg. i. 17), the Arabic form of which name would be precisely Sebât or Sebâta. Hormah was a name given it by the Jews; and the Arabs would probably, according to their usual practice, retain the ancient name. Chesil and Hormah are mentioned together in Josh. xv. 30. Hormah could not therefore be very far from Chesil, and the situation of Sebâta corresponds well with the great elevated plain of Serr (or Seir, where the children of Israel were chased before the Amalekites); it lies

to the west of the mountains of Rakhmeh, which, as you remember, are to the west of 'Ain Rakhmeh, where we saw the wild Arabs. To the east of 'Ain Rakhmeh is the grand plain called *es-Serr*, which must be the Seir alluded to in Deut. i. 44. The Amorites chased them down the western side of the mountains of Rakhmeh unto Hormah, or Sebâta, which lies near the border of the plain. From thence they returned southward to Kadesh. Deut. i. 45. Hormah is nowhere mentioned to be a border city. A few hours to the east of Sebâta (said to be three hours) an ancient site was mentioned to me, called Asloodg or Kasloodg. with some ancient walls, most probably ancient *Ziklag*. About a quarter of an hour beyond Sebâta we came to the remains of what must have been a very well-built city, called now Rohébeh, (the *e* in the middle having a broad sound). This, I have not the slightest doubt whatever, is ancient *Rehoboth*, where Abraham, and afterwards Isaac, digged a well, (Gen. xxvi. 18, 22). This lies, as Rehoboth did, in the land of Gerar. Outside the walls of the city is an ancient well of living and good water, called Bir Rohébeh. This, most probably, is the site, if not the well itself digged by Isaac. The city is not quite so extensive as Khalasa, but the ruins are much more considerable. Some portion of almost every house remains perfect—beautiful masonry. Mr Johns admired it greatly. It is of the Saracenic style. The Bedouins said it was once inhabited by Christians. About ten hours beyond Rohébeh, on our road (i. e. ten hours camel's pace), is a place called Moilahi (or Moilâhhi), a grand resting-place of the caravans, there being water here, as the name implies. It lies in one of two or three passages or openings in the very southernmost hills or southern border of the Land of Promise, which form the grand outlet from Palestine into the desert, or the grand entrance from the desert into Palestine, by which the great caravan roads from Akaba, Mount Sinai, and Suez, pass to Hebron and to Gaza. It may be ten or fifteen miles to the E.N.E. from the nearest extremity of mount Halal. Shall I not please you when I tell you, that we found here Bir Lahai-roi. We slept one night close to the water, and my happiness would have been double what it was, if you had been with us. I remembered how much you had talked about Beer Lahai-roi during our journey to the south, and what desire you had to find it. Now I can tell you that I have found it, to my entire satisfaction. I have no doubt about it whatever.

Now for my proofs. (1) Moilâhhi lies on the great road from Beersheba to Shur, or Jebel es-*Sur*, which is its present name,—a grand chain of mountains running north and south, a little east of the longitude of Suez, lying, as Shur did, *before* Egypt (Gen. xvi. 7). (2) It is probable, from Gen. xvi. 14, that Bir Lahai-roi was not far from Kadesh: Moilâhhi is about twelve miles from Kadesh. But (3) the grand settling point is its present name. The well has disappeared, and the "Bir" (well) very naturally has been changed into "Moi" (water): and, what is very remarkable, the Arabs of the country call it Moilâhhi Hadjar (Hagar).

The Arabs from the neighbourhood of Gaza called it Moilâhhi Kadésah, but the former insisted upon its true name being Moilâhhi Hadjar; and this, as they explained to me, not from the rocky mountains near, but from the name of a person called Hagar: and to confirm this statement of theirs, they conducted us to the *house* of Hagar (Beit Hajar), where they said such a person lived. It is about half or three-quarters of a mile from Moilâhhi, in a ravine among the hills. It is certainly a curious place—its description is simply this: a square chamber of no great dimensions, excavated in the perpendicular face of a rock, at some height above the base: the entrance into this is by a passage bored through the rock from beneath, with a winding staircase of good steps cut in the rock, leading up into the middle of the floor of the chamber. Behind this chamber are three other small chambers connected with it, which may possibly have served as dormitories—not at all like tombs, nor shewing any evidence whatever of their having been a sepulchre. Its name is Beit Hajar, or the house of Hagar. Whether Ishmael may have constructed this as a refuge for his mother after her final expulsion from Abraham's house, or whether Ishmael himself passed any of his time here, it is very difficult of course now to say, though the Bedouins maintain the former. This is certainly true, that (4) "the wilderness of Paran," where Ishmael is said to have dwelt (Gen. xxi. 21,) lies immediately to the south of this; a grand plain, bounded on the west by Halal and Yelek, on the east by the mountains or wilderness of Kadesh and Jebel el-Khirm, on the north by the southern hills of Judea, or rather of the *promised* (not of the *possessed*) land. This is *El-Paran*, or plain of Paran, alluded to in Gen. xiv. 6. This also is the country (excellent for pasture in some parts in the rainy season) where Abraham dwelt, *between* Kadesh and Shur—not at all the same country as Gerar, inferred (without any reason) from Gen. xxi. 1. Shur or Sur lies at its south-west extremity, and Kadesh at its utmost north-east extremity. This plain is the Paran through which the Hebrews came from Sinai on their way to Kadesh. Numb. xii. 16, and xiii. 26. The *wilderness* of Paran might possibly mean the hills bounding the plain to the east of it, and to the south of the wilderness of Kadesh, or, as I am rather inclined to believe, the wilderness of Kadesh was also called the wilderness of Paran from the adjacent plain, as it was called that of Kadesh from the *fountain* of Kadesh. Now, my dear friend, for *Kadesh*, my much-talked-of and long-sought-for Kadesh—you may conceive with what pleasure I tell *you* that I have at length found out this important and interesting locality to my entire satisfaction. Our excitement (I can speak at least for mine,) while we stood before the rock smitten by Moses, and gazed upon the *lovely stream* which still issues forth from under the base of this rock, was such as baffles description. I cannot say that we stood *still*—our excitement was so great that we could not stand still—we paced backwards and forwards examining the rock and the source of the stream, looking at the pretty little cascades which it

forms as it descends into the channel of a rain-torrent beneath, sometimes chipping off some pieces of the rock, and at other times picking up some specimens, or some flowers along a green slope beneath it. The rock is a large single mass or a small hill of solid rock, a spur of the mountain to the north of it rising immediately above it—it is the only *visible* naked rock in the whole district. The stream when it reaches the channel turns westward, and, after running about 3 or 400 yards, loses itself in the sand. I have not seen such a lovely sight anywhere else in the whole desert—such a copious and lovely stream. I took two vials full of it away with me. Shall I send you *one?* I think I must do it, if you *will* not go and see Kadesh yourself. But I must give you some particulars about the locality of Kădēs, or Kŭdēs, as it is called. I shall therefore first of all describe its *position,* and then adduce my proofs for its *identity* with ancient Kadesh-Barnea. The waters of Kădēs, called Ain Kădēs, lies to the east of the highest part of Jebel Halal, towards its northern extremity, about twelve miles (or four hours and a half by camel) to the E.S.E. of Moilâhhi. I think it must be something like due south from Khalasa. But to the *proofs,* which is the most important part. 1. Its name Kădēs, or Kŭdēs (pronounced in English Kaddáse or Kuddáse), is exactly the Arabic form of the Hebrew name Kadesh; the *K,* as you will find both in the Hebrew and the Arabic, not being the common Kâf, but Kôf, and giving the *a* a sound somewhat resembling a short *u.* 2. The locality corresponds with or falls in the line of the southern boundary of the Promised Land, (Josh. xv. 1, 8,) from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, by Safaa or Maaleh Akrabbim, the Wady el *Murra,* and the Wady el Arish, or the river of Egypt. 3. It corresponds also with the order in which the places of the border are mentioned. Adar and Azmon, two places in the border, which we have discovered in the names of *Adeirat* and *Aseimeh,* sometimes called Kadeirat and Kaseimeh, now and perhaps always merely fountains or springs, lie to the west of Kădēs, and Wady el Arish, or river of Egypt, succeeds in the same line. 4. It lies *east* of Jebel el-Halal, or Mount *Halak,* mentioned somewhere by Jeremiah as the uttermost extremity of the Promised Land to the south. 5. It lies at the foot of the mountain of the Amorites, (Deut. i. 19). 6. It is situated near the grand pass or entrance into the Promised Land by the Beer Lahai-roi, which is the only *easy* entrance from the desert to the east of Halal, and most probably the entrance to which the Hebrews were conducted from Sinai towards the Land of Promise. 7. A good road leads to this place all the way from Sinai, and the distance is about five days of dromedary-riding, or about ten or eleven days of common camel-riding, as the Bedouins stated (Deut. i. 2). 8. A grand road, still finer, *I was told,* by broad Wadies, leads from Kădēs to Mount Hor (Numb. xx. 22). 9. The nature of the locality itself answers in every respect to the description given of it in Scripture, or rather inferred from it—the mountains to the east of Kădēs, and some very grand

ones to the south, called Jebel Kădēs, "the wilderness of Kadesh;" the rock, the water, and the grand space for encampment which lies to the south-west of it, a large rectangular plain about 9 by 5, or 10 by 6 miles, and this opening to the west into the still more extensive plain of Paran. But enough of Kadesh. I must hasten on to Suez, without making many notes or comments on our journey. We were three days getting through the plain of Paran—the road was very fine—one could drive a carriage all the way from Khalasa or Beersheba to Suez, except in passing over the ridge of the range of Sur, into the regions of Africa, towards Suez—there the path is only too narrow."

NOTE 2.

DISCOVERIES IN SAMARIA AND GALILEE.

The foregoing letter will be appropriately followed by an interesting communication from my friend Dr. Schultz, received towards the close of last year (1847), which he kindly allows me to publish. It relates his discovery of several sites of great historical importance, particularly those connected with the narrative of the book of Judith, and with the life of Josephus.

Beyrout, 16*th October*, 1847.

..... I hope you will excuse me for not having made those special researches on the field of the topography of Jerusalem you want for the second edition of your most valuable "Holy City," and Professor Willis for his "Church of the Holy Sepulchre." The fact is, I had no time to spare: to fulfil my engagement, which I took only on condition, was really out of the question. But I am persuaded you will have patience with me when I tell you that I have some other communications ready for you, perhaps not unworthy to be published in some little corner of your book; some discoveries made on my last journey from Jerusalem to Beyrout, through the interior of Galilee. Before I begin, let me tell you that I readily believe that the Officers who measured Jerusalem in 1840 may be right in what they state about the South-west corner of the Haram, though it does not so appear to me, when I look at it with my eyes only, having no instruments for ascertaining mathematically what we want to know.

And now for my journey. I went from Jerusalem towards Nabloos, with the view of looking out for the Alexandrion mentioned by Josephus several times as a famous fortress in the time of Herod the Great, near Korea. I discovered most interesting ruins in a village called Kafr Istoonah كفر استونه about an hour East of Turmus Aya, half way from

Jerusalem to Nabloos. Kafr Istoonah must have been a very strong castle. Massive foundations, and a large vault worthy of Herodian architecture, are still remaining; stones, like those in the lower part of Hippicus, or even the Temple-wall, and several of them bevelled. This village lies South-west of the road from (Korea) Kariyoot to Jericho. The hill on which it stands is not very high, but the position is naturally strong. I discovered a great many more ruins on this excursion from Turmus Aya towards the East. I purpose publishing my remarks on them as soon as possible, though I do not know when I may have leisure enough for putting them on paper. Leaving Turmus Aya, I went by Seiloon and Kariyoot, and Jalood, and Joorish, to Akrabah; [Akrabah is marked nearly in the right place on Robinson's map, but it is a large village, looking very much like a town, and not a ruin;] a most interesting tour. Joorish, جوريش is situated on a high elevation, west of Kurn el-Sartabah. Between Joorish and Akrabah, but nearer to the former, is a valley running from east to west called Wady Makhfooriyeh, مخفورية. Akrabah lies north of Joorish, the two places in sight of each other. Here I think you have the *Ekrebel* of the book of Judith, near *Khoos*, at the Wady (Χείμαῤῥος), Mokhmoor المخمورية and Khoos (Χοὺς) must be corrected in Χουρίς. I welcomed this discovery the more heartily as I was going to look out for Beit-ilooah in a few days, from Jeneen. It is now more than three years ago that I visited Kaukab-el-Haua, كوكب الهوا the Belvoir of the Crusaders. I questioned a *fellah* there about the ruins on the northern declivity of Mount Gilboa, and he stated that there was a ruined place called *Beit-Ilfa*. This was a singular coincidence with the name of Beit-ilooah, or Beit-ilwa, and with the supposed position of Judith's town. Unfortunately I was in a hurry then, and only now when I was at Jeneen I had again an opportunity of making inquiries. The people there knew 'Ain-Beit-Ilfa and Chirbet-Beit-Ilfa perfectly well. I went to Takooah on the summit of Mount Gilboa. Found that Jelboon, جلبون lies south of Takooah on the western declivity of Mount Gilboa, to which it formerly gave its name, and not on the East side, as it is marked on Robinson's map. Went down into the Ghor, a little south-west of Beisân, turned round the north-eastern corner of the mountain, where I found the fountain of Beit-Ilfah with considerable ruins, tombs cut into the rock and sarcophagi, south-east of Koomiyeh, قومية the Κναμὼν of the book of Judith. I ascertained the site of Dothaim, now called Dotân, دوتان South-west of Jeneen, so that I should be able to visit it without delay as soon as I come again in that neighbourhood. Βελμὲν lies about half-an-hour

south of Jeneen—you must have passed it—near a well called Beer-Bela'meh, بير بلعمة At Akrabah, I must add, I ascertained the site of Thana, which is well known still in that part of the country, and found some traces of Aenôn of the New Testament, which I shall certainly follow at the first opportunity.

Now, my dear friend, follow me to *Jotapata, the long-missed Jotapata!* I had been studying Josephus' Jewish War, and his Autobiography, especially the account of the embassy sent from Jerusalem to deprive Josephus of his office, and to give the command of Galilee into the hands of John of Giskhala. These ambassadors come first to Xaloth, (Ksal كسال), go over to Yafa, then to Safoorieh, Asochis, and finally to Gabara, or Gabaroth, (F. Josephi Vita, sect. 44, 45). Josephus stands against Placidus, near *Khabool* (sect. 43, 44.) Ordered to come to Gabara, he only goes to Jotapata, to be near his enemies, at the distance of 40 stadia, or 4 to 5 English miles (sect. 45). He frightens the embassy with all their partisans, and having taken Gabara, (46—49,) he goes thence to *Sogane,* 20 stadia from Gabara (51). I knew there was in Galilee a village called *Sakhneen,* سخنين. I found in some documents of the times of the Crusaders this name, and *Arrabia* joined to it, as a village lying in the neighbourhood. *'Arrabeh* عرابة is joined with *Sakhneen* سخنين in Eli Smith's list of names of places in Galilee. As *Sogane* and *Sakhneen* looked so very like each other, I thought the reading, Ἀραβων, which Reland, (Palæst., p. 1021) corrects into Γαβάρων, might be the preferable one, and if so, Jotapata was about four or five English miles from the village *'Arrabeh.* I arrived at Nazareth, inquired about 'Arrabeh and Sakhneen, as they were not marked on any map I had seen. People told me they were about six or seven hours north of Nazareth. The next morning, September 27, I arrived at Sakhneen, going by 'Arrabeh. I found the distance between the two about an hour's riding, the twenty stadia of Josephus between Sogane and Gabara, or Gabaroth. At Sakhneen I inquired again about names and places, and they told of one ruin called *Jefât,* جفات and Khirbeh-Mashhoorah, a celebrated ruin they said it was, though very little to be seen. I took a guide early in the morning of the 28th, and in about an hour or five quarters I reached *Jotapata.* There is not the slightest doubt about the identity of the names and the places. It is impossible to describe the site of the ancient city, the first stronghold of Galilee, better than Josephus does in a few lines. You may imagine how happy I was when I stood on the hill, no doubt the site of the castle. Few stones, but a great many large cisterns, are the only remains of it. This hill looks like a huge gigantic skull, barren rock as it is on its top, with the holes of the wells. There are more remains of the town on the slope of the

northern hill, foundations of the towers, of buildings, and traces of the walls. Several valleys are on the western side of the ancient city. Through one of them Josephus sent people covered with skins, and his spies were taken for dogs by the Romans. A shepherd-boy wanted to shew me a curious cave with two doors, perhaps the one where Josephus went to hide himself after the city was taken. But I had no time; I wanted to go up to the top of a high hill, near Jotapata, and so I did, to have a view of the adjacent country. This high hill is called *Daidabeh*, دبدبة The English Engineer-officers who surveyed the country in 1840, spent some time at Sakhneen, and put up a "*nishân*," as the Arabs said, on the top of Daidabeh, to make their measurements and observations. In order that you may find on the map where Jotapata stood, take that of Robinson, and go to Kana-el-Jaleel and Kufr Menda. Between the two you see a little valley coming down from the north, formed by two little valleys joining like a fork. Well, between the teeth of this fork put a mark, and I think you have the site of Jotapata as near to the real truth as possible. Go then one hour and a quarter north and put a mark for Sakhneen, and from Sakhneen an hour east lies 'Arrâbeh, the Gabara, or Araba, or Gabaroth, of Josephus. Both Sakhneen and Arrâbeh are still considerable villages. At Arrâbeh you find remains of ancient fortifications, perhaps the house of Jesus, where the ambassadors retired, when Josephus came to attack them. But now I must end my epistle, though the harvest I made on this journey was much richer still. As soon as I can, you shall hear more of it; and always believe me,

My dear friend,

Yours very truly,

E. G. SCHULTZ.

NOTE 3.

In p. 48, note 2, I have identified *Khan Yonas*, fifteen miles south of Gaza, with the Ἰηνύσιος πόλις of Herodotus. I was not singular in this error, which was copied from d'Anville (Mémoires sur l'Egypte, p. 104) into the map illustrating Burckhardt's "Travels in Palestine." I have since discovered that the name is quite modern, and owes its origin to the following fact, recorded by M. Quatremère in one of his very learned Geographical Notes to his French translation of Makrizi's "History of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt." Paris, 1837. "According to Makrizi, (Description of Egypt, T. II. MS. 798, fol. 365,) and Abou'lmahâsen, (History of Egypt, MS. 666. fol. 35. ro.) the Emir Younes, who died a violent death in the year of the Hegira 791, [A. D.

1389,] caused a large Khan, (or Caravanseray) to be built without the village of Gaza. The place still exits under the name of Khan-Younes." The name is much disguised in mediæval and modern books of travels. Thus *e.g.*, Irby and Mangles represent it as *Haneunis*, Quaresmius as *Cunianus*, Helffrich as *Cannunis*. Note 5. l. c.

NOTE 4.

In the narrative of the events after the Captivity, (pp. 62, &c.,) I have followed the chronology of Prideaux, making Artaxerxes Longimanus the Ahasuerus of Nehemiah and Esther, and so following: I am permitted to subjoin the manuscript note of Professor Mill on this passage in my first edition: "I am myself strongly persuaded that Ahasuerus is Xerxes, not Artaxerxes. The name on the Zendic monuments is *precisely* the same, viz., Akhshaerosh. And I think it demonstrable from Ezra iv., that during the whole of his reign the work begun on the edict of Cyrus, was going on and prospering—notwithstanding the representations of the Samaritans and other enemies: his son Artaxerxes Longimanus [Ardeshir Daraz-dat] was the king that stopped the work.

"To make the Artaxerxes (Artahsashta) of Nehemiah the same with the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, is to run counter to Ezra iv. 6, 7, where those names are distinguished; but *this* Artaxerxes cannot, I think, be he of Ezra vii.—who is not the Long-handed, but Artaxerxes Mnemon. I have given elsewhere my reasons for this opinion, which is that of Hottinger, Scaliger, and many others. The circumstance of Sanballat, who was a contemporary of this Artaxerxes, having lived to the time of Alexander, seems to me decisive of the question that Nehemiah's king is Artaxerxes II., and that the Darius who issued the order to resume the building of the temple is Darius Nothus, not the son of Hystaspes."

The reasons are stated by Dr. Mill in his "Observations on Pantheistic Principles, &c.," Chapter II. p. 153, note †; and p. 164, note 17. The Chronological order of events will then be as follows, assuming Mr. Clinton's dates to be correct. (Fasti Hellenici, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 312.)

B. C.

538. Edict of *Cyrus*, his first year in Babylon, (Ezra i. 1, &c.)
529. *Cambyses* reigns 7 years and 5 months.
522. *Smerdis* reigns 7 months.
521. *Darius Hystaspis* reigns 36 years, the opposition continuing from the time of Cyrus to the close of this reign. (Ezra iv. 5.)

B.C.

485. *Ahasuerus* of Ezra iv. 6, and of the book of Esther, the *Xerxes* of Herodotus, r. 20 years, is succeeded by *Artabanus* for 7 months.

465. *Artaxerxes Longimanus* r. 40 years. The work suspended at the commencement of his reign until the second year of Darius Nothus, (Ezra iv. 6—24).

425. *Xerxes II.*, r. 2 months; *Sogdianus*, r. 7 months.

424. *Darius Nothus*, r. 19 years. On an appeal made by the Jews in his second year, the building of the temple is resumed, and completed in his sixth year B. C. 418. (Ezra iv. 24—vi. 22.)

405. *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, r. 46 years. Ezra's Commission, (vii. 1, &c.) in the king's seventh year, (v. 8). Nehemiah's Commission in his twentieth year, B. C. 385. (Nehemiah i. 1, &c.)

This is adopted by Hottinger, Scaliger, and others. Petavius is opposed to it, as also Prideaux, whose scheme of Chronology is given in the table of Contents.

NOTE 5. [See pp. 146—149.]

DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM BY JOSEPHUS.

Τρισὶ δὲ ὠχυρωμένη τείχεσιν ἡ πόλις, καθὰ μὴ ταῖς ἀβάτοις φάραγξιν ἐκυκλοῦτο· ταύτῃ γὰρ εἷς ἦν περίβολος· αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο, μέσῃ φάραγγι διῃρημένων, εἰς ἣν ἐπάλληλοι κατέληγον αἱ οἰκίαι. τῶν δὲ λόφων ὁ μέν, τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἔχων, ὑψηλότερος πολλῷ, καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἰθύτερος ἦν· διὰ γοῦν τὴν ὀχυρότητα, φρούριον μὲν ὑπὸ Δαβίδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκαλεῖτο· πατὴρ Σολομῶνος ἦν οὗτος, τοῦ πρώτου τὸν νεὼν κτίσαντος, ἡ ἄνω δὲ ἀγορὰ πρὸς ἡμῶν· ἄτερος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Ἄκρα, καὶ τὴν κάτω πόλιν ὑφεστὼς, ἀμφίκυρτος. Τούτου δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος, ταπεινότερός τε φύσει τῆς Ἄκρας, καὶ πλατείᾳ φάραγγι διειργόμενος ἄλλῃ πρότερον· αὖθις γε μὴν καθ' οὓς οἱ Ἀσαμωναῖοι χρόνους ἐβασίλευον, τήν τε φάραγγα ἔχωσαν, συνάψαι βουλόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῆς Ἄκρας κατεργασάμενοι τὸ ὕψος ἐποιήσαν χθαμαλώτερον, ὡς ὑπερφαίνοιτο καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ ἱερόν. ἡ δὲ τῶν Τυροποιῶν προσαγορευομένη φάραγξ, ἣν ἔφαμεν τόν τε τῆς ἄνω πόλεως καὶ τὸν κάτω λόφον διαστέλλειν, καθήκει μέχρι Σιλωάμ. οὕτω γὰρ τὴν πηγὴν, γλυκεῖάν τε καὶ πολλὴν οὖσαν, ἐκαλοῦμεν. ἔξωθεν δὲ οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθείαις φάραγξι περιείχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμόθεν ἦν. Τῶν δὲ τριῶν τειχῶν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον, διά τε τὰς φάραγγας, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόφον ἐφ' οὗ κατεσκεύαστο, δυσάλωτον ἦν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλεονεκτήματι τοῦ τόπου, καὶ

καρτερῶς ἐδεδόμητο, Δαβίδου τε καὶ Σολομῶνος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ τούτων βασιλέων, φιλοτιμηθέντων περὶ τὸ ἔργον. Ἀρχόμενον δὲ κατὰ βοῤῥᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱππικοῦ καλουμένου πύργου, καὶ διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ξυστὸν λεγόμενον, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτον, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο. κατὰ θάτερα δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀρχόμενον πύργου, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσὼ καλουμένου χωρίου κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐσσηνῶν πύλην, καὶ ἔπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰμ ἐπιστρέφον πηγὴν, ἔνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν, καὶ διῆκον μέχρι χώρου τινὸς, ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλὰν, τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνῆπτε. Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πύλης εἶχεν, ἣν Γεννὰθ ἐκάλουν, τοῦ πρώτου τείχους οὖσαν, κυκλούμενον δὲ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα μόνον ἀνήει μέχρι τῆς Ἀντωνίας. Τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἦν ἀρχὴ ὁ Ἱππικὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μέχρι τοῦ βορείου κλίματος κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ψήφινον πύργον, ἔπειτα καθῆκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων,—Ἀδιαβηνὴ βασιλὶς ἦν αὕτη, Ἰζάτου βασιλέως μήτηρ,—καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνῆμα· τῷ δὲ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. τοῦτο τῇ προσκτισθείσῃ πόλει περιέθηκεν Ἀγρίππας, ἥπερ ἦν πᾶσα γυμνή· πλήθει γὰρ ὑπερχεομένη, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξεῖρπε τῶν περιβόλων, καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ προσάρκτια πρὸς τῷ λόφῳ συμπολίζοντες, ἐπ᾽ οὐκ ὀλίγον προῆλθον, καὶ τέταρτον περιοικηθῆναι λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθὰ, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀποτεμνόμενος δὲ ὀρύγματι βαθεῖ· διεταφρεύθη γὰρ ἐπίτηδες, ὡς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας, εὐπρόσιτοί τε εἶεν, καὶ ἧττον ὑψηλοί. διὸ δὴ καὶ πλεῖστον ὕψος τοῖς πύργοις προσεδίδου τὸ βάθος τῆς τάφρου· ἐκλήθη δὲ ἐπιχωρίως Βεζεθὰ τὸ νεόκτιστον μέρος, ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ καινὴ λέγοιτ᾽ ἂν πόλις.

. . . . . Τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὑπερεῖχον οἱ πύργοι πήχεις εἴκοσι μὲν εἰς εὖρος, εἴκοσι δὲ εἰς ὕψος, ... τοιούτους μὲν οὖν πύργους τὸ τρίτον τεῖχος εἶχεν ἐνενήκοντα, τὰ δὲ μεταπύργια τούτων ἀνὰ πήχεις διακοσίους. τὸ δὲ αὖ μέσον εἰς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα πύργους, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον εἰς ἑξήκοντα μεμέριστο· τῆς πόλεως δὲ ὁ πᾶς κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριάκοντα τριῶν. θαυμασίου δὲ ὄντος ὅλου τοῦ τρίτου τείχους, θαυμασιώτερος ἀνεῖχε κατὰ γωνίαν βόρειός τε καὶ πρὸς δύσιν ὁ Ψήφινος πύργος, καθ᾽ ὃν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο Τίτος. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα πήχεις ὑψηλὸς ὢν, Ἀραβίαν τε ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου παρεῖχεν ἀφορᾶν, καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης τὰ τῆς Ἑβραίων κληρουχίας ἔσχατα. ὀκτάγωνος δὲ ἦν. τούτου δὲ ἄντικρυς ὁ Ἱππικὸς, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν δύο κατεσκευάσθησαν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ τείχει. . . . Τηλικοῦτοι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ μέγεθος, πολὺ μείζονες ἐφαίνοντο διὰ τὸν τόπον· αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν, ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδόμητο, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ὑψηλοτέρα προανεῖχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὑπὲρ ἣν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δή τι τοῦ μετεώρου προσελάμβανον. . . . Κειμένοις δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον αὐτοῖς ἔνδοθεν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλὴ προσέζευκτο, παντὸς λόγου κρείσσων. οὔτε γὰρ πολυτελείας, οὔτε κατασκευῆς τινὸς ἔλιπεν ὑπερβολή. ἀλλὰ τετείχιστο μὲν ἅπασα τριάκοντα πήχεις τὸ ὕψος, κύκλῳ κατ᾽ ἴσον διάστημα, κεκοσμημένοις δὲ πύργοις διεί-

λητο, ἀνδρῶσί τε μεγίστοις, καὶ εἰς ξενῶνας ἑκατοντατρικλίνους· ἐν οἷς ἀδιήγητος μὲν ἡ ποικιλία τῶν λίθων ἦν. συνῆκτο γὰρ πολὺς ὁ πανταχοῦ σπάνιος· θαυμασταὶ δ' ὀροφαὶ, μήκει τε δοκῶν καὶ λαμπρότητι προκοσμημάτων. οἴκων δὲ πλῆθος, καὶ διαφοραὶ σχημάτων περὶ τούτους μυρίαι· πᾶσί γε μὴν ἀποσκευαὶ πλήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν ἐν ἑκάστοις κειμένων ἐξ ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ. περίστοα δὲ δι' ἀλλήλων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλὰ, καὶ στύλοι πρὸς ἑκάστῳ διάφοροι· τά γε μὴν τούτων ὕπαιθρα πανταχοῦ χλοερά. καὶ ποικίλαι μὲν ὗλαι, μακροὶ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν περίπατοι, καὶ περὶ τούτους εὔριποι βαθεῖς δεξαμεναί τε πολλαχοῦ χαλκουργημάτων περίπλεοι, δι' ὧν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰ νάματα πύργοι πελειάδων ἡμέρων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔθ' ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἀξίως τὰ βασίλεια, κ. τ. λ.

Ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία, κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον. δεδόμητο δ' ὑπὲρ πέτρας πεντηκονταπήχους μὲν ὕψος, περικρήμνου δὲ πάσης. ἔργον δὲ ἦν Ἡρώδου βασιλέως, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα τὸ φύσει μεγαλόνουν ἐπεδείξατο. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ ῥίζης ἡ πέτρα πλαξὶ κεκάλυπτο λείαις λίθων, εἴς τε κάλλος, καὶ ὡς ἀπολισθάνοι πᾶς ὁ προσβαίνειν καὶ κατιέναι πειρώμενος. ἔπειτα πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πύργου δομήσεως, τριῶν πηχῶν τεῖχος ἦν, ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τούτου, τὸ πᾶν διάστημα τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεις ἠγείρετο. τὸ δὲ ἔνδον βασιλείων εἶχε χώραν καὶ διάθεσιν. μεμέριστο γὰρ εἰς πᾶσαν οἴκων ἰδέαν τε καὶ χρῆσιν, περίστοά τε καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ στρατοπέδων αὐλὰς πλατείας, ὡς τῷ μὲν πάντα ἔχειν τὰ χρειώδη, πόλις εἶναι δοκεῖν, τῇ πολυτελείᾳ δὲ βασίλειον. πυργοειδὴς δὲ οὖσα τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα, κατὰ γωνίαν τέσσαρσιν ἑτέροις διειλῆπτο πύργοις· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα τὸ ὕψος, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μεσημβρινῇ καὶ κατ' ἀνατολὴν γωνίᾳ κείμενος ἑβδομήκοντα πηχῶν ἦν, ὡς καθορᾶν ὅλον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱερόν. καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτο ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς, εἰς ἀμφοτέρας εἶχε καταβάσεις· δι' ὧν κατιόντες οἱ φρουροὶ, καθῆστο γὰρ ἀεὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τάγμα Ῥωμαίων, καὶ διϊστάμενοι περὶ τὰς στοὰς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, τὸν δῆμον ὡς μή τι νεωτερισθείη παρεφύλαττον. φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν, τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία. κατὰ δὲ ταύτην οἱ τῶν τριῶν φύλακες ἦσαν, καὶ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἴδιον φρούριον ἦν, τὰ Ἡρώδου βασίλεια. Ἡ Βεζεθὰ δὲ λόφος διῃρητο μὲν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντωνίας· πάντων δὲ ὑψηλότατος ὢν μέρει τῆς καινῆς πόλεως προσῴκιστο, καὶ μόνος τῷ ἱερῷ κατ' ἄρκτον ἐπεσκότει. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὖθις εἰπεῖν ἀκριβέστερον ἕκαστα προτεθειμένος, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀποχρώντως εἴρηκα. De Bell. Jud. V. iv, v. 8. Vol. I. pp. 413—419. 427, 8. Oxon. 1837.

DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM BY TACITUS.

[Titus] igitur castris, uti diximus, ante mœnia Hierosolymorum positis, instructas legiones ostentavit.

Judæi sub ipsos muros struxere aciem, rebus secundis longius ausuri; et, si pellerentur, parato perfugio. Missus in eos eques cum expeditis cohortibus, ambigue certavit. Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis prælia serebant; donec assiduis damnis, intra mœnia

pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi: neque enim dignum videbatur, famem hostium operiri: poscebantque pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia, et cupidine præmiorum. Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos; ac, ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem, arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, queis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles, immensum editos, claudebant muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis, abrupta: et turres, ubi mons juvisset, in sexaginta pedes; inter devexa, in centenos vicenosque attollebantur; mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares. Alia intus mœnia, regiæ circumjecta: conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata.

Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios: ipsæ porticus, queis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes; et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus. Præviderant conditores, ex diversitate morum, crebra bella: inde cuncta, quamvis adversus longum obsidium; et a Pompeio expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. Atque, per avaritiam Claudianorum temporum, empto jure muniendi, struxere muros in pace, tamquam ad bellum; magna colluvie, et ceterarum urbium clade aucti: nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eóque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima mœnium Simon; mediam urbem Joannes, quem et Bargioram vocabant; templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes, ac Simon; Eleazarus loco pollebat. Sed prælia, dolus, incendia inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur: ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiam pareret. Tacit. Hist. V. 10—12. Tom. III. pp. 78—81. Ed. Brotier.

NOTE 6.

JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM, (ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY, pp. 176—189,) BY PROFESSOR WILLIS.

The following abstract of the leading events of the Siege of Jerusalem, drawn up in the form of a Journal, may serve to place the succession of events more clearly before the reader of the complete narrative. It shews the time which was occupied by the operations of ancient warfare; and by illustrating the coherence and consistency of the history, which extends through the greater part of two books of Josephus, furnishes additional evidence of his truth and accuracy.

In his narration he occasionally records the day of the month upon

which certain events of the siege occur; but for the most part he only states the number of days which were respectively occupied by the successive operations of the siege, employing throughout the Macedonian months. There are, as it appears, very few ambiguities, and the principal difficulty of the journal lies at the very commencement; namely, in determining the first day of the siege.

Titus, we are told, having marched to Jerusalem, encamped, in the first instance, at Scopus, and on the Mount of Olives. His operations were interrupted by a sally from the Jews, which was defeated. A short pause in the military operations then takes place, during which the feast of the Passover is celebrated on the 14th of Xanthicus, and the rebel John avails himself of it to get possession of the Inner Temple. Meanwhile Titus, having levelled the ground between Scopus and the wall of the city in four days, removes his camp to the immediate vicinity of the wall. In Lib. v. c. xiii. 7, the 14th Xanthicus is mentioned as the day on which the Romans first encamped close to the city. This cannot refer to the first encampment on Scopus, because the course of the history has shewn that the 14th Xanthicus occurred afterwards; but it may refer either to the beginning of the levelling operation, or to the actual encampment four days after. However, we are further told that the first wall was taken on the 15th day of the siege, and on the 7th of Artemisius, (c. vii. 2). But the succeeding history, (as the Journal will shew,) proves that this event must have taken place at the latter end of Xanthicus; and therefore we have either a total blunder in the name of the month as well as in the day; or else we may suppose that Josephus has slipped inadvertently into the Roman mode of reckoning, and that we are to read the 7th *Kalend* of Artemisius in this place; namely, the 25th of Xanthicus. If this be granted as the 15th day of the siege, the first day will be carried back to the 11th of Xanthicus.

We may therefore choose this day as the day of the encampment on Scopus and the Mount of Olives, and suppose that the levelling operations were commenced on the 14th Xanthicus, and are referred to (in c. xiii. 7) as the first formation of the camp near the city.

Or we may take the 11th Xanthicus as the first day of levelling, and as this was completed in four days, the 14th will be the day of the actual encampment close to the city.

In drawing up the Journal, the expressions of the author from which the date or time of each circumstance is obtained, have been carefully preserved. Thus he sometimes states the exact day of the month, sometimes only the number of days which were employed in the operation he happens to be narrating, or the number of days which had elapsed since some previous operation.

The latter cases are illustrated by the second column of the Table, which contains a series of numbers corresponding to the groups of days mentioned by Josephus in every case.

A CONCISE JOURNAL

OF THE

LEADING EVENTS OF THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

Month.	*Day of Month.*		
Xanthicus (April).	11	1	Titus during these four days levels the ground, and establishes his Camp close to the walls on the 14th Xanthicus, (l. v. c. iii. 2, 5, and c. xiii. 7).
	12	2	
	13	3	
	14	4	On the 14th Xanthicus (being the Feast of the Passover) John obtains possession of the Temple. (c. iii. 1.)
	15	5	
	16	6	
	17	7	
	18	8	
	19	9	This time is occupied in raising the *aggers* or banks against the first wall (vi. 2—4.)
	20	10	
	21	11	
	22	12	
	23	13	
	24	14	
	25	15	On the fifteenth day of the siege, and on the 7th (Kalend?) of Artemisius, the first wall is taken (c. vii. 2).
	26	1	
	27	2	
	28	3	
	29	4	
	30	5	The second wall is taken on the fifth day after the first (c. viii. 1), and the city entered, but the Romans are immediately driven out.
Artemisius (May).	1		
	2	1	The Romans renew the attack which is resisted for three days, but on the fourth day they obtain possession of it (c. viii. 2).
	3	2	
	4	3	
	5	4	
	6	—	Titus demolishes the wall, garrisons some towers, and resolves to delay the siege.
	7	—	
	8	1	
	9	2	Four days' relaxation, the troops are paid, and reviewed with great display (c. ix. 1, 2.)
	10	3	
	11	4	
	12	1	On the fifth day Titus begins to raise banks against Antonia, and the wall of the city, at the monument of John (c. ix. 2).
	13	2	
	14	3	
	15	4	
	16	5	
	17	6	
	18	7	
	19	8	These banks were begun on the 12th day of Artemisius, and completed on the 29th of the same, after having occupied seventeen days (*i. e.* eighteen days in all) (xi. 4).
	20	9	
	21	10	
	22	11	
	23	12	
	24	13	
	25	14	
	26	15	
	27	16	
	28	17	
	29	18	
	30	—	Engines are brought to the banks, but the banks against Antonia are destroyed by a mine (c. xi. 4).
	31	1	

Month.	*Day of Month.*		
Dæsius (June).	1	2	Two days after, the banks against the north wall of the Upper City are also destroyed (c. xi. 5).
	2	—	
	3	1	Titus erects in three days a wall of circumvallation about the city (c. xii. 2).
	4	2	
	5	3	
	6	—	During this interval, the blockade and famine are left to do their work of subduing the people (c. xii. 3, 4. xiii.)
	7	—	
	8	—	
	9	—	
	10	1	Twenty-one days are occupied in raising new banks, in four parts, against Antonia (l. v. c. xii. 4, and l. vi. c. i. 1).
	11	2	
	12	3	
	13	4	
	14	5	
	15	6	
	16	7	
	17	8	
	18	9	
	19	10	
	20	11	
	21	12	
	22	13	
	23	14	
	24	15	
	25	16	
	26	17	
	27	18	
	28	19	
	29	20	
	30	21	
Panemus (July).	1	—	On the 1st Panemus the Jews attack the Romans without success, the engines are brought to bear, and the wall of Antonia falls in the night (l. vi. c. i. 3.)
	2	—	
	3	—	On the 3rd Panemus happens the adventure of Sabinus (c. i. 6).
	4	1	
	5	2	Two days after, the tower of Antonia is taken at night by surprise (c. i. 7).
	6	—	
	7	—	
	8	—	
	9	—	
	10	—	
	11	—	
	12	—	
	13	—	
	14	1	On the 17th the daily sacrifice ceases, and seven days are occupied about this time in overthrowing the foundations of Antonia to make a broad way up for the army (c. ii, l. 7). Then were four banks begun for the attack upon the Inner Temple (c. ii. 7).
	15	2	
	16	3	
	17	4	
	18	5	
	19	6	
	20	7	
	21	—	
	22	—	The Jews set fire to the stoas that joined Antonia on their North and West parts (c. ii. 9).
	23	1	
	24	2	Two days after, on the 24th of Panemus, the Romans burn fifteen cubits more of the neighbouring stoa (c. ii. 9).
	25	—	
	26	—	
	27	—	On the 27th the Jews burn the western stoa to entrap the Romans (c. iii. 1).
	28	—	On the next day the Romans burn the northern stoa entirely (c. iii. 2).
	29	—	
	30	—	
	31	—	

Month.	*Day of Month.*		
Loüs	1	—	
(August.)	2	1	For six days the most powerful of all the engines had battered the wall of the Inner Temple without effect (c. iv. 1).
	3	2	
	4	3	
	5	4	
	6	5	
	7	6	
	8	—	On the 8th of Loüs some of the banks being completed, the rams are brought to bear upon the western exedra of the Inner Temple, the north gate is undermined, and the gate set on fire (c. iv. 1. 2).
	9	—	Titus, after holding council with his officers, commands the fire to be quenched (c. iv. 3).
	10	—	On the night of the 10th of Loüs the Temple is fired by the Roman soldiers (c. iv. 5).
	11	—	
	12	—	
	13	—	
	14	—	
	15	—	
	16	—	
	17	—	Titus commands the City to be plundered and burnt and on the next day the Lower City is fired (c. vi. 3).
	18	—	
	19	—	
	20	1	On the 20th Loüs the Romans begin to raise banks against the Upper City (c. viii. 1).
	21	2	
	22	3	
	23	4	
	24	5	
	25	6	
	26	7	
	27	8	
	28	9	
	29	10	The banks are finished in eighteen days, on the 7th of Gorpeius (c. viii. 4).
	30	11	
Gorpeius	1	12	
(Sept.)	2	13	
	3	14	
	4	15	
	5	16	
	6	17	
	7	18	
	8	—	Final conflagration and Conquest of the City (c. viii. 5).

NOTE 7. [p. 161, note 4, & p. 187.]

POPULATION OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM, AND CIRCUIT OF ITS WALLS.

I HAVE subjected myself to some very severe remarks from Mr. Fergusson, for following the statements of Josephus, with reference to the numbers that perished in the City during the siege by Titus. "Chateaubriand, Mr. Williams, and others of the credulous school," he writes, "adopt Josephus's enumeration of the people without inquiry, and then coolly proceed to accommodate a population larger than that of London in a space which in no other city of the world could accommodate 20,000, or 30,000 souls; and this without appealing to one of their favourite miracles to help them." (Essay, pp. 46, 47.)

Josephus "would have us believe that Jerusalem contained at one time or could contain, two millions and a half, or three millions of souls; and that at the siege under Titus, 1,100,000 perished by famine and the sword; 97,000 were taken captive; 40,000 allowed by Titus to go free..... We may on most occasions cut off the last cipher, or divide his numbers by 10, to estimate the population he is speaking of; but even then I believe we shall generally be beyond the mark."

Even Tacitus, who reduces Josephus's statement to about one-fourth, must have been misled by Josephus or some other authority; for "I think it easy to prove," adds Mr. Fergusson, "that there could not have been 600,000 persons in Jerusalem at the time of the siege, nor indeed one-tenth of even that estimate." (Ibid.)

This exhausting process thus proceeds .... "We have in Josephus an enumeration of the fighting-men contained in the City, amounting to 23,400; which would give a population of something under 100,000 souls....But even this I believe to be an exaggeration." (Ibid. p. 48.)

"Were I, from the incidents of the siege, to attempt to guess at the population of Jerusalem, I should be inclined to say that at the commencement the Jews might have mustered about 10,000 fighting-men, and the city consequently may have contained altogether about 40,000 inhabitants;" and then he goes on to argue for this estimate from the ordinary population of modern cities in Europe and Asia. (Ibid. pp. 49—51.)

Now to pass by his personalities, and not to repeat his somewhat vulgar banter, (p. 53. n. 1,) which might well have been spared, when writing on a subject so solemn as that awful visitation, declared by our Lord Himself to be without parallel in the annals of past or future history, (Matt. xxiv. 21); let us cross-examine our witnesses, and test the objections to their credibility.

I am not aware that Josephus furnishes any estimate of the ordinary population of Jerusalem. But another writer does, and his evidence

ought not to have been passed over in considering the question. Hecatæus of Abdera, quoted by Eusebius, (Præp. Evang. ix. iv. p. 408. Gaisford's Ed. Vol. II. p. 351,) after Josephus (c. Apion. I. 23. p. 456,) states the city to be 50 stadia in circumference, with a population of 120,000; *μία δὲ ἡ Ιερουσαλὴμ πόλις ὀχυρὰ, πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἣν οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες*, κ. λ. This is the only statement I have found of the population. Timochares and Aristeas give the circuit of the City as 40 stadia; the Surveyor of Syria as 27 stadia, (sup. p. 77. Eusebii Præp. Evang. ix. 35, 36. p. 452. Gaisford's Ed. Tom. II. p. 433, 4.) Josephus makes the outer wall 33 stadia in circumference; and Titus's wall of circumvallation, 39 stadia. (Bell. Jud. v. iv. 3, and xii. 2.) The attempt (See Vigeri. Not. in Lib. ix. 4. of the Præp. Evang.) made to account for these discrepancies, by supposing them to refer to different periods of the City's history, is inadmissible, because the Syrian Surveyor may have written subsequently to Aristeas and Timochares, as it is certain that Josephus did; and the later measures ought to exceed, instead of fall short of, the earlier. I confess they appear to me irreconcileable.

But to return to the population. Hecatæus, then, who flourished in the reign of the first Ptolemy, (Soter, son of Lagus,) B. C. 305—285, states that in his time Jerusalem contained a population of 120,000. But in the course of the three following centuries the population had so much increased, as to overflow the limits of the old city, and form a large and thickly-peopled suburb on the north which was enclosed with a wall (A. D. 40) by Herod Agrippa, (Bell. Jud. v. iv. 2.)

But at the time of its siege by Titus, the city not only contained its ordinary population: every part of the Holy Land had been in turn the theatre of the war under Vespasian, during several campaigns. Fugitives from all parts—from Samaria, Galilee, Peræa, and Idumæa—had fled for security to Jerusalem. Hence the number of the stated inhabitants of Jerusalem was much larger than before: and I could well believe that Tacitus's statement of 600,000 is intended to express the population of that time. The figure employed by our Lord in predicting these events is wonderfully illustrated by the history. "As a snare (*παγὶς*) shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth." (Luke xxi. 35.) The whole land had been dragged as with a draw-net, when its contracting folds at length encircled Jerusalem.

Again, it was not only the residents at Jerusalem at that time who were involved in the horrors of the siege. The investment surprised multitudes of Jews from all parts of the world congregated at Jerusalem for the celebration of the Passover. (Bell. Jud. v. iii. 1, xiii. 7; VI. ix. 2.) Only a few years previously an official return had been made to Government of the numbers present at that Festival; and a low average-calculation had given the result as upwards of two millions and a half (l. c. sup. p. 161, n. 4); and on another occasion we have

on a rough estimate 3,000,000 present at that solemnity. (l. c. sup. p. 187. n. 6.)

Further, during the progress of the siege, while famine was doing its terrible work in the City—which it commenced from the very first, owing to the unusual concourse at the time (VI. ix. 3,)—one Manneus, son of Lazarus, deserted to the Romans and informed Titus, that during the 75 days of the siege that had already elapsed, 115,880 corpses had been thrown out of one gate, at which he had been stationed to pay the bearers, at the public cost; others were buried by their relations—though, as he adds, the only burial was to cast them out of the city, (Bell Jud. v. xiii. 7,) so that the surrounding valleys were filled with putrefying carcasses, (xii. 4,) a sickening horror even to the Roman general. Other eminent fugitives stated "that 600,000 poor were thrown out at the gates, though still the number of the others could not be discovered." At length they ceased to carry them out, "but laid them on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up there!" (xiii. 7.)

Finally, the historian relates that 97,000 were carried captive during the war, and that 1,100,000 perished during the siege, of whom the greater part were *not citizens of Jerusalem,* but had come thither for the celebration of the feast. And he adds Πολὺ δὲ τοῦτο πλῆθος ἔξωθεν συλλέγεται· τότε γε μὴν ὥσπερ εἰς εἱρκτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης πᾶν συνεκλείσθε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ναστὲν ὁ πόλεμος τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἐκυκλώσατο. (VI. ix. 3, 4.)

So much for the evidence, its authority and witnesses, which I own my regard for historical testimony will not suffer me to gainsay or resist: I must endure the imputation of credulity rather. I cannot, in the first place, accept the testimony of Tacitus in preference to that of Josephus, or regard the credibility of the later historian as greater than that of the earlier, (Essay, p. 47,) who was himself an eye- and ear-witness of the facts which he chronicled. Still less can I think that deductions from statistical data of large cities, in peaceful times, can throw any light at all upon the subject. The results must be wholly fallacious, considering the exceptional circumstances of Jerusalem, at the time of the siege, as above detailed.

Then with respect to the small proportion of citizens that bore arms, it must be remembered that it was by no means a popular war. A great majority of the people were for peace, the zealots of either faction precipitated the war against the better sense of the people, multitudes of whom would have deserted if they could, as many did actually lose their lives in their attempt to escape (see pp.170, 174). In this also Josephus is more trustworthy than Tacitus. And again, it is extremely unlikely that the multitudes who came to celebrate the feast would be prepared for war.

As to the measure assigned to the City by Mr. Fergusson, I am not careful to scrutinize it minutely, or I might add several thousand square yards without trenching on the Temple-area, which, however, was probably occupied. But the extraordinary system of arithmetic adopted

by Mr. Fergusson must not be expected to give very accurate results: nor need we believe that one whose calculations make $437 \times 145 = 58{,}300$, and $58{,}300 + 10{,}000 = 74{,}500$, has purposely understated the area. (Principles of Beauty in Art, p. 217). But the question is not how many Jerusalem could accommodate, but how many could be crowded into it. I do not suppose that all occupied the ground-floor, as Mr. Fergusson seems to imagine, and I apprehend that the most densely-peopled parts of our own metropolis, where several families frequently occupy one room, would form a much closer parallel to the state of the besieged than the comparisons instituted by Mr. Fergusson.

Lastly, as regards the accommodation of the besieged, I have no reason to believe that they were accommodated; but rather that they were terribly inconvenienced by being reduced to such close quarters; albeit the fearful effects of war and famine soon allowed the survivors space enough and to spare.

I know not why we should attempt to soften the awful terrors of that fearful doom, foreshadowing as it did the final doom: No need to exaggerate them! A Christian writer might perhaps have been suspected, Josephus had no object in doing so. Providence wonderfully raised up this impartial witness to the completion of our Lord's predictions, and has preserved his records to our times. Our wisdom will be to treasure them as a heaven-sent gift, not to despise or depreciate them. We may leave that for Infidels. This is no place for the investigation of his moral qualities as manifested in his private character or public actions. Perhaps he was a time-server and a servile flatterer, as other historians have been: But this I say, that the more carefully his statements are tested, the more clearly does their accuracy come to light: for full proof of which I need only refer to Notes 2 and 6 in this Appendix: and it affords me much gratification to fortify my own testimony concerning this much-wronged historian (Vol. II. p. 412) by that of an independent witness, than whom no one is better qualified to judge of his merits. This is my friend Dr. Schultz, who introduces his description of ancient Jerusalem with the remark that our principal informant is Flavius Josephus, "so often attacked with great injustice, as I believe, for want of veracity,"—"der wegen Mangel an Wahrhaftigkeit neie ich glaube, mit grossem Unrecht so oft Angefochtene Flavius Josephus." Jerusalem, p. 52.

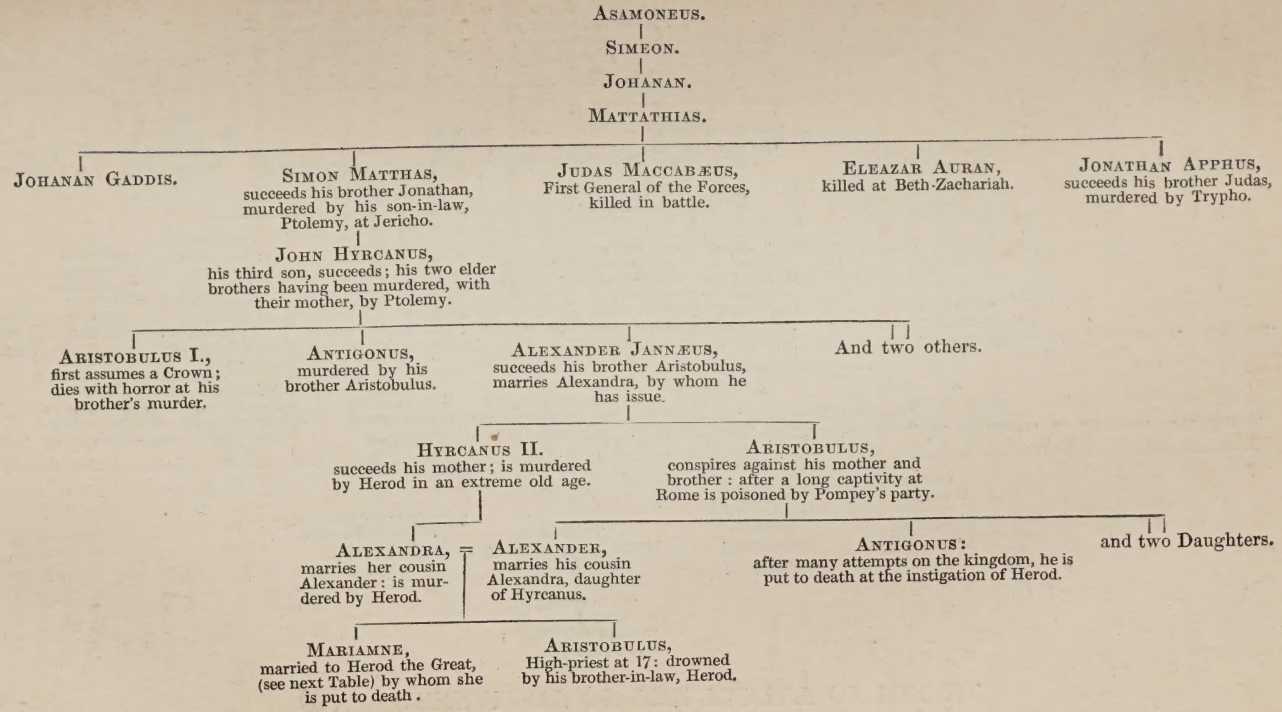
NOTE 8.

GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

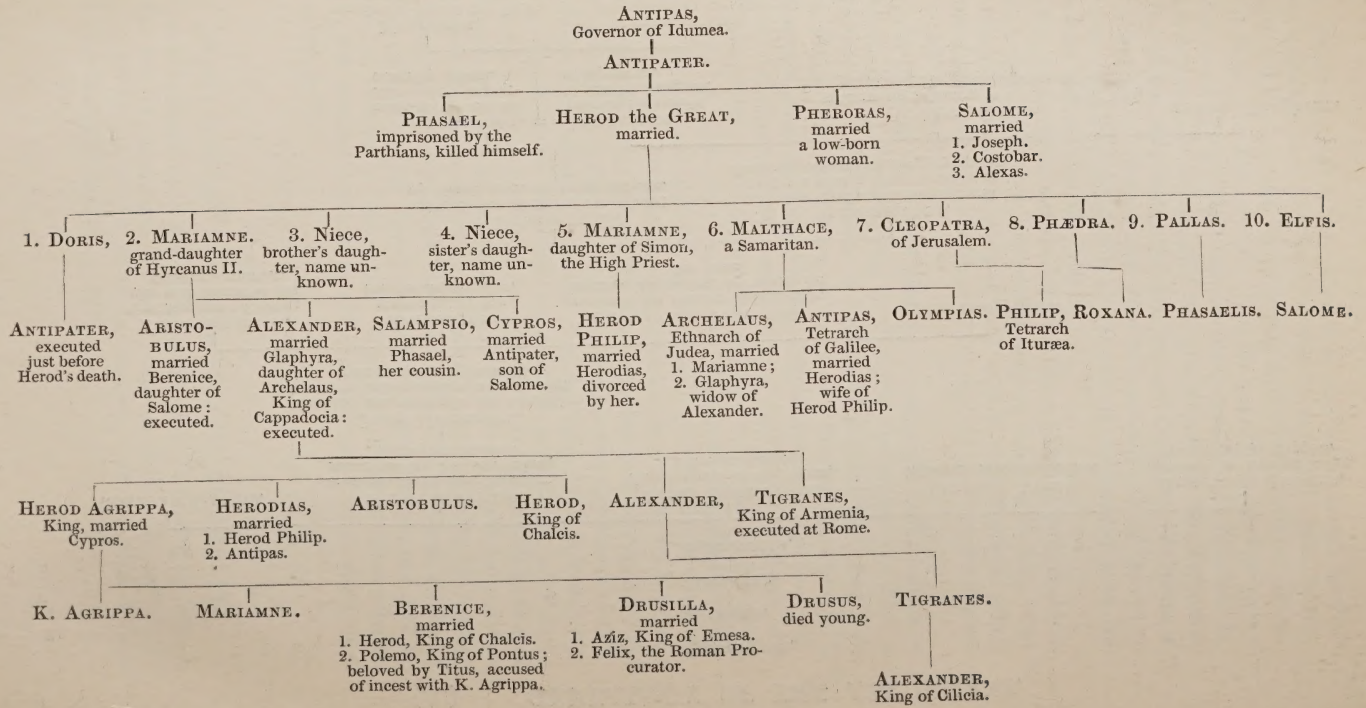
The following Tables may be found useful as illustrating the history.

The first (A.) is original, compiled from Josephus. The second (B.) is borrowed from Milman's *History of the Jews*, Vol. II. p. 129, who has translated Reland (Palæstina, p. 174).

(A.) GENEALOGY OF THE ASMONEANS.


ASAMONEUS.
SIMEON.
JOHANAN.
MATTATHIAS.
JOHANAN GADDIS.
SIMON MATTHAS, succeeds his brother Jonathan, murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemy, at Jericho.
JUDAS MACCABÆUS, First General of the Forces, killed in battle.
ELEAZAR AURAN, killed at Beth-Zachariah.
JONATHAN APPHUS, succeeds his brother Judas, murdered by Trypho.
JOHN HYRCANUS, his third son, succeeds; his two elder brothers having been murdered, with their mother, by Ptolemy.
ARISTOBULUS I., first assumes a Crown; dies with horror at his brother's murder.
ANTIGONUS, murdered by his brother Aristobulus.
ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, succeeds his brother Aristobulus, marries Alexandra, by whom he has issue.
And two others.
HYRCANUS II. succeeds his mother; is murdered by Herod in an extreme old age.
ARISTOBULUS, conspires against his mother and brother: after a long captivity at Rome is poisoned by Pompey's party.
ALEXANDRA, marries her cousin Alexander: is murdered by Herod.
ALEXANDER, marries his cousin Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus.
ANTIGONUS: after many attempts on the kingdom, he is put to death at the instigation of Herod.
and two Daughters.
MARIAMNE, married to Herod the Great, (see next Table) by whom she is put to death.
ARISTOBULUS, High-priest at 17: drowned by his brother-in-law, Herod.

(B.) GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF HEROD.


ANTIPAS, Governor of Idumea.
ANTIPATER.
PHASAEL, imprisoned by the Parthians, killed himself.
HEROD the GREAT, married.
PHEROras, married a low-born woman.
SALOME, married 1. Joseph. 2. Costobar. 3. Alexas.
1. DORIS,
2. MARIAMNE. grand-daughter of Hyrcanus II.
3. Niece, brother's daughter, name unknown.
4. Niece, sister's daughter, name unknown.
5. MARIAMNE, daughter of Simon, the High Priest.
6. MALTHACE, a Samaritan.
7. CLEOPATRA, of Jerusalem.
8. PHÆDRA.
9. PALLAS.
10. ELFIS.
ANTIPATER, executed just before Herod's death.
ARISTOBULUS, married Berenice, daughter of Salome: executed.
ALEXANDER, married Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia: executed.
SALAMPSIO, married Phasael, her cousin.
CYPROS, married Antipater, son of Salome.
HEROD PHILIP, married Herodias, divorced by her.
ARCHELAUS, Ethnarch of Judea, married 1. Mariamne; 2. Glaphyra, widow of Alexander.
ANTIPAS, Tetrarch of Galilee, married Herodias; wife of Herod Philip.
OLYMPIAS.
PHILIP, Tetrarch of Ituræa.
ROXANA.
PHASAELIS.
SALOME.
HEROD AGRIPPA, King, married Cypros.
HERODIAS, married 1. Herod Philip. 2. Antipas.
ARISTOBULUS.
HEROD, King of Chalcis.
ALEXANDER,
TIGRANES, King of Armenia, executed at Rome.
K. AGRIPPA.
MARIAMNE.
BERENICE, married 1. Herod, King of Chalcis. 2. Polemo, King of Pontus; beloved by Titus, accused of incest with K. Agrippa.
DRUSILLA, married 1. Aziz, King of Emesa. 2. Felix, the Roman Procurator.
DRUSUS, died young.
TIGRANES.
ALEXANDER, King of Cilicia.

(C.) Government of Judæa from the Death of Herod the Great until the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

[Compiled from Greswell's Dissertations, &c. Vol. IV. Part II. pp. 735, 6, 8.]

B.C. *Emperors.*	B.C. *Tetrarch.*	B.C. *High Priests.*
31 Augustus.	4 Archelaus.	3 Eleazar, son of Boethus.
		A.D.
		? Jesus, son of Sie.
	A.D. *Procurators.*	? Joazar, son of Boethus.
	7 Coponius.	7 Ananus, son of Seth.
	10 Marcus Ambivius.	22 Ismael, son of Phabi.
A.D.	13 Annius Rufus.	24 Eleazar, son of Ananus.
14 Tiberius.	15 Valerius Gratus.	25 Simon, son of Camithus.
	26 Pontius Pilatus.	26 Josephus or Caiaphas.
	36 Marcellus.	
37 Caligula.	37 Maryllus.	37 Jonathan, son of Ananus.
		... Theophilus, son of Ananus.
		41 Simon Cantheras, s. of Boethus.
		42 Matthias, son of Ananus.
		43 Elionæus, son of Cantheras.
	44 Cuspius Fadus.	44 Josephus, son of Cami.
	46 Tiberius Alexander.	46 Ananias, son of Nebedæus.
	48 Ventidius Cumanus.	49 Jonathan, son of Ananus.
54 Nero.	50 Antonius Felix.	56 Ismael, son of Phabei.
	58 Porcius Festus.	61 Josephus Cabi, son of Simon.
	62 Albinus.	62 Ananus, son of Ananus.
68 Galba.	64 Gessius Florus.	... Jesus, son of Damnæus.
69 Otho,	70 M. Antonius Julianus.	63 Jesus, son of Gamaliel.
... Vitellius,		65 Matthias, son of Theophilus.
... Vespasian.	72 Liberius Maximus.	67 Phannias, son of Samuel.

(D.) Episcopal Succession in the See of Jerusalem.

[Le Quien's Oriens Christianus, Tom. III.]

The Heretical Intruders are in Italics.

A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
c. 30 S. James the Just.	Joseph I.	Caius II.
c. 60 S. Simeon.	Judas II.	Julian II.
c. 107 Justus, or Judas I.		Capito.
c. 111 Zacchæus.	Here ends the line of the Circumcision.	*c.* 185 Maximus II.
Tobias.		Antonius.
Benjamin.		Valens.
John I.	*c.* 135 Marcus.	Dolichianus.
Matthias.	*c.* 156 Cassian.	Narcissus.
Philip.	Publius.	Germanion.
c. 125 Seneca.	Maximus I.	Gordius.
Justus II.	Julian I.	212 Alexander.
Levi.	Caius I.	250 Mazabanes.
Ephraim.	Symmachus.	265 Hymenæus.

A.D.
298 Zambdas.
302 Hermon.
313 Macarius I.
c. 335 Maximus III.
351 S. Cyril.
Eutychius.
Irenæus.
Hilarius.
387 John II.
417 Praylius.
c. 420 Juvenal.
Theodosius.
458 Anastasius.
478 Martyrius.
486 Salustius.
494 Elias I.
513 John III.
524 Peter.
c. 544 Eustochius.
563 Macarius II.
574 John IV.
593 Amos.
600 Isacius.
609 Zacharias.
631 Modestus.
633 Sophronius.

On his death, *c.* 644, the See remained vacant until

705 John V.
752 Theodorus I.
c. 770 Eusebius. (?)
c. 787 Elias.
Theodorus.
c. 799 Georgius, or Sergius.
c. 807 Thomas.
c. 829 Basil.
842 Sergius.
c. 858 Salomon.

A.D.
c. 863 Theodosius, or Theodorus.
879 Elias III.
907 Sergius II.
911 Leontius, or Leo.
927 Anastasius, or Athanasius I.
c. 937 Christophorus, or Christodulus I.
Agatho.
ob. 969 John VI.
Christophorus, or Christodulus II.
Thomas II.
Joseph II.
c. 980 Alexander II.
c. 990 Agapius.
c. 1000 Jeremiah, or Orestes.
c. 1010 Theophilus.
c. 1020 Arsenius.
Jordanus.
c. 1048 Nicephorus.
Mennas. (?)
c. 1059 Sophronius II.
Marcus II. (?)
Euthymius.
c. 1094 Simeon II.
1099 Sabbas.
Eucherius I. (?)
Macarius. (?)
James II.
c. 1146 Arsenius II.
c. 1156 John VII. or Nicolaus.
c. 1166 Niceporus II.
c. 1187 Athanasius II.
Leontius II.
Dositheus I.

A.D.
1193 Marcus II.
c. 1200 Theophanes I.
Gregory II.
Athanasius III.
c. 1298 Thaddæus.
Sophronius III.
Athanasius IV.
Gabriel Brula.
c. 1330 Lazarus.
Gerasimus.
c. 1370 Sophronius IV.
1386 Dorotheus I.
Theophilus II.
c. 1420 Theophanes II.
c. 1431 Joachim.
Theophanes III.
c. 1460 Abraham.
1468 James III.
1482 Marcus III.
Gregory III. (36 years.)
Dorotheus II. (43 years.)
Germanus.
1579 Sophronius V.
1608 Theophanes IV.
1646 Paisius.
1660 Nectarius.
1672 Dositheus II.
1707 Chrysanthus.
1733 Meletius.
1737 Parthenius.
1766 Ephraim II.
1771 Sophronius VI.
1775 Abraham.
1787 Procopius.
1788 Anthymus.
1808 Polycarp.
1827 Athanasius III.
1844 Cyril II. the present Patriarch.

Latin Succession during the Frank Kingdom.

A.D.
1099 Arnulphus (Vicar)
Daimbertus, s. Dagobertus.
1107 Gebelinus.
1111 Arnulphus.
1118 Gormundus.

A.D.
1128 Stephanus.
1130 Willelmus.
1146 Fulcherus.
1157 Amalricus.
1180 Eraclius.

NOTE 9.

EARLY BISHOPS OF JERUSALEM.

In p. 203, note 3, (p. 129. n. 3, 1st Ed.) I have commented on a misrepresentation by Dr. Robinson of the testimony of Eusebius, with reference to the Succession of Bishops in the Church of Jerusalem, and in Vol. II. p. 444, n. 2, (p. 371. n. 4, 1st Ed.) I have charged him with the same treatment of Lightfoot. In the Theological Review for 1846, (p. 414, n. 2.) Dr. Robinson thus notices my charges: "This author, in two instances, charges me with perverting or misrepresenting the statements of Eusebius and of Lightfoot. If the reader takes interest enough to examine the original language of these two writers (not Mr. W.'s paraphrase of Eusebius, nor another man's index to Lightfoot,) he will find that the charge of misrepresentation falls only on the head of him who made it."

The grounds of the charge, as regards Lightfoot, will be found in a supplementary note to Vol. II. p. 609, n. 3. I must here substantiate what I have advanced concerning Dr. Robinson's treatment of Eusebius, and clear myself from his retaliation.

Dr. Robinson says, "The regular succession of Bishops, from the time of St. James to the reign of Adrian, is also a matter of less certainty than is here represented [i. e. by Chateaubriand and others]. Eusebius, *the only authority on the subject*, lived two centuries afterwards; and *says expressly, that he had been able to find no document respecting them, and wrote only from report.*" Bib. Res. Vol. II. p. 73. In proof of this, he refers (in n. 1) to Hist. Ecc. IV. 5, where occurs the following passage. Τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ ζωζομένους οὐδαμῶς εὗρον· κομιδῇ γὰρ οὖν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι· τοσοῦτον δ' ἐξ ἐγγράφων παρείληφα, ὡς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας, πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτόθι γεγόνασιν ἐπισκόπων διαδοχαί· οὓς πάντας Ἑβραίους φασὶν ὄντας ἀνέκαθεν, τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησιώς καταδέξασθαι, κ. λ. What Dr. Robinson is pleased to call my paraphrase is copied verbatim from the only translation I had access to (Cambridge, A.D. 1683), which I adopted expressly for the purpose of avoiding this odious imputation. That it is as literal a version as the language admits of, may be seen by comparing the original above cited with the English given at p. 203, n. 3. These ἔγγραφαι are called διαδοχαὶ in Lib. V. xii. where see Valesius's note, and his further remarks in his dissertation on the Roman Martyrology, (p. 792 of Reading's Edition,) and the citation from Tertullian. Bishop Pearson, however, thinks that Valesius builds too much on these two passages; on the former of which he remarks. "Ecce quindecim Episcoporum αὐτόθι διαδοχὰς scriptas sane sed à nescio quo; et in eo scripto numerum quidem et nomina conservata sed præterea nihil. Eorum enim tempora sive annos aut obitus, nullibi reperit scripto conservatos Eusebius." De successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum, cap. II. sect. ii. (Churton's Ed. Vol. II. p. 303, cited also in Reading's Eusebius,

p. 223,) where the question is fully examined. It is perfectly clear from these passages, and from the citations from Hegesippus, that Eusebius had documentary evidence for the names and order of the Bishops of Jerusalem, though not for their periods. How then has not Dr. Robinson misrepresented Eusebius? and how have I misrepresented Dr. Robinson? Compare Eusebii Demonstrationis Evangelicæ, Lib. III. cap. v. where we have a reference to a history of the Church of Jerusalem, proving that he did not write "only from report."

NOTE 10.

PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM. (See pp. 273 and 384.)

As the industry of the very learned Reland, (Palæstina, Lib. I. cap. xxxv. pp. 214, &c.) and the research of the laborious Le Quien, (O. C. Tom. III.) have done all that can be done for the illustration of this subject in former times, I am happy to be able to furnish the particulars of the present ecclesiastical position of the Patriarchate and its subject Sees, in the following translation of a "Description of the Boundaries of the Apostolic See of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and of the Dioceses subject to him; composed by the command of the most blessed Patriarch, by his Secretary, the Monk Anthymus, in Jerusalem, 1838." General Noroff has kindly placed the venerable Secretary's autograph at my disposal.

N. B. I have put in Italics such names as I have not been able to discover in Maps, or in Mr. Eli Smith's Tables in the Appendix to Vol. III. of the Biblical Researches, by which I have corrected the orthography, which had suffered materially in its passage from Arabic to Greek.

GENERAL BOUNDARIES.

The Patriarchal See of Jerusalem, and the Dioceses subject unto it, are included in the following ancient Provinces.

I. Phœnicia or Libanisia. It commences from Mount Lebanon, and extends to the river Eleutherus, near Gaza. [A mistake: for the River Eleutherus is Nahr Zerka, near Cæsarea].

II. Palestine or Philistia. The plain which commences at Cæsarea, and terminates at Larissa of Egypt (el-Arish), it also includes the mountains of Judæa.

III. Judæa. This mountainous district commences at the *Valley Allûn* [probably Wady el-'Ain], in which lies Taiyibeh, and extends to Bîr es-Sebá, on the way that leads to the desert towards Suez, one day's journey above Gaza.

IV. Idumæa. Which extends from the southern shore of the Dead Sea to the Wilderness of Paran, towards the south-west.

V. Samaria. A mountainous district from the Valley of Besor to the village of Jenîn towards Scythopolis (Beisân).

VI. Galilee, extends from Scythopolis to the fountain of Dan, which is Cæsarea Philippi (Bâniâs), and the region of Antilibanus, in length; and, in breadth, from Mount Carmel to the boundaries of Syria and Arabia, i. e. Auranitis or the Hourán. It is divided into Upper Galilee —of the Gentiles; and Lower Galilee, which is Nazareth and its vicinity.

VII. Arabia Petræa. The mountains beyond Jordan extending northwards from the Red Sea to Antilibanus. Mount Sinai is included in it.

I. *The Dioceses of the Patriarch.*

The Diocese of the Patriarch of Jerusalem lies in the middle of these ancient provinces, as a central point. It begins at Ramleh, and making a circle to the north, terminates with the River Jordan. A hundred places are included in it, but Christians live in only eight of them.

	Orthodox Inhabitants.	Native Priests.	Native Churches.
Jerusalem	600	6	The Ointment-bearers, and S. Mary Magdalene.
Ramleh	300	2	S. George.
Beit-Jâla, 200 families	*c.* 1000	4	S. Nicholas.
Râm-Ullah, 200 families	*c.* 1000	3	S. Mary the Virgin.
Bîr	5 (attend at Râm-Ullah).		Large Church in ruins.
'Ain-'Arîk, 30 families	*c.* 150	(no priest, but a church served from Râm-Ullah).	
Taiyibeh	200	2	S. George.
Rŭmmôn	5		A ruined Church—attend Taiyibeh.
Jifna, more than 400 families	= 2000	2	S. George.
Bîr-ez-Zeit	50	1	A Church
Sanie (es-Sâmieh), 10 families	= 50		No Church.

II. *Cæsarea of Palestine. The First See.*

The boundaries of this Diocese extend in length from the Plains of Haifa on the sea-shore to Antipatris (Arsûf?), and in breadth from the Mediterranean to the mountains of Samaria. Mount Carmel is included in them.

Haifa..... 30 Orthodox Families = 150 souls.

III. *Scythopolis. The Second See.*

This Diocese extends in length from Mount Carmel to the Jordan, and in breadth from the Sea of Tiberias and the brook Kishon

on the south, to the mountains of Samaria. The villages containing Christians are as follows:

	Families.	Orthodox Inhabitants.	
Jenîn	20	= 100	No resident Priest, but a Church.
Burkin	100	= 500	A Priest, and a Church.
Kefr-Kud	20	= 100	No Priest, and no Church.
Zâbata	30	= 150	No Priest, but a Church.
Jezreel (Zerîn) ...	10	= 50	No Priest, (ruined Church).
Nain	2	= 10	No Church.

IV. *Petra of Arabia. The Third See.*

This Diocese begins at the northern coast of the Dead Sea, and extends to the eastern parts of the desert of Arabia, then compassing on the south the desert and the mountains of Moab, it reaches the Red Sea, and includes Mount Sinai; then returns to the southern shore of the Dead Sea, where its limits terminate with the Diocese of Bethlehem. The village of Kerak alone contains any Christians.

About forty years ago the Arabs took the place and murdered all the inhabitants except the Orthodox, who having there enjoyed an unusual degree of liberty, had increased in numbers, and had a Church under the invocation of St George, and two Priests. In 1834 it was taken by Ibrahim Pasha, who transferred the Christians to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Two years since they were allowed to return to Kerak, but war and emigration had reduced their numbers to 200 families, who have neither Church nor Priest. We have endeavoured to supply these deficiencies.

V. *Ptolemais. The Fourth See.*

This Diocese is situated in Phœnicia and beginning from the maritime village of ez-Zîb, extends eastward to the summit of Mount Rammon, to the south of which is situated the village Ram (er-Râmeh): thence it turns to the south-west, and terminates at the mouth of the river Kishon, near Haipha. The bishop Procopius, who resides in a monastery in the town, exercises jurisdiction over the Christians in the following villages. He is also in the habit of visiting other Dioceses as Exarch, confirming the orthodox in their faith, and inspecting their Churches.

	Families.	Souls.	
Ptolemais or Acre...	100	= 500	A Priest, and Church of S. George.
Ebraweh	100	= 500	A Priest.
Shâib	25	= 125	A Priest.
El-Mekr	12	= 60	Attend Divine Service in other villages.
Kefr Yâsif	300	= 1500	A Priest, and a Church.
Abu Senân	60	= 300	A Priest, and a Church.
El-Bŭssah		20	A Priest, and a Church
Sach-Matta (? 'Amkah)		20	A Priest, and a Church.
Dar Secha (probably Yerka)		20	A Priest, and a Church.

The following villages lie on the hill side, and are called "Jebel Safed :"

	Families.	Souls.	
Fkeaa, (? El Bukeiah)		130	A Priest, and a Church.
Makhus	5	= 25	No Priest, a Church cut in the solid rock.
Er-Râmeh	...	400	A Priest, and a Church.
Sŭkhnîn	...	30	A Priest, and a Church.
El-Bâneh	...	300	A Priest, and a Church.

VI. *Bethlehem. The Fifth See.*

The boundaries of the Diocese of Bethlehem are as follow: Beginning from the valley which lies near the city of Bethlehem to the north, they extend to the east as far as the Dead Sea; from thence they pass to the south, including the whole of Idumæa and Judæa Proper, (Jebel-Khŭlîl,) and turning to the west, extend to the north, embracing all the mountains of Judæa to the *Brook Etham.* They terminate to the east at the village of *Beletza*, called in ancient times Bezek; and from thence pass through the valley and the brook of Bethlehem to the city itself. The bishop Dositheus resides in the convent at Bethlehem. The orthodox Christians are,

	Orthodox.	
Bethlehem.....	280	Three Priests, and a Church.
The Shepherds' Village	60	A Priest. Church in ruins.

VII. *Nazareth. The Sixth See.*

The boundaries begin at that city, and extend to the large Wady on the west, between Nazareth and Ptolemais; thence they pass to the western base of Mount Tabor, and return westward direct to Nazareth, forming a kind of triangle.

	Orthodox.	
Nazareth.....	1000	Two Priests, and a Church.
A'bilîn	400	Two Priests, and a Church.
Yâfa	400	One Priest, and a Church.
Ma'lûl, 60 families	= 300	A Church.
Er-Reineh.....	500	One Priest, and a Church.
Kefr Kenna	100	One Priest, and a Church.

N. B. This last is a peculiar of the Patriarch.

VIII. *Lydda. The Seventh See.*

Commencing from Lydda, the boundaries extend directly east of the village till they reach the village 'Abûd, from whence they turn directly north, having the mountains of Samaria on the right, and extend as far as *Mount Urkan;* after this, turning to the west through a valley, they approach the mountains of Ephraim, and from thence again reach Lydda.

	Orthodox.	
Lydda.....	100	Two Priests, and a Church.
'Abûd	150	Two Priests, and a Church.

IX. *Gaza. The Eighth See.*

The boundaries of the Diocese of Gaza commence from the river Rûbîn, and extend south to the river Azmon, otherwise called Rinocorura, and the River of Egypt (Wady el 'Arîsh). This river separates the Patriarchate of Jerusalem from that of Alexandria; extending themselves hence to the east as far as the mountains of Judæa and Idumæa, and afterwards to the north, the boundaries terminate near the sources of the River Rûbîn, from whence they commenced. Christians are found only in Gaza.

Gaza..... 30 families = 150 souls. A Priest, and a Church.

X. *Sinai. The Ninth See.*

Mount Sinai depends on the Patriarchal See of Jerusalem. The Archbishop of Sinai is consecrated in Jerusalem, as are all the Archbishops dependent on the Patriarch; their Deacons and Priests also come to Jerusalem for ordination.

(The boundaries and villages of this See are not described.)

XI. *Joppa. The Tenth See.*

This Diocese is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean, on the east by Ramleh and Lydda, on the north by Antipatris (Arsûf?) and the brook which falls into the sea close by, on the south by the River Rûbîn. There are no villages inhabited by Christians.

Jaffa contains 300 Orthodox, a Priest, and Church of St George.

XII. *Neapolis (Nablouse). The Eleventh See.*

The boundaries of this Diocese commence, on the south, at a large valley behind Jifna, and reach to 'Abûd, following the brook that flows into the Jordan On the east it has the plain of Jericho, on the west the large plain of Palestine; it borders on the Dioceses of Lydda and Cæsarea, and to the north on that of Sebastîeh, being separated from it by a great and dry valley, distant one hour's journey from Sebastîeh.

	Orthodox.	
Nablouse.....	300	Two Priests, and Church, St Demetrius.
Rufidia	200	A Priest, and a Church.
Faraon.....	40	No Priest, and no Church.

XIII. *Sebastia. The Twelfth See.*

Bounded on the east by the plains of Jordan, on the west by the extremity of the tribe of Ephraim, where Samaria also terminates; on the south by the large valley between Sabastia and Nablouse; on the north by the fortress of Sanur, and the village of Kûbâtîyeh.

	Orthodox.	
Nuss Ijbîn	200	A Priest, and a Church.
Beit Imrîn.....	50	A Priest, and a Church.
Ijnisnia	60	No Priest or Church.

XIV. *Tabor. The Thirteenth See.*

This Diocese commences at the western foot of the Holy Mountain of that name, and extends eastward to the Sea of Tiberias. On the right is the great river Kishon, on the left, to the north, the hills of Safed.

	Orthodox.	
Mezetel	40	A Priest, and a Church.
Es-Shajrah	60	A Priest, and a Church.
'Aulâm, or Ulama	250	A Priest, and a Church.

XV. *Philadelphia. The Fourteenth See.*

The Bishop of Philadelphia is subject to the Metropolitan of Petra This Diocese is bounded by the hills beyond Jordan, separated towards the north by the River Jabbok (Wady Zŭrka), and to the south by the River Arnon (Wady el-Môjeb).

	Orthodox.	
Es-Salt	400	A Priest, and a Church.

There are many villages in this Diocese, but few are inhabited by Christians, of whom there are not more than from five to ten families in a place.

We should here remark, that all the Priests who are ordained to the above-named villages, receive from the Patriarch a band for the head, and all the utensils, from the first to the last, required for the Divine Service.

NOTE 11. [pp. 298, 9.]

THE HOLY COAT OF TREVES.

The history of the Holy Coat of Trèves is a curious instance of the authority which worthless traditions acquired in the process of ages. It is but a specimen of a very numerous class, and only more remarkable than others on account of the attention which it lately attracted, and the convulsion to which it gave occasion in Germany.

There is actually no notice of this relic in the western annals earlier than that adduced in the text, and its subsequent history is involved in great obscurity. Even the notice in Lib. I. cap. viii. of S. Gregory de Gloriâ Martyrum, (which is of uncertain date, only certainly spurious,) is inconsistent with the Chronicle of Fredegarius cited in the text, (S. Gregorii, Op. Col. VII. 29, 30. Ed. Bened.) The pseudo-Gregory says that "he had heard that the seamless coat is kept in the Basilica of the Archangels, in the city of Galathea, which is 150 miles distant from Constantinople. In this basilica is a most secret crypt, in which is this garment shut up in a wooden chest." The Benedictine editor, Ruinart, suggests that the province Galatia is intended by the name of the city, which does not occur elsewhere (note c. in loc.) He also mentions that this relic was brought to France in the time of Char-

lemagne, and deposited at Argenteuil, in the department of Paris, where Gisela, sister of Charlemagne, and her daughter Theodrada, were living as nuns. "Demum cum diu ob bellorum tumultus latuisset sub sæculi 12 medium inventa est"—a pretty considerable interval! It was then exhibited with great solemnity before Louis the young and his princes, by Hugo, Archbishop of Rouen, in A. D. 1156, and thenceforward the Church of Argenteuil, where the relic remained in the custody of the Benedictines, became a favourite place of pilgrimage. Ruinart refers to a treatise on the subject, by Gabriel Gerberon, edited at Paris, in 1677, which I have not been able to meet with.

This relic, however, has no connexion with that at Trèves, of which I believe there is no early tradition: it was simply found there; and, as usual, palmed upon S. Helena. It was, however, declared genuine by Pope Leo X. in a bull, dated January 6th, 1514. Gregory XVI. subsequently pronounced the same of that at Argenteuil! Drs. J. Gildemeister and H. von Sybel published a learned historical enquiry concerning "the Holy Coat of Trèves, and *twenty other* holy seamless Coats," (Bonn, 1845,) which has exhausted the subject.

Meanwhile, the Georgians had been in uninterrupted possession of a much more venerable tradition and relic, dating as far back as the conversion of their country to the Faith of Christ, for which see Vol. II. pp. 549, 50. The story was this. According to the Georgian and Armenian historians, the Israelites had become settled in Georgia before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, no doubt on the deportation of the ten tribes. (See also to the same effect Moses Chorensis, Hist. Lib. I. cap. viii. sect. 22.) "A young Georgian Jew, named Elios, one of the soldiers who watched at the Cross,—the same that obtained possession by lot of the seamless coat of our Lord, afterwards retired to the city of Mtskétha, in Georgia, and carried the garment thither with him. The fame of the miracles performed by it, as well as the diffusion of the beneficent doctrines of Christ throughout the world, reached the Iberians and Jews of Mtskétha and prepared the heathen hearts of the former for the reception of the Gospel." Jossilian's Georgian History, translated by Mr. Blackmore (in MS.) p. 6, and notes. A Cathedral was afterwards built at the place signalized by the miracles of this relic, and Mtskétha became and continued the capital of the religion of Georgia.

On the accession of the dynasty of Bagration, towards the close of the seventh century, the seamless coat was introduced into the insignia of the Georgian kingdom, with other devices, (described in Vol. II. p. 551,) and retained its place in the arms until the extinction of the kingdom in this century. Around the coat was the legend, "Now the coat was without seam, &c." John xix. 23.

M. Jossilian refers to other traditions utterly irreconcilable with this, which is certainly the earliest and best authenticated, being so identified with the religious history of the Georgian nation.

[SUPPLEMENT.]

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE MEMOIR

[ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY.]

SUPPLEMENT.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. *Former Plans of Jerusalem.*

A COMPLETE history of the Chartography of the Holy City would require a somewhat detailed notice of the arts of Drawing and Engraving from their earliest infancy to the present day; for in all ages these arts have done their best for Jerusalem. A dissertation of this extent, however, is not contemplated in this Memoir; but merely such a sketch of the subject as may demonstrate the necessity that has existed for an accurate Plan, such as it is my privilege to make public.

The earliest endeavours to picture the sacred places of the Holy City, and to aid the descriptions of travellers, which, however graphic, must always fail to convey an adequate idea of the realities, were as rude as the science of engineering and the art of engraving. The worthy authors, who seem never to have contemplated the possibility of illustrating their subject by plans, had recourse to bird's-eye views, according to the conventional modes of drawing employed before the laws of perspective were developed, and which certainly contrived to embrace all that was most important, but did not serve to convey a very accurate idea of the places pourtrayed, inasmuch as the topographical and architectural details were tortured, to render the *coup-d'œil* as complete and imposing as possible. Brey-

denbach[1] challenges to himself the first place for this kind of illustration; his general view of the City from the Mount of Olives, and the more detailed drawings of particular buildings, are works of great merit, much more free from the errors and defects just noticed than many subsequent productions.

The most unfortunate of all the illustrations of this character, were the attempts to restore the ancient City, of whose signal failures the works of Adrichomius[2], Villalpandus[3], Lightfoot[4], and others, contain the lasting memorials. Neither did Quaresmius[5] improve upon these rough guesses, as his intimate acquaintance with the City might have enabled him to do; and such was the authority acquired by these absurd views, that so lately as 1844, a beautiful reprint of the plan of Adrichomius, with its full complement of fanciful hills and valleys and impossible bridges, was re-edited at Brussels, by a learned dignitary of the Belgian Church[6], and actually found a trumpeter in a French writer who had visited Jerusalem[7].

A considerable advance in the illustration of the

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[1] Bernh. de Breydenbach, (travelled 1483—4) *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, &c. Mogunt. 1486.

[2] Christ. Adrichomius, (died 1585,) *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, &c. Colon. Agrippa, fol. 1590, 1593, 1600, 1613, 1628, 1682.

[3] J. B. Villalpandus, p. 73, of the *Apparatus Urbis ac Templi Hierosolymitani*, forming Tom. III. of his Explanations of Ezekiel, printed also in the Prolegomena to Walton's Polyglott, Tom. I. p. 38.

[4] Lightfoot's Chorographical Century, Chap. xxx. Works, Vol. x. p. 44.

[5] F. Quaresmii, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, (written A. D. 1616—1625,) Antv. 1639. In Vol. II. p. 39, he gives the restorations of Villalpandus and Brocardus (which are nearly identical) at one view. His own restoration of Mount Calvary, &c., at p. 448, is somewhat better.

[6] *Plan de Jérusalem et de ses Faubourgs*, par l'Abbé André Dupuis. Bruxelles, 1844. The accompanying *Histoire* is really a work of much merit.

[7] *Histoire de Jérusalem*, par M. Poujoulat, Tome II. p. 197, n. 2.

Holy City was made by the Franciscan Bernardino, (A. D. 1516); and his *Trattato* has been very justly esteemed for its complete set of plans and sections of the principal sacred edifices in and about Jerusalem[8]. Viewed as an architectural work, it is much better than could be expected for the time, and his minute statements of measurements, whenever fairly tested, have proved singularly accurate[9]. His view of the modern City from the Mount of Olives is not equal to his more detailed drawings of particular buildings, but his restoration of the ancient City pays more regard to the actual formation of the ground than those of his predecessors, and does not attempt the identification of so many sites. It is however replete with errors, owing mainly to his attempt to reconcile the then received notions of old Jerusalem, originated by Brocardus, with the existing features of the City, without a sufficient acquaintance with Josephus—almost the sole authority on the subject.

To John Zuallart, the Fleming, (A. D. 1586,) belongs the merit of the first endeavour to lay down a geometrical plan of the City[10]: but the survey was very partial, being confined almost exclusively to the *Via Dolorosa*, which was plotted only by eye, without any apparent regard to accurate measurement. Besides which, the continuity of the plan was broken by the adoption of a scale disproportionate to the width of his page, and the occasional disadjustment of the parts served still further

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[8] *Trattato delle Piante et Imagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Santa designate in Jerusalemme*, (*cir.* 1516) dal R. P. T. Bernardino, &c., Roma, 1603. Firenza, 1620.

[9] His elevations, however, must be used with caution. See H. C. Vol. II. pp. 285, 6.

[10] Jean Zuallart, al. Giovanni Zuallard, (travelled in 1580). *Il devotissimo Viaggio de Gierusalemme*, &c. Roma, 1587; much enlarged in French, Anvers, 1608.

to perplex the matter. His illustrations, however, such as they were, seem to have become very popular, and the plates did good service, being found not only in the Italian, French, and German editions of his Travels, but also in the Itinerary of Cotovicus, published at Antwerp, (A. D. 1619), and in the English original, and in the Dutch and German translations of Sandys' Travels.

The next step in the Chartography of the Holy City can scarcely be said to be one in advance, it was perhaps retrograde. The plans which accompanied Shaw's Travels, (A. D. 1738), and Pococke's Description of the East (A. D. 1743-8), were decidedly inferior to some executed in the preceding century; and what Dr. Robinson justly remarks of the latter is equally true of the former, that it "can hardly be said to have the slightest resemblance to its original, and only serves to mislead the reader[1]." The plan of Jerusalem with which all Biblical students are familiar, apparently owes its origin to the celebrated French geographer D'Anville; and I am sorry that truth compels me to say that one who has deserved so well of this branch of science, has done much disservice to Sacred Literature. It is difficult to account for his inaccuracies, as it is evident from his Memoir, that he had spared no pains to make himself master of the subject[2]. But he erred, as his predecessors had done, in an endeavour to determine too much from insufficient or incorrect data.

Such was the state of the case when Mr. Catherwood

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[1] Bib. Res. first Appendix to Vol. III. p. 21.

[2] The Plan is given on his *Charte de Palestine*, in his Atlas (A.D. 1767). The *Dissertation sur l'Etendue de l'ancienne Jérusalem et de son Temple*, published at Paris in 1747, 8, is reprinted in Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*. No. II. of the *Pièces Justificatives*, Tome II. pp. 250—298. Paris, 1844.

visited Jerusalem, in 1835, and during his sojourn applied himself with meritorious diligence to the survey of the Haram, where he was engaged for six weeks, with the assistance of two friends, also artists, in making plans and drawings of the various buildings[3].

Of the merits of this Survey, I must speak further when I come to describe the plan of the Temple-area. Here I need only observe that the time devoted to the Haram, and his precipitate retreat from Jerusalem, on the approach of Ibrahim Pasha, did not allow him to complete his survey of the City. His Plan, therefore, with the exception of the Haram, is derived from an unpublished Survey made by Mr. J. J. Scoles in 1825, under circumstances of great difficulty and danger, and though infinitely superior to any that before existed, could not be safely appealed to as an authority, in questions which involved nice calculations and close inductions.

It has, however, been the standard Plan from that time to the present; for although Herr Kiepert, on the authority of Drs. Robinson and Schultz, has introduced into his engravings some additions and corrections in measurements, bearings, names, &c., yet are the Plans essentially the same, as is candidly avowed[4], and the worst inaccuracies of the original are perpetuated in the copies. This was scarcely to be expected in the Plan executed under the direction of the Prussian Consul; whose long residence in Jerusalem must have made him

[3] The Plan of the City was published August 1, 1835; but the larger Plans and Sections connected with the Haram were first given to the world with Mr. Fergusson's Essay, in 1847.

[4] See H. Kiepert's Memoir on the Maps, &c., (Sheet III.) 1st Appendix B. p. 39. in Vol. III. of the Biblical Researches, and the Title of the Plan, and of that in Dr. Schultz's Jerusalem.

intimately acquainted with every nook and corner of its various quarters. That Dr. Robinson should not have detected them was less strange, since he was there a comparatively short time; but it is somewhat amusing to find him gravely arguing about streets which have no real existence[1], and pronouncing dogmatically upon points with which his very Plan shews that he was profoundly ignorant[2]. Great credit is, however, due to him for his careful and accurate measurement of the exterior walls, and for the full details that he has furnished of the several antiquities and objects of interest in and about the City.

The acquaintance which I had formed with the topography of Jerusalem, during a residence of fourteen months, enabled me to correct the most glaring inaccuracies in Mr. Catherwood's Plan; but as I had then no thought of publishing on the subject, I did not take the pains to make an accurate survey of the City. In my first edition, therefore, I adopted Mr. Catherwood's Plan as improved by Dr. Robinson, with such corrections as my local knowledge suggested; but as the engraving was executed during my absence from England, it was not so complete as I might have made it. Of all the Plans, therefore, hitherto published, the palm must be awarded to the beautifully executed engraving of Mr. Catherwood's survey, drawn under the direction of Herrn Kiepert, and published at Berlin, with Dr. Schultz's

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[1] As e. g. in the Theological Review, August, 1846, p. 430, where he truly remarks in n. 2, that there is in my Volume no distinct reference to a certain street; which is simply because it does not exist!

[2] See his notices of the Causeway, as cited and referred to in H. C. Vol. II. p. 392, n. 1. A comparison of his Plan with the Ordnance Survey will shew how much he was at fault here.

valuable Lecture on Jerusalem, in 1845. The limits of the Modern City, distinguished by a red tint, are clearly defined, and the Plan is, perhaps, as perfect as it was possible to procure under the formidable difficulties which Moslem fanaticism presented to an accurate survey.

2. *The Ordnance Survey.*

THE principal advantage derived to the world from the operations of the British fleet on the coast of Syria in 1840, and from the confusions consequent thereupon, was the opportunity afforded to the Royal Engineers of making an accurate Survey of the country. A detachment of that very efficient corps, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Alderson, officered by Majors Wilbraham and Robe, Lieutenants Aldrich, Symonds, Skyring, and others, passed several months in the country after the bombardment of Acre, actively engaged in this work of inestimable importance to Sacred Literature. Their Geometrical Survey extended North as far as the banks of the Orontes and the range of the Taurus; to the South it comprehended the sources of the Jordan and the shores of the Dead Sea; and the astonished natives still recount and will long remember their exploits—how they erected their *nishân* (signal) on the summits of the loftiest hills, and were occupied for whole days in measurements and observations wholly unintelligible to their unsophisticated simplicity. Although the results of these labours have yet been given to the world only in fragments, yet have they already served to decide many important questions, and to stimulate the desire for the whole Survey, the value of which it is impossible to calculate.

To Lieut.-Colonel Alderson we owe the principal contribution from this fund of research that has yet been published, and his "Notes on Acre" must be regarded as the hopeful firstfruits of a golden harvest. This volume was published in 1844, in a series of "Papers on subjects connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers," illustrated with plans of the principal maritime towns of Palestine, and a series of exquisite sketches from his own pencil. An Appendix to this Volume, subsequently published in the same series of Papers (Vol. VII.), contained a Plan of Jerusalem, with a Note by the same Officer. The Reverend John Blackburn first introduced me to this Plan, the execution of which I regarded as an æra in this branch of literature; for a single glance at its beautiful outline sufficed to convince me that the character which the Ordnance Office has established at home for precise accuracy of observation and minute fidelity of delineation, had been maintained on that distant survey; and I earnestly desiderated nearer access to its treasures. In this object I was greatly aided by Professor Willis, whom I had now the pleasure to reckon as a fellow-labourer in the same field of research. It happened also that Colonel Alderson, who now held an official appointment in the Ordnance Office, was in a position to forward our wishes with the liberality that distinguishes that branch of the public service, but with an interest and intelligence that could only be expected in one who had taken so active a part in the Survey. The unvaried kindness with which he received, and the readiness with which he answered, our frequent and troublesome enquiries, personal or epistolatory, are here acknowledged by my friend and myself with the

liveliest gratitude. Permission was procured from the Master-General to take a tracing of the original draught of the contoured Plan, which it was determined to publish on the scale of the original, for it had been reduced to one-third in the former engraving.

The tracing was beautifully executed by Mr. J. Nightingale, one of the principal draughtsmen of the Ordnance Department; and the Field-Book of the Survey without the Walls, most kindly placed at our disposal by Major Aldrich, enabled Professor Willis to test the accuracy of the plotting. We had only to regret that the absence from England of Major Symonds exempted him from like importunity. We have however troubled him with enquiries on the points of chief importance, through Colonel Alderson, his replies to which will be embodied in the following pages.

II. THE GENERAL PLAN.

The Survey of the exterior was commenced on the 25th of February, 1841, at 1 p.m., by Lieutenant Aldrich, with a $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch theodolite and 100 ft. chain; Lieut. Symonds, with Schmalcalder's compass, commencing at the same time to survey the town and inside of the City-wall. The officers were assisted by six men of the royal corps, also engineers, and the survey occupied them six weeks. The ground about the town was sketched in by Lieutenant Symonds, during the illness of Lieutenant Aldrich; and the Castle was surveyed by Colonel Alderson himself.

The late successes of the British arms on the Coast of Syria, and the military array of the detachment, not only secured them from all molestation in their undertaking, but engaged for them the active co-operation

of the Natives: so that the City and environs were thoroughly surveyed, except that, in the exercise of a wise and considerate forbearance, they did not force an entrance into the Haram, lest they should offend the religious prejudices of the Moslems.

I must here allude to an accidental advantage in the Ordnance Survey quite independent of its intrinsic merits, viz. that it is no party Plan, and was designed for the support of no theory. It was simply a military survey, and the remarks with which it was accompanied were altogether of a scientific character, regarding merely its military capabilities of defence or exposure to attack. The surrounding valleys are viewed merely as "adding to its means of defence," the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives as "a strong advanced work;" and the main importance of the City itself consists in its "affording considerable accommodation for troops, and a depôt for stores and provisions," as well as "a base for operations from the southern frontier."

As it was obviously most desirable that the Plan should retain this impartial character, as a basis for historical and archæological research, it has been a point of conscience with Professor Willis and myself so to insert what was necessary for the elucidation of the Antiquities as to preserve inviolate every trace of the original Survey. It will only be necessary to remark what comes under the description of *writing*, in order to distinguish these additions to the original Plan.

They consist of the *names*, ancient and modern, of the several hills, valleys, quarters, streets, &c. in and around the City, and necessarily of those *buildings* within the City whose names it was deemed advisable to

insert, and whose sites had not been marked in the Original Plan. Such inserted buildings are, therefore, shaded darker than the ordinary tint. Besides this, the traces of the ancient walls without the City, identified by Drs Robinson and Schultz, have been inserted in the same dark tint, and a second Plan of the Haram, grounded on an application of Mr. Catherwood's interior measures to the outlines of the Ordnance exterior Survey, is given in the right-hand corner. As regards the ancient divisions, the grounds of my conclusions are given at large in the Second Part of my book, and need not be here repeated: the names of the streets I have adopted from two works given in the Appendix. For the modern sites I have availed myself of the published researches of Drs Robinson and Schultz, the recollections of my friend, Mr. Young, (several years Consul at Jerusalem), and my own observations.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to a particular notice of such localities designated in the Plan as seem to require it—distinguishing by italics the names inserted in the Plan, or referred to by figures or letters.

III. INTERIOR OF THE CITY.

The four principal Quarters, exclusive of the *Haram* or Mosk-Enclosure, are, i. the *Christian*, ii. *the Armenian*, iii. *the Jews'*, iv. *the Mohammedan Quarters.* A line drawn from the Western or *Jaffa Gate* down the *Street of David* to the *Haram*, and another drawn from the *Gate of Damascus* on the North, through the *Bazaars*, to the *Sion Gate* on the South, would divide the City into these four Quarters,—which I proceed to notice in the order observed on the Plan, employing

the same figures and letters of reference that are there used,—the former to designate the mediæval traditions and modern sites, the latter to mark the Antiquities and Remains of the Ancient City.

i. *The Christian Quarter.*

This occupies the North-western part of the City[1], and contains the principal Christian edifices, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Patriarchal Convent of the Greeks, and the Franciscan Monastery. To commence in the N.W. angle.

1. *Weley or Sheikh's Tomb.*—There is nothing remarkable in this. These small Oratories, dedicated to the memory of Moslem saints, are frequent in all parts of the East; for, as Maundrell drily remarks, "You will find among the Turks far more dead saints than living ones[2]." Sometimes they contain the tombs of a devotee, sometimes they are small cells, appropriated to particular sects or services, with an endowment in lands or houses.

Near this on the South is a mass of ancient masonry built against the wall, called by the natives *Goliath's Castle.* It is, beyond doubt, the Tower mentioned in the History of the Crusaders' Siege[3], as that over against which Tancred was encamped, and which

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[1] A more particular description of this Quarter is given in H. C. Vol. II. p. 13.

[2] Journey under March 3, p. 10. These structures are well described by this truthful writer. "They are stone fabrics, generally six or eight yards square, more or less, and roofed with a cupola; erected over the graves of some eminent Sheiks, that is, such persons as by their long beards, prayers of the same standard, and a kind of Pharisaical superciliousness,—which are the great virtues of the Mahometan religion—have purchased to themselves the reputation of learning and saints."

[3] H. C. Vol. I. p. 368.

was afterwards called by his name. Some remains of the masonry are very solid, and the stones bevelled. This tower very possibly belonged to the third wall of Josephus; though it certainly was not the Psephinus[4].

2. *Greek Nunnery and Alms-House of St. Basil.*—One of several similar establishments belonging to the Orthodox Greeks, which require no particular notice.

3. *The House of the Sardinian Consul.*

4. *Greek Convent of S. Theodore.*—Chiefly occupied by Russian Pilgrims.

Between 2 and 4 is the *Latin Convent* of S. John the Divine, now occupied by the titular Latin Patriarch, (until a palace can be built,) in which reside twelve or fifteen Franciscan monks, chiefly Spaniards, under the direction of a Superior, who bears the title of Guardian of the Holy Land, and to whom are subject all the brethren of his Order in all Palestine[5]. The *Casa Nuova* is the Hostelry of this Convent, in which pilgrims of all nations, without respect to their faith, are permitted to sojourn for a fortnight. They are at their own charges; the Convent, which only provides good bread and bad wine, expecting a liberal offering to their funds, in return for poor accommodation.

The site of this Convent is the highest in the City, an important fact in its Archæology, which has been fully proved[6], and is further illustrated by the following story from Quaresmius[7]. "Forty years ago," (he writes *cir.* 1630), "some Turks of Jerusalem, instigated by hatred of the Brethren, persuaded the Governor that this Convent was higher than the Castle of the

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[4] See below, pp. 48. 85, 86.

[5] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 568, 569.

[6] Ib. Vol. II. p. 26. and notes.

[7] Elucidatio, &c. Tom. II. p. 52.

City. Wherefore, by imperial decree, many of the higher buildings were cast down to the earth, and the traces of the habitations are yet to be seen. Indeed," he adds, "the position is elevated, and from its ground, but particularly from the roof of its Church, nearly all the Holy Places of Jerusalem, and the surrounding sites without, are visible."

5. *Small ruined Mosk.*

6. *Residence of the Russian Consul.*—This House is directly opposite to the *Patriarchal Convent of Constantine,* to which it belongs. The Greek Patriarch has lately erected a Palace immediately to the West of the Russian Consul's residence.

7. *Part of the Greek Convent of Constantine.*—This Convent, which is very extensive, is carried by an arch over the *Street of the Patriarch* to the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre,* whose Dome is accessible from the terrace of the Convent. This Convent is the seat of the Synod, and is inhabited by about 100 monks, of all grades[1]. On the East side of the Street is the Convent Chapel, called the Church of Constantine, in which the Brethren celebrate the Hours: and its tinkling bell, summoning to early prayer, disturbs the deep silence of the Holy City, two or three hours after midnight.

8. *The Greek Churches for Native Christians.*—The parish-churches, in fact, of the orthodox natives, where Prayers are said and Sacraments administered in the vernacular language, by the town-priests, of whom there are six[2]. These Churches, and all the other buildings connected with or attached to the Holy Sepulchre, are

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. p. 547. [2] Ib. Vol. II. p. 578.

given on a much larger scale in another Plan, with a sufficiently-detailed description[3].

9. *Mosk and Minaret.*—This building once formed part of the *Hospital of the Knights of S. John.* It was the usual residence of Saladin after the taking of the City[4]. The Mosk is called Ed-Derkah, and was endowed by a nephew of Saladin A.H. 613, (A.D. 1216). The *Minaret*, an object of no small annoyance to the Christians on account of its proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was built before A.H. 820 (A.D. 1417), ruined by an earthquake in 863 (1459), rebuilt on its old foundations before 870 (1465)[5].

10. *Greek Convent of Gethsemane.*—It appears that the Christians were allowed to retain possession of part of the same *Hospital*, only that it was transferred from the Latins to the Greeks.

Close to this, on the East, is the fine ruined gateway that attracts the notice of all travellers as they pass from the Court of the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre* to *the Bazaars.* In the middle of the arch may be read the word "Luna," on either side which, running round the arch, are the names of the months, in Latin, six on either side[6].

It leads through a small court which now forms part of a tannery (Debâghah), to the apse of a ruined Church, from whence is an ascent to a cloistered quadrangle of small dimensions[7], whose southern side is occupied by an ancient chapel, now used as a depository for dung—the fuel for a neighbouring bath. It presents

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[3] In H. C. Vol. II. Chap. iii. and Plate III. to that chapter.

[4] H. C. Vol. I. p. 419.

[5] See Mejir-ed-din, pp. 123, 4.

[6] Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 31; Krafft, p. 255; and Inscriptions, No. 11.

[7] H. C. Vol. I. pp. 390, 91.

features of Western architecture in its pointed arches and round lights over the place of the altar at the East end. Parallel to the Chapel on the South are two large rooms, which probably served for dormitory and refectory to the Nunnery of S. Mary the Great.

On the opposite side of *Palmer's Street*[1] is a tannery, on the site of the Benedictine nunnery of *S. Mary the Less*, called also in the Norman Chronicle *Seinte Marie la Latine*. A deed of gift of King Amaury, dated June A.D. 1174[2], apportions between the *Hospital of S. John* and the Nunnery of *Great S. Mary*, a street which formerly led between the two buildings from *Palmer's Street*, into the Street of the Patriarch's Baths (marked the *Street of the Patriarch*), so called from *the Bath*, that still exists, and is supplied with water from the Pool of the Patriarch's Baths (*Birket Hammam el-Batrak*), which is fed by an aqueduct from the *Pool of Mamilla*.

This *Pool of the Bath* has lately become a point of importance, owing to its supposed identity with the Pool of Hezekiah, "between the two walls;" a position which I have controverted at length in another place, and which is supported by no ancient testimony[3]. It doubtless represents the Amygdalon, or Almond-Pool, mentioned by Josephus in his account of the siege by Titus[4]: of which more will be said when I come to speak of Ancient Jerusalem.

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[1] Called by Mejir-ed-din the Street Derkah, from the Cell above noticed.

[2] Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 115, 116. His explanation is very confused, and cannot be relied on. S. Mary the Great is mentioned by William of Tyre, lb. XIX. cap. iv. p. 958. Both are noticed by James of Vitry, cap. LVIII. p. 1078.

[3] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 36—39, &c.

[4] Bell. Jud. v. xi. 4. H. C. Vol. I. p. 180, and Vol. II. pp. 19, 24, 38.

The dimensions of this tank, as measured by Dr Robinson[5], are 240 feet by 144. "The bottom is rock, levelled, and covered with cement, and on the West side the rock is cut down for some depth." There is a descent to it by steps at the N. W. angle, and the water, which in the rainy season runs in from the rude aqueduct at the South-west corner, occupies only a small part of the Pool in the South-east angle.

On the North of the Pool is a large pile of new buildings, commenced as a *Convent* or Caravansery by the *Copts*, but abandoned on the expulsion of Ibrahim Pasha, and lately converted into barracks for the Turkish garrison[6].

11. *Greek Schools.*—Besides the Higher School for the Greeks in the Great Convent, presided over by the Didaskalos[7], there are Schools for native children of their rite, where they are taught to read and write, and receive instruction in the principles of the faith[8].

12. *Church of Greek Schismatics.*—This name, by all rules of right and reason, belongs to the separatists from the Orthodox Greek Church, though it is sometimes improperly applied to those who remain constant to their old profession. They are allowed to retain the

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[5] Bib. Res. I. p. 487.

[6] H. C. Vol. II. p. 567.

[7] H. C. Vol. II. p. 543.

[8] A lively description of a native school is given in Lowthian's "Palestine," 1843, 4; an unpretending little volume, which contains some curious notices of the trades in Jerusalem, together with much trash: he found "ten or a dozen boys, of about seven or eight years of age, all sitting in a circle cross-legged on the floor, like so many tailors, with the master among them sitting in the same posture. They had every one an Arabic book in his hand, and all read aloud together, keeping their bodies in a rocking motion, so that their faces nearly touched their books, and they all kept time with each other in the most orderly manner .... They were very attentive to their lessons, never once taking their eyes from their books, even to look at a stranger." p. 80. Most exemplary children!

liturgy and language of their own Church, and to communicate in both kinds—the addition of the "Filioque," recognition of the Papal Supremacy, and the use of unleavened bread, being the only indispensable conditions of Communion with the Latin Church.

13. *Residence of the French Consul.*—It overlooks the Pool of the Bath. This functionary has lately procured the filling up of the small tank, between his residence and the city-wall, called the Bath of Bathseba[1], which was a nuisance to all the neighbourhood, and the miasma from which was sufficient to create a pestilence.

14. *Residence of the English Bishop.*—Erected for a Jew named Hamselik, a British subject, lately deceased; a good and commodious residence, but very noisy; what was the *Corn Market* in the time of the Crusades being now the Green Market of the city, and the discordant sounds of the market-women remind one of the vociferations of the fish-wives of Billingsgate.

15. *Greek Church and Convent of the Forerunner.*—Formerly one of the most beautiful monasteries of the Orthodox, but on its falling to decay the Turkish authorities long opposed its restoration[2]. It was, however, renewed a few years since, when the excavations for new foundations discovered a vaulted room beneath fifteen or twenty feet of rubbish[3].

ii. *Armenian Quarter.*

The *Armenian Quarter* is bounded by the city-wall from the *Jaffa Gate* to the *Sion Gate.* A street run-

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[1] Ewald's Missionary Journal, p. 240.

[2] Προσκυνητάριον, p. 65.

[3] See H. C. Vol. II. p. 529, n. 4.

ning from *the Bazaars* southward nearly to the last-named gate, divides it on the East from the *Jews' Quarter.*

16. *House of the English Consul.*—It was in great part built by Mr. Young, who, on his return to England, disposed of it to the Prussian Government. It stands on the northern brow of Sion, formerly precipitous, and even now declining steeply to *David's Street,* to which is a descent by steps down a bank composed of ruins. The house commands a fine view of the City.

17. *Syrian Church of S. James, in ruins.*—Confiscated by the Turks, and "Wakf" of the Haram, an important term well explained by Dr Schultz[4]. "The greatest part of the landed property of the city is 'Wakf,' *i. e.* it belongs to the Mosks, Churches, or public institutions. The Wakf is therefore distinguished into 'Wakf el-Haram,' the property of the great Mosk; 'Wakf el-Tekiyeh,' property of the Hospital of Helena; 'Wakf Franji,' Frankish Church-property, or the property of the great Latin Convent; 'Wakf Rûmi,' the property of the Greek Church; 'Wakf Armani,' that of the Armenian Church; and so on. Other property is held on such a tenure that should the holder leave no male heirs, or no heirs at all, the property goes to some public institution: this is called 'milk maukuf' (*manus mortua*)[5]. The smallest part of the landed property is freehold, in private hands ('milk'), the revenues of which are divided, on

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[4] Jerusalem, pp. 32, 33.

[5] This does not precisely answer to our notion of property held "in mortmain." I am informed that in technical language it would be said of such property that the "particular estate" belongs to the individuals who have a life interest in it; the "contingent remainder" is in the public institution, whatever it may be.

the death of the proprietor, into twenty-four parts, 'Kirat;' so that almost every estate has several proprietors."

18. *Church and Premises of the London Jews' Society.*—Occupying a plot of ground formerly belonging to the Syrians. I have already noticed[1] the ancient sewer found by Mr. Johns on sinking a shaft to the depth of 40 feet to form a foundation for the North transept of the Church. The difficulties which he ably surmounted in executing his ill-requited task, have been well described and faithfully delineated by himself, in his account of "the Anglican Cathedral Church of S. James," since called Christ's Church.

Opposite to these premises is the present *Citadel* (*El-Kal'ah*), once the Castle of the Pisans, and the *Castle of David*, of which a separate Plan, on a much larger scale, is given in the corner of the Plate. It consists of three principal towers connected by a rampart with a bastion of very fine masonry sloping down into a deep dry ditch, which completely surrounds the citadel, and is crossed on the city side by a drawbridge[2]. "This work," writes Col. Alderson[3], "though placed in a re-entering angle, is of considerable importance to the defence of Jerusalem: it has artillery mounted on it, and would require heavy artillery to breach it." Its importance is proved by the fact that, in the daring assault of the *fellahín* during Ibrahim Pasha's occupation of the country, they made themselves masters of the city, and held it several days, while the Egyptian garrison

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. p. 31, and p. 489, note 3.

[2] Bib. Res. I. pp. 445, 456.

[3] Addition to Notes on Acre. "Papers on Subjects," &c. Vol. VII. p. 47.

kept possession of the Castle throughout, which much facilitated the recovery of the town[4]. The interest attaching to these buildings in an archæological view will appear when I speak below of the Ancient City[5].

19. *Hospital and Dispensary.*—The least unsatisfactory of all the departments of the London Society's Mission, where about twenty beds are always filled with Jewish invalids, who have the best medical advice from Dr Macgowan, surgeon of the Mission[6].

20. *Syrian Convent. House of S. Mark.*—One of the oldest Convents in Jerusalem, and much venerated by Christians of all communities. It is the residence of the Syrian Bishop[7], and has its full complement of traditions and relics; among the latter, the Font in which the Blessed Virgin was baptized, and, of course, the door at which S. Peter knocked.

21. *Oil-Mill, with Old Columns.*—Near this on the West is a new *Barrack* and exercise-ground for troops. "In digging deeply for the foundations of these barracks, many remains of walls and buildings were discovered[8]."

22. *Flour-Mill.*—Between this and 23 is the *Armenian* Patriarchal *Convent of S. James*[9], the largest establishment of the kind in the city, capable of affording accommodation to 3000 pilgrims. They profess to shew the place of the Martyrdom of S. James the brother of John. The Church is richly ornamented. It has a fine library. Its gardens are very agreeable, and

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[4] H. C. Vol. I. p. 454, n. 4.
[5] See also H. C. Vol. II. pp. 15, 16.
[6] H. C. Vol. II. p. 594.
[7] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 562.
[8] Bib. Res. I. p. 459.
[9] More fully noticed in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 559, 60.

the most extensive in the city. It formerly belonged to the Georgians.

23. *Greek Nunnery of S. George*—called "the Hebrew[1]," from its proximity to the Jews' Quarter.

24. *A Pottery Manufactory.*—We shall find two beds of Potters' Clay in the Valley of Hinnom without the Sion Gate, so that this pottery is conveniently situated. I remember to have received an illustration of Jeremiah xviii. 1—10, in a pottery not far from No. 41, in the traditionary house of Simon the Pharisee; indeed, the crypt of the ruined Church of S. Mary Magdalene was the House of the Potter—"and, behold, he wrought a work upon the wheels." This process seemed to have a peculiar significancy at Jerusalem, owing to these associations.

Just South of the Pottery, and hard by the City-gate, are the *Lepers' Huts*, a set of miserable, low, clay hovels, the habitations of these unfortunates, who are now found only at Jerusalem and Nablouse. Dr Schultz had occasion to visit them[2], and ascertained their numbers to be twenty-seven, men, women, and children; Mohammedans. They are allowed to intermarry, and thus propagate this loathsome malady, which is hereditary. They receive a miserable pittance for their maintenance from the government, which they are fain to eke out by begging. And a most pitiable and disgusting sight it is to see the poor wretches, laid at the entrance of the Gates of the City, asking alms of the passengers, with outstretched hands, or stumps, in various stages of decay, under the influence of this devouring disease, for

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[1] Προσκυνητάριον, p. 65.

[2] Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 30. Compare Bib. Res. 1. p. 351.

which I believe no effectual remedy is known. I saw no case of that whiteness which is mentioned in Scripture as the symptom of this disorder; but I own that my eyes shrank with horror from the contemplation of such misery, and I avoided contact with them as I would with one plague-stricken.

iii. *Jews' Quarter.*

This occupies the eastern half of that part of *Mount Sion* that is included in the modern city, and overhangs the western brink of the *Valley of the Tyropœon.*

25. *The Shambles.*—This abominable nuisance is supposed to have been brought here to annoy the Jews. It was here, however, in the time of the Crusaders, as is witnessed by the Norman writer given in the Appendix[3]. The sooner the Pasha adopts Mr. Ewald's suggestion and removes it, the better[4].

26. *Synagogues of the Ashkenazim and Sephardim.*

27. *Synagogue of Portuguese Jews.*

28. *A Mosk and Minaret.*—The situation of this Mosk in the heart of the Jews' Quarter, will illustrate the story told in H. C. Vol. I. p. 443. The Minaret was built subsequently to A. H. 800[5]. (A. D. 1398.)

iv. *Mohammedan Quarter.*

This most extensive of the four Quarters of Jeru-

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[3] Section iii. This, however, is one of the most glaring of the numerous instances of confusion arising from his use of *right* and *left* in his description. He is describing the *Street of the Temple*, and says, that "on your *left* as you proceed down this street to go to the Temple is the Butchery where flesh is sold to the citizens." That he should here have written *right*, is evident from a second error, that helps to correct the former; for he says, "on the *right* is another street, called the Germans'," leading to the Hospital. This should be "on the *left*," as the situation of the Hospital proves.

[4] Journal, p. 241.

[5] Mejir-ed-din, p. 124.

salem, is subdivided into smaller Quarters, of which I have marked only the *Haret Bab el-Hitta* at the N. E. of the City.

29. *Principal Khan.*—This large Caravanserai is conveniently situated with reference to the *Bazaars*, as is the case in all the Eastern cities. These Khans consist principally of stables for camels or horses, but are sometimes provided with accommodation for man as well as beast. In this case, however, the chambers are unfurnished, and the lodger has to board himself. The Orientals know nothing of hotels, in our acceptation of the term.

The *Bazaars* are of solid construction, supposed to be the work of the Greeks; and former travellers used to say that there were none in all the East to be compared to them[1]. They were arranged like the nave and aisles of a church, the former rising into a clerestory, and terminating at the south end in a dome, covered with lead. The eastern aisle is now considerably curtailed. In former times the three lines were assigned to different articles of commerce, but the arrangement varied with time, and is now, I believe, wholly disregarded. In the 15th Century the western row was for spicery, and its rents and revenues were attached to the school built by Saladin; the middle was the Green-market, for herbs and vegetables; the third, on the east, was the mart for stuffs. The distribution which I have followed is that of the Norman writer in the 12th century, not so clearly stated as the other. If I comprehend him aright, the western line was then the market for herbs, fruits, and spicery; the middle row was

[1] Mejir-ed-din, p. 125.

called the *Covered Street*, and devoted to the stuffs and drapery of the Latins; the third, called by a name which I cannot comprehend[2], was occupied by the cooks' shops for the pilgrims, and by the hair-dressers of the City. From the *Covered Street* one passed through the *Latin 'Change* to *the Street of the Arch of Judas;* and from the *Street of Herbs* to that of *Mount Sion.*

The *Street of the Temple*, leading to the Haram from the Bazaars, is carried across a deep valley by an artificial *Causeway*, which seems to be noticed as "The Bridge" by the Norman writer[3].

30. *Saracenic Fountain* (*now dry*), of very exquisite architecture, formerly supplied from the Pools of Solomon, and probably constructed in the 15th Century. It is noticed by Uri of Biel, (A. D. 1564), but by no earlier writer[4].

Near this is the *Hammam es-Shefa* (the Bath of Healing), formerly known as the Bath of Aladdin, explored by Mr Wolcott[5], supposed to be connected with the Haram, and supplied with the peculiar water of Siloam. It is entered from the *Cotton Mart*, a ruined Bazaar, formerly occupied by the cotton-merchants, who also gave their name to the contiguous Gate of the Haram.

31. *House of the Prussian Consul.*—Nearly opposite to this is *El-Tekiyeh*, commonly known as the Hospital of Helena. It is a huge pile of ruined buildings,

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[2] *Mal-quis-mat*, and *malquimat* in section iii., and *masquimat* in section v. In the first of these passages it seems to be identified with the *rue des Herbes*, but in the last it is plainly distinguished from it.

[3] Section iii. "*sur le pont*," evidently in the street. It is mentioned again in section v., where the street running down from the S. Stephen's (*i. e.* the Damascus) Gate to the Postern of the Tannery (probably the Dung Gate), is said to pass "droit par dessous *le pont.*"

[4] H. C. Vol. II. p. 502.

[5] Ibid. pp. 457—461.

consisting of a series of extensive chambers, richly ornamented in the best style of Saracenic domestic architecture. It must formerly have been a palace of some celebrity; but I have not been able to discover any notices of it in earlier travellers. I take it to be the building mentioned by Mejir-ed-din[1], as erected by one Dame Tonshok, in A. H. 794, (A. D. 1391.) This charitable lady it probably was who permanently endowed the kitchen of her establishment for the daily supply of food to the poor; thus, unconsciously, vindicating her claim to the name of the munificent Dowager Queen of Adiabene, which posterity has conferred upon her, with whose palace, however, I fear the house in question cannot be identified[2]. The *sportula* is still doled out in the kitchen daily, and the enormous caldrons in which the food is prepared rival the capacious porridge-pot of Guy of Warwick. This Hospital is possessed of houses in the City, and the village of Beit Jala, near Bethlehem, is its property[3]. The street in which it stands took the name of Lady's Street (Akbet-es-Sit) from this building; but I have restored its more ancient and convenient name of *Market Street* (Akbet-es-Sûk[4].)

32. *Mohammedan School.*

33. *Saracenic Fountain* (*now dry*), also mentioned by Uri of Biel[5], and probably of the same date as No. 30.

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[1] p. 127.

[2] For it was situated in the middle of Acra proper, *i. e.* the hill (Bell. Jud. VI. vii. 2) See the notice of Queen Helena's munificence in H. C. Vol. I. p. 152. Dr Robinson suggests that this may be the Hospital of S. Gregory the Great, or of the Emperor Justinian (B. R. II. p. 30, note 4); and finds a confirmation of his hypothesis in the Byzantine architecture of its purely Saracenic portal.

[3] So Dr Robinson learnt from a native of the village. B. R. II. p. 322.

[4] Mejir-ed-din, p. 127.

[5] H. C. II. p. 502.

34. *College for Blind Derwishes.*—The Muezzin, whose duty it is to call the hours of prayer from the minarets, are commonly taken from this class; an admirable device for obviating the inconvenience that might otherwise arise from the curiosity of these officials, who from their commanding elevation might pry into the house-top privacy of the neighbouring families. So many convents, schools, and religious houses of the Moslems are situated in this part, that it is difficult to assign to them their proper dates and founders, and not a matter of any interest or importance.

35. *Traditionary House of Dives.*

36. *Traditionary House of S. Veronica.*

37. *College for Indian Pilgrims.*—Apparently the lodging assigned to Ali-Bey during his visit, called by him the Mosk of Sidi Abd-el-Kader[6].

Near this is the private *residence of the Pasha,* which he occupies with his family: *the Seraiyah,* hard by, being the Government-house, standing on the site of Antonia, which was doubtless the official *House of Pilate.* It affords accommodation now, as then, to a garrison of soldiers.

38. *Arch of the "Ecce Homo;"*—called also the Arch of Pilate; was known in the time of the Frank Kingdom as the "Dolorous Gates;" and the *Via Dolorosa,* which it spans, was then called the Street of Jehoshaphat[7]. It is mentioned by all travellers from the period of the Crusades, and portrayed by many. It formerly exhibited, in large Latin characters, on its East face, the words "Tolle, Tolle, Crucifige Eum, &c.[8]"

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[6] No. 65 in Plate LXXI., and Vol. II. p. 213, of the Travels.

[7] Norman writer, sect. vii.

[8] Adrichomius in voc. Jerusalem, No. 120, p. 164. Bernardino p. 25. Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 206, &c.

39. *Place of the Scala Santa.*—Here are seen two old archways, built up in the wall of *the Seraiyah,* from which they say that the double staircase of twenty-eight steps was removed by Constantine the Great, or his mother; and, being brought to Rome, was placed before the doors of S. John Lateran, where they are still shewn[1]. One thing only is certain, that they have given occasion to much superstition.

The Church of the Flagellation.—This tradition probable dates from the Frank occupation of the City, as do so many others. The Church, after serving as a stable and weaver's shop, has been lately restored, by the Franciscans[2]. In the yard is a living well of Siloam water.

40. *Mosk of Derwishes. Traditionary Palace of Herod.*

41. *Ruined Church. Traditionary House of Simon the Pharisee;*—called, in the time of the Franks, the Monastery of S. Mary Magdalene. It gave the name of *the Mary* to this part of the City, where most of the citizens then resided[3].

The Church of S. Ann.—The supposed birth-place of the Blessed Virgin, formerly an abbey of black nuns, richly endowed as a scientific college and hospital by Saladin, whose private secretary and biographer, Bohadin, was its first superior[4]. It had been in ruins many years when Tayar Pasha undertook its restoration in 1842[5]. The rubbish was thrown into the neighbouring *Birket Israîl* or *Pool of Bethesda;* a name formerly given to another large tank before this Church,

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[1] Quaresmius, II. p. 183.

[2] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 461, 2.

[3] Norman description, section vii.

[4] Vid. Excerpta ex Abulfeda, p. 56, and conf. Vita Saladini, p. 267, ed. Schultens.

[5] Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 32. See Bibl. Res. I. p. 344.

supposed to be the Lower Pool formed by Hezekiah. It was already dry in the time of Saladin's conquest, and in course of time has disappeared[6].

v. *El-Haram es-Sherif.*

Some further preliminary observations will be necessary before entering on the particular description of this area, of which a supplementary Plan is given in the right-hand corner of the Plate: for as the necessary illustration of its antiquities would have disguised the features of the original survey, which we resolved most religiously to preserve, this expedient was adopted in order to obviate the difficulty.

The Engineer Officers, as has been said, did not attempt to enter the precincts of the Haram: they contented themselves with laying down from measurements the external boundary and walls, and fixing with the utmost precision the positions of the minarets and of the Dome of the Rock by the theodolite. The mosks themselves, and the lesser buildings which occupy the area, were merely laid down in block, from sketches taken from the neighbouring buildings and heights. Thus the general arrangement of the ground was obtained with much greater precision than had been before attempted, and with sufficient detail for the purposes of a military survey.

But for antiquarian and historical investigations more details are manifestly necessary; and the object of the supplementary Plan of the Haram is to combine the accurate measurements and positions of the military survey with such detailed plans and particulars as could be derived from other sources.

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[6] H. C. Vol. II. p. 485, n. 5. Norman description, sect. vii.

Mr. Catherwood's survey[1] of the interior of the Haram is by far the most complete that has been attempted, on account of the ample opportunity afforded him, and the assistance of his friends, then residing in Jerusalem[2]; and to him we ourselves are further indebted for many measurements and much private information, with liberal permission to make use of it.

His proceedings, however, were brought to an abrupt conclusion by the approach of Ibrahim Pasha, and a comparison of his Plan with that of the Officers', will shew that, although he succeeded in laying down minute architectural plans of the edifices that occupy the area, his general survey of that area must have been left incomplete; for it is impossible to doubt the exactness of the military survey, and the discrepancies between the two are, in some instances, very great.

The most important discrepancy is that which will be at once observed in the Western boundary of the Haram; for, according to the Ordnance Plan, its continuity is broken towards its southern part by two re-entering angles, while in Mr. Catherwood's it runs in the same line from the northern to the southern extremity. As the question affects the outer walls of the Haram, the Officers are indisputable authorities, and the accuracy of their Plan in other respects does not permit us to suspect it of incorrectness here; particularly as the minarets situated near the N. W. and S. W. angles were both of them fixed as

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[1] It was embodied in his general Plan above noticed (p. 7), and some fuller details had been supplied to Dr. Robinson and Mr. Bartlett. But it was first published in a complete form in Mr. Fergusson's Essay in A.D. 1847.

[2] The circumstances under which it was made are detailed by Mr. Catherwood himself in his letter in Bartlett's Walks, p. 161.

angular-points in their trigonometrical survey. Still it appeared so strange that this peculiarity should have escaped the notice of all former travellers, Mr. Catherwood not excepted, that it seemed right to subject it to the severest scrutiny. Major J. F. A. Symonds, in a letter to Colonel Alderson, dated Corfu, June 6, 1847, in answer to our enquiries, writes, "I have found my Field-book and papers relating to Jerusalem, and after a careful search I am happy to inform you that we are perfectly right with regard to the disputed angle. I give you here an accurate sketch out of my Field-book, which I took myself on the spot." This sketch is precisely the same as the original contoured plan in the Ordnance Office, to which Major Symonds confidently appeals for *correct* details.

That this feature of the Western wall has escaped the notice of former travellers, may be accounted for by the fact that the houses abutting upon the Haram on this side[3], and the excessive jealousy with which its approaches are guarded, present almost insuperable difficulties to an examination of this wall. Thus, I remember, when I was one day threading the maze of streets in quest of the *Jews' Wailing-place* (z), and a wrong turn had led me towards *the Gate of the Prophet* (41), I was convinced of my mistake by the exclamations of the black slaves at the Gate, who motioned me away with menacing gestures. This Gate, situated at the southern extremity of the Wailing-place, gives entrance to the Mosk-enclosure, but is chiefly used by the family of Abu Se'ud Effendi, the principal entrance to whose house is just within the gate; while there is a back-entrance (38) a little to the North of the *Ruined Arch* (y).

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[3] See the remark of Mr. Tipping as cited in H. C. Vol. II. p. 321.

This house was obviously the main cause of embarrassment, the fact being that it does form an angle in the western wall of the Haram, as is also represented in Mr. Catherwood's Plan, and that the wall being thus broken, does not resume the same direct line, as he imagined, but is continued in a line many feet to the West. This enables us to reconcile the discrepancies between his plan and the Officers' Survey. In our detailed Plan of the Haram this part is filled in from observations made by Mr. Young on occasional visits to Abu Se'ud Effendi.

The second angle at the *Mehkemeh*, or Town-Hall, just South of the *Causeway*, is also marked in Mr. Catherwood's Plan, but the error of continuing the wall in the same line is again repeated.

In our supplementary Plan of the Haram, therefore, we have laid down the detailed plans of the *Dome of the Rock*, and of *El-Aksa* with its appendages, on the authority of Mr. Catherwood, but have adopted the positions and boundaries of the Ordnance Survey throughout; while in the general Plan we have preserved untouched the original Ordnance Survey, the exactness of which in respect to the disputed points is fully borne out by the most faithful drawings of those artists who have of late years sketched the area from buildings or elevations in its vicinity [1].

The Plan and Sections given by Ali Bey were manifestly drawn without measurement, and from memory only; but with wondrous care and exactness, considering

[1] An inspection of Lady Louisa Tenison's and Mr. Tipping's views of the West Wall of the Haram, from the opposite brow of Sion, and of M. Girault de Prangey's beautiful and very accurate view of the Haram, taken from the roof of the Seraiyeh, will justify this remark.

this difficulty. Their chief value now consists in the curious information which they supply concerning the use of the buildings for the Mohammedan Ritual.

The principal authority for the places within the Haram is Mejir-ed-din, the Arabic historian so often quoted and referred to. As a translation of his description is given in the Appendix, it will not be necessary to repeat the particulars here. I will merely refer to the sections in his chapter where the various sites are noticed and the names explained. It will be observed that the numbers from 1 to 41 are repeated on the duplicate Plan, as are also the letters from *a* to *s*. The Mosks, &c., have been described in detail in the fourth Chapter of the Second Volume of the Holy City.

1. *Mihrab of David, called also of Omar* (§ 1).

This word *Mihrab* is explained to mean "the place in the Temple where the Imam stands, and turning towards Mecca, leads the prayers of the people[2]." They are found not only in mosks, but in dwellings, and are mostly shallow recesses in the wall, under a Saracenic arch, to shew the bearing of the Caaba of Mecca. In some of the principal mosks, as at Constantinople, they are richly ornamented, and have adopted the use of candles from the Christian altars.

2. *Minbar or Throne* (§ 1).—A lofty pulpit where the Khotbah, or Friday Office for the reigning Prince, is recited[3]: it is called also the Maksurah. D'Herbelot says, "it was Moaviah who first introduced the Mak-

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[2] Willmet's Lexicon, *sub voce* حرب. (p. 183 b.) H. C. II. p. 307. Compare Ali Bey's Travels, II. p. 127.

[3] *Locus elatior, suggestus.* Id. *sub voc.* نبر. (p. 709 b.) H. C. l. c. and Ali Bey, ibid.

surah into the mosks, *i. e.* a separate and elevated place, where the Khalif, who was alike the chief priest of the religion and supreme governor of the state, commenced chanting the solemn prayer, which is, so to say, the public office of the Musulmans. In the same place he addressed to the people the Khotbah, which is a kind of sermon or lecture[1]."

3. *Mihrab of Moaviah* (§ 1).—The person mentioned above. He was son of Abu Sofian, and first Khalif of the House of Ommiah (A. D. 656). He had been governor of Syria during the Khalifat of Othman, (644—656).

4. *Corner of the Circumcision* (§ 2).—This is said by Ali Bey to be called the Place of Christ, and used as a sacristy. He also speaks of a part railed off from the remainder of the Mosk, and revered as the Place of the Presentation[2]. It is probably also the great Mihrab used as a granary by the Templars[3], originally perhaps the apse of Justinian's Church of S. Mary.

5. *Gallery of the Muezzin* (Arab. *dikkah*), (§ 2).—A raised platform in marble elaborately carved, where the Ministers intone the Services.—The proper office of the Muezzin[4] is to proclaim the hours of prayer from the minarets, but they also form the choir of the mosks.

6. *Porch of 'Ozair* (§ 2).—The Arabic form of the name Ezra.

7. *Porch and Mihrab of Zachariah.* 8. *Eastern Gate.* 9. *Western Gate* (§ 2.)

10. *Well of the Leaf* (§ 3).—Probably opening to a

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[1] Bibliotheque Orientale, *sub voc.* Moaviah, p. 592, b.

[2] See Travels, Vol. II. p. 218, and the explanation of Plate LXXII, prefixed to Vol. I. p. xxxviii.

[3] H. C. Vol. II. p. 382.

[4] Willmet *sub v.* أذن p. 15, a. See above, p. 29.

large cistern formerly connected with the water-works of the Temple[5].

11. *Mart of Science* (§ 4).

12. *Second Altar of David,* and descent to *the Cradle of Jesus* (§ 5), and *Vaults* (51).

13. [On the West wall, near 41]. *Descent of the subterranean Gateway,* mentioned by Ali-Bey[6].

14. [On the East wall, opposite to 13]. *Judgment-seat of Mohammed.*—This legend is not noticed by Mejir-ed-din, and is probably of very late date. It is merely the shaft of a marble column accidentally projecting from the wall, which is pierced with a Saracenic arch behind it.

15. *Minbar used on Festivals,* &c. (§ 11).

16. *Dome of the Ascension of the Prophet* (§ 11).

17. *The Place of the Prophet* (§ 12).

18. *Place of el-Khudr*—*i. e.* the Valiant—so they designate S. George (§ 13).

19. *Cave of Spirits.* 20. *Dome of Solomon.*

21. *Dome of Moses.* 22. *Dome of the Grammarians.*

23. *Dome of the Roll.* 24. *Retreat of Kashan.*

25. *Cell of Bostam.* 26. *Cell of Samed* (§§ 13—19).

27—34. *Steps ascending to the Platform,* with Saracenic arcades at the head of each flight.

35. *Prayer Stations,* generally connected with traditional recollections of some Moslem saint.

36. *Chambers connected with the Mosk el-Aksa.*—One of these on the ground-floor is in ruins, and open to the garden at the South of the Haram. It was from this chamber that Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping effected their entrance through a hole in the wall, and thus the former introduced me on two occasions.

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[5] H. C. Vol. II. p. 469. [6] Ib. Vol. II. pp. 308, 9.

37. *A projecting Balcony.*—A kiosk, or summer-chamber, formed in the thickness of the wall, in the court of the house of Abu Se'ud Effendi[1].

38. *Steps leading to the House of Abu Se'ud.*—These steps and *the Balcony* are seen in the prints from Mr. Tipping's drawings, in Traill's Josephus, (pp. xx. and xxv.)

39. *An open Court* of the house above-named.—It gives entrance to the *Schools* at the West end of the *Mosk Abu Bekr*[2].

40. *Southernmost Angle of the West wall,* where its line is broken by the House of Abu Se'ud.

41. *The Gate of the Prophet.*—Much misplaced in Mr. Catherwood's Plan (Plate IV., in Mr. Fergusson's Essay), who seems not to have surveyed this part with requisite care.

42. *Convents, Schools, Cells,* &c.—A full account of these and their several founders is given by Mejir-ed-din, in his twenty-first Chapter; but as it would be difficult to identify them, and a matter of very small importance, I have not thought worth while to attempt it. A French translation by Von Hammer is given in the Mines d'Orient, Tome II. pp. 118—124.

43. *A Mosk.*

44. *Bab el-Jenni* (The gate of Paradise).—So called, no doubt, from the beautiful garden, mentioned by Edrisi, before this door, in the time of the Crusades[3].

45. *Bab el-Gharb,* (Gate of the West).—In the porch is a well, which Mr. Catherwood thinks may communicate with the Bath of Healing (*Hammâm es-Shefa*[4]).

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 321, 2.

[2] Ibid. p. 307.

[3] See the quotation in H. C. Vol. II. p. 385, n. 6.

[4] In Bartlett's Walks, p. 166, n. *

46. *Bab el-Kibli* (Gate of the South).

47. *Bab Daûd* (Gate of David), called by Mejir-ed-din, (§ 9,) "The Gate of Israfel," (the Angel of Death). "The East, West, and North doors have marble enclosed porches[5]." "The South Gate has a very fine portico, supported by eight Corinthian pillars of marble[6]."

48. *Dome of the Chain, or of David,* (§ 10).—Edrisi (p. 344) calls it the "Sanctum Sanctorum." The Crusaders named it the "Chapel of S. James[7]."

49. *Fountain.*—In the middle of the paved footway that leads from the platform to El-Aksa, which is shaded by venerable cypresses, is a fine basin of marble with a fountain in the form of a shell, which formerly supplied water[8].

50. *Descent to Vaulted Corridor beneath the Mosk*[9].

51. *Cradle of Jesus, and Descent to Substructions*[10].

52. *Throne of Solomon.*—Mejir-ed-din (§ 14) gives this name to a Dome on the North of the Platform, near the gate of the Devadar. (See No. 20, above.)

IV. WALLS AND GATES.

Modern and Mediæval.

THE existing wall, as has been said[11], was erected by Suliman I., the son of Selim I., and second Ottoman Sultan that held sway in Jerusalem. The inscriptions in various parts give the date of their erection as A. H. 948,

[5] Mr. Catherwood, ibid.

[6] Ali Bey, Vol. II. p. 219.

[7] H. C. Vol. II. p. 304.

[8] Catherwood l. c. p. 169, and Ali Bey, Travels, Vol. II. p. 218, and Vol. I. p. xxxvii. no. 47. See also H. C. Vol. II. p. 469.

[9] Fully described in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 309, 10.

[10] Ibid. 311, 12.

[11] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 445.

(A. D. $154\frac{1}{2}$)[1]. The materials of the old wall would, of course, be worked up in the new, as far as available; yet it may still be true that the stones were taken in part from quarries in the mountains about the City, but principally from ruined towns in the vicinity, and from desolated Christian Churches[2]. If it be fact that the architect was put to death by the Sultan for not including the whole of Mount Sion—according to an ancient tradition[3] still current among the Turks[4] and natives—the Sultan must have intended him to extend the City to its ancient dimensions on the South, as the traces of the walls would have enabled him to do; for it is certain that the half of Mount Sion had been excluded for many centuries, so that the Sion Church was, as now, a bow-shot distant from the walls when beleaguered by the first Crusaders[5]. The wall has for the most part no artificial fosse; indeed, nature has obviated the necessity of it along a great part of the East, South, and West: and the dry ditch extending from *Herod's Gate* to that of *S. Mary* is very insignificant in a military view[6]. The fosse of the Citadel only is at all a formidable work.

The chief peculiarity of the wall, well exhibited in the sections, is the device of converting the rock itself into a defence, merely facing it with masonry. This

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[1] Robinson's Bibl. Res. I. p. 384.

[2] Quaresmius, Elucid. T. S. Tom. II. p. 41.

[3] Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 41. Le Brun's Voyage, p. 298. Korten's Reise, p. 216, referred to by Dr Robinson, B. R. I. p. 470, note 6.

[4] This story was repeated to Mr. Young by Haji Mohammed Ali, late Pasha of Jerusalem.

[5] H. C. Vol. I. pp. 368, 9, and Willermus Tyr. Lib. VIII. sect. 5, p. 750, in Bongar.

[6] See above, p. 22. Col. Alderson says: "The Valleys of the Kedron and Jehoshaphat on the East, of Ben Hinnom on the South, and of Gihon on the South-West, add considerably to its means of defence." Append. to Notes.

explained a difficulty which perplexed me at Jerusalem, particularly in the *Garden* at the South of the *Haram*. That garden, I observed within, was nearly on a level with the battlements of the wall, while viewed from without its wall had an altitude of 50 or 60 feet. I ascribed the difference of level to the accumulation of soil or *débris* within, as other travellers had done; the Officers were the first to discover the true cause, as shewn in Section I. I had also often remarked the same peculiarity in the wall at the angle marked as Section K, which is now satisfactorily explained in the same manner.

There are four Gates now commonly in use, facing the four Cardinal points. They have most of them several names. To begin on the West: *Bab el-Khalil*—("the Gate of Abraham," or "of Hebron;"—literally, "of the friend," *i.e.* of God, for the Moslems call the Patriarch himself and the City of his Sepulchre by his distinguished title[7],)—formerly known among the natives as *Bab el-Mihrab*[8], ("the Gate of the Altar,") from the Mihrab of David in the contiguous fortress. It is now commonly known by Europeans as the *Jaffa Gate*, but anciently as "the Gate of David[9]." In this, as in other cases, I have inserted in the Plan the current native and Frank names.

The Northern Gate is called by the natives *Bab el-'Amûd*[10] ("the Gate of the Column"), I know not why; rarely "Bab es-Sham" ("the Gate of Syria," or of its

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[7] Willmet's Lex. *in voc.* خل (p. 252 b.) See 2 Chron. xx. 7; Isai. xli. 8; S. James ii. 23.

[8] Edrisi (cir. A. D. 1150), Vol. I. p. 341, ed Jaubert. Mejir-ed-din, p. 129, gives both names.

[9] "Porta David," so called by Arculfus, A. D. 697. Adamnanus de Loc. Sanct. Lib. I. cap. 1. So also in the Chronicles of the Crusades, *e.g.* Gesta Dei, p. 572. Willermus Tyrensis, VIII. 5, p. 750.

[10] More fully, 'Amûd el-Ghorab, by Edrisi, l. c. Mejir-ed-din, l. c.

capital "Damascus,"—for in Arabic the names are identical). It is now "*the Damascus Gate*" of the Europeans, but from the 7th to the 15th century was known as "S. Stephen's Gate[1]," so named from the Church a furlong distant from it, supposed to mark the site of the Passion of the Protomartyr[2]. In still earlier times it was called the "Gate of the Neapolis" *i. e.* Nablouse[3].

The Eastern Gate is the *Bab Sitti Miryam* (or *S. Mary's Gate*) of the natives, Moslem and Christian, but commonly known among Europeans by the misnomer of "S. Stephen's Gate," a name transferred in the 15th century from the Northern Gate[4]. It is the Gate of Jehoshaphat of the Crusaders, otherwise called the Valley Gate, and Sheep Gate, absurdly taken by Quaresmius for the Gate Gennath! It is remarkable for four lions sculptured in relief over the gateway, probably the work of the Christians. Here, I think, we must look for the "small gate" of Arculfus, from which was a descent by steps to the Valley of Jehoshaphat[5]. It is sometimes confounded by Moslem writers with the contiguous gate of the Haram, *Bab es-Sabat.*

The Southern Gate is the *Sion Gate* of the Franks, but *Bab en-Nebi Daûd* ("the Gate of the Prophet David") of the Moslems[6]. In the time of Mejir-ed-din, it was called also "the Gate of the Jews."

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[1] Arculfus first, l. c. and then all writers in succession, until Stephen Von Gumpenberg, A. D. 1449.

[2] This Church was destroyed by the Franks prior to the siege by Saladin, on account of its proximity to the walls, that it might not afford shelter to the assailants. Norman Chron. sect. v.

[3] So the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, A. D. 333. See H. C. II. p. 97.

[4] For fuller particulars, see H. C. Vol. II. p 432, and notes.

[5] "Portula, hoc est parvula porta, ab hac per gradus ad vallem Josaphat descenditur." Adamnanus, l. c.

[6] This, however, seems to be quite a modern name among them. Edrisi gives it as Bab es-Seïhûn, p. 341, as

Besides these Gates and those in the East and South walls of the Haram-enclosure, now built up[7], are two other City Gates, one on the North, the other on the South, commonly closed; but the latter is occasionally opened in the summer to facilitate the introduction of water into the City from the Well of Nehemiah.

Of these, the Northern Gateway is found about halfway between *the Damascus Gate* and the N. E. angle of the City, about 1000 feet from that angle. Its native name is *Bab es-Zahari*, "the Gate of Flowers[8]." Its Christian name is *the Gate of Herod*, but more anciently "the Gate of Benjamin[9]."

The Southern closed gate is named by the natives *Bab el-Mugharibeh*[10], "the Gate of the Western Africans," whose quarter formerly lay on the West side of the Haram, nearest to this Gate: and the gateway leading to it from the Haram—the Southernmost, *i. e.* in the West wall (41)—was sometimes called by the same name. This City Gate is called *the Dung Gate* by the Christians, with what reason will appear when I come to speak of the ancient City[11]. It is apparently the "Tekoa Gate" of Arculfus[12]; "the Postern of the Tannery" of the

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also does Mejir-ed-din, with the *alias* mentioned in the text, p. 129. It is the common name among the Chroniclers of the Crusades. Gesta Dei, p. 572. Will. Tyren. VIII. vi. xix.

[7] Viz. *Bab ed-Dahariyeh* ("the Eternal Gate"), popularly called *the Golden Gate* (of which see H. C. Vol. II. pp. 315, 355—359). "The Gate of Borak," (p. 315), in the East wall (*u*): the Saracenic Portal (p. 318), the Great Roman Gateway (*ibid*), and the Double Gate of Justinian (*ibid*), in the Southern wall (*u*, *w*, *x*).

[8] But Mejir-ed-din, Bab es-Saheré. He mentions also the Gate ed-Dazjé, between the Bab el-'Amûd and this; but no traces of it remain. p. 129.

[9] "Porta Benjamini." Arculfus l. c.

[10] So Mejir-ed-din, l. c.; in p. 98 he gives this name to the Haram Gate, which I have called the *Gate of the Prophet*.

[11] Noticed by Brocardus in 1283 as "the Water Gate." Bib. Res. I. 478.

[12] "Porta Tecuitis," l. c.

Norman writer[1], doubtless so named from the fact of its leading to Siloam, where hides were dressed during the Frank Kingdom[2].

It will be further desirable to notice two Gates of the Middle Ages, which have disappeared in later times, viz. one in the North wall, apparently near its N.W. angle, not far from the *Castle of Goliath*, the other to the South of the *Jaffa Gate*, in the West wall of the City, contiguous to the *Armenian Convent*.

The earliest notice of the former is in the account of Arculfus, who calls it "the Gate of the Fuller's Villa,"[3] perhaps from its leading to the *Turbet Mamillah*, which may have been already identified, erroneously, as I think, with the Fuller's Field[4]. This Gate is probably "the Postern of the Good Thief,"[5] mentioned in the Norman Chronicle as situated over against the Infirmary, through which the Christians were admitted to visit secretly the Holy Sepulchre, when the jealousy of the Saracens prohibited them from passing through the public thoroughfares, lest they should acquaint themselves with the state of the City. The latest mention of it occurs in the description of Mejir-ed-din, where it is named "Bab es-Serb"[6] ("the Gate of the Flock"). It was supposed by Brocardus to correspond in relative position with the *Porta Judiciaria* of the earlier walls, which was then, as now, inclosed in the City, (*p.*)

The small Gate, near the *Armenian Convent*, is noticed only by Mejir-ed-din, but I imagine that its place is marked by a buttress in the west wall of Sion at

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[1] In Beugnot, sect. vii.

[2] See below, p. 55, n. 4.

[3] 'Porta Villæ Fullonis," Adamnanus, l. c. between the Gate of David and that of S. Stephen.

[4] As lately by Dr. Schultz, p. 82.

[5] "La Posterne S. Ladre," sect. v.

[6] L. c. p. 129.

the distance of 550 feet from the S. W. angle, in the part that is called the *Towers of Gaza.*

After this account of the Gates, we shall be better able to understand the scattered notices of the walls that appear at intervals in the history of the City. Reserving, then, the examination of the ancient walls, I would here remark, that the very fact of their restoration by Hadrian is a matter of great uncertainty[7]. We know only that subsequently to his time Mount Sion was in whole or in part excluded from the city, and "ploughed as a field[8]," nor has any subsequent disposition of the wall interfered with this arrangement, although so late as the 15th century the foundations of the ancient wall of Sion were still distinctly to be traced along its southern brow, in the garden of the Franciscan Convent, (now the Mosk *Nebi Daûd,*) of which more will be said below[9].

Among other munificent works of the Dowager Empress Eudocia, it is mentioned that she rebuilt the city-walls, and inclosed within them the fountain of Siloam[10]. Besides these, I am not aware of any distinct notices of the walls prior to the Crusades, though it is certain that the City must have been well fortified to hold out so long against its first Saracenic assailants. The particular description of the disposition of the

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[7] Orosius is the only authority, but, as he had visited Jerusalem, his testimony must prove that the walls were restored at that time (A. D. 416). They were certainly still in ruins, at least about the Temple, in the time of Eusebius. But see H. C. Vol. II. p. 414, n. 1, and compare Vol. I. p. 243, n. 3. The restoration must have been very partial.

[8] Micah iii. 12. See the citation from Eusebius and S. Cyril in Bib. Res. I. p. 468, n. 1.

[9] Felix Fabri, Vol. I. p. 276.

[10] Cyril of Scythopolis is silent: Evagrius mentions it, H. E. I. xxii. and Antoninus Placentinus says that she included the fountain of Siloam. Ugolini Thes. Tom. VII. p. mccxvii.

Christian army clearly implies that, when assailed by it, they followed nearly the same line as at present[1]. The fortifications of the City had been thoroughly repaired during the advance of the Crusaders[2], so that we read of a deep and wide fosse before the outworks which covered the interior wall[3]. The wall was carried by the Crusaders at two points nearly simultaneously, viz. by Godfrey and his brother on the North, somewhere between the *Gate of Herod* and the N. E. angle, and by Count Raymond of Thoulouse on the *Mount Sion*, probably a little to the West of the *Sion Gate*[4].

During the Frank occupation, in the reign of King Baldwin IV., the city-wall had in part fallen to ruin from its extreme age, and a subscription was raised among the princes, secular and ecclesiastical, to be paid annually until the restoration was completed[5]. This work, commenced in A. D. 1177, could scarcely have been accomplished when the City was besieged by Saladin, A. D. 1187. The point of attack selected by him was the N. E. angle[6], near which the Crusaders had first effected their entrance, and where the wall was weakest. A breach was formed by undermining the angular tower, and the garrison capitulated.

A few years later (A. D. 1192) the approach of Richard

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[1] H. C. Vol. I. p. 368, &c. Will. Tyr. VIII. v. p. 750. in Bongar.

[2] Will. Tyr. VII. xxiii. 743.

[3] "Effractis antemuralibus, infra muros interiores, &c." Ib. VIII. vi. p. 750. "Vallum ingens et profundum quod antemurali erat suppositum." xiii. p. 756. Conf. xv. p. 757.

[4] Ibid. xii. p. 755, xvii. xix. pp. 758, 9.

[5] Ibid. Lib. XXI. sect. xxv. p. 1012.

[6] H. C. Vol. I. p. 416. See references there in the notes. The passage in Bohadin (p. 73) furnishes another proof in addition to those cited in H. C. Vol. II. p. 421, note 7, that the Moslems name the Valley of Jehoshaphat "Gehinnom."

Cœur de Lion and his allies obliged Saladin to add to the defences of the City, and the northern wall, between the *Damascus* and *Jaffa Gates*[7], was considerably strengthened by a second wall flanked with bastions and furnished with towers, the massive remains of which, still to be seen outside the N. W. corner of the modern City, on both the western and northern sides, have been taken for indications of a deviation in the line of the modern walls in that quarter[8].

The fortifications of the City were dismantled by Moaddam-Isa for fear of the Christians (A. D. 1219), and their restoration by the Franks, contrary to treaty (A. D. 1229), led to their more complete overthrow by the Amir Daûd of Kerak, when the Tower of David, which had before escaped, was levelled with the ground. In 1243 the City was ceded to the Christians for the last time, but its fortifications were apparently allowed to remain in ruins; for in the following year, on the irruption of the Kharesmians, its defence was declared hopeless, and the City was evacuated by the insufficient garrison[9]. The walls appear to have remained in a very dilapidated state until they were rebuilt by Suliman I. (A. D. $154\frac{2}{3}$). The fullest account that we have of them in that interval is from Felix Fabri[10], who speaks of their massive stones as tossed about in wild confusion on the South side of the Haram. In making his circuit of the City from the Jaffa Gate, he describes a deep and wide fosse, the city-wall built upon rocks, with houses inserted in it, and large caverns hollowed in the rocks

[7] Mejir-ed-din, Mines d'Orient, Tom. IV. p. 220.

[8] Bib. Res. p. 384.

[9] See the references in H. C. Vol. I. from p. 421—427.

[10] Evagatorium, T. S. Tom. I. p. 266; II. pp. 118, 19. 125, 6.

by which one might enter into the very middle of the city. He further speaks of a swell of ground at the N. W. angle, formed by ruined walls, occupying the site, he says, of the Psephine Tower, alluding, no doubt, to the *Castle of Goliath.* On the northern face he remarked a double wall, formed in many places of scarped rock, and observes that greater pains had been taken with the fortification in this part on account of the natural weakness: unconsciously confirming the testimony of Bohadin, already adduced. Felix, however, supposes that it was here that Saladin effected his entrance.

V. ENVIRONS OF THE CITY.

i. *East of the City.*

The Valley of Jehoshaphat, the "Wady Gehinnom" of the Arabs[1], skirts the City on the East side, leaving only a narrow strip of level ground outside the wall. Its depth varies from about 100 to 150 feet. In the bottom of the Valley is the *Tomb of the Virgin*[2], and South of this the two monolithic monuments of *Absalom* and *Zechariah,* and the two excavations of *Jehoshaphat* and *S. James.* The first of these has been fully described by Professor Willis, on the authority of Mr. Scoles[3].

The entrance to the so-called *Tomb of Jehoshaphat* is in the north-east angle of the passage that surrounds the *Tomb of Absalom:* but the accumulation of soil that conceals the lower portions of the latter has left

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. p. 421, and n. 7.

[2] Ibid. p. 436.

[3] Ibid. pp. 157—160, with plates. In the following detailed description of the others I also avail myself of the very beautiful and accurate Plans of Mr. Scoles, made with extreme precision and care in the year 1825, kindly placed at our disposal by that gentleman.

only the pediment of the former visible above ground. It is triangular in form, the tympanum being covered with foliation executed in the rock, but much defaced by time and violence.

The Cave of S. James is situated at the distance of 145 feet from the *Tomb of Absalom*, and consists of a series of sepulchral chambers, excavated in the face of the same rocky base of the *Mount of Olives*. It presents to the *Valley of Jehoshaphat* the front of a Doric temple *in antis*, of simple design, but purer in style than either of the other monuments. The *antæ* and columns have no base mouldings; the capitals of the former consist of a cavetto resting on an ovolo, but those of the latter are entirely without mouldings. They are connected by a regular architrave, surmounted by a frieze, with trigliphs and guttæ, and a cornice, consisting of the usual members; all executed in the solid rock. The dimensions of the portico are 18 feet by 10 feet, and its walls are pierced on all sides.

A low door in its East wall gives entrance to a series of sepulchral excavations, precisely similar in character to those already described[4], consisting of an ante-chamber, nearly 15 feet square, giving access to three other chambers on its three sides. The loculi are all what we have called deep, or *perpendicular*, (pierced lengthwise in the rock,) as in the *Tombs of the Kings* and the *Prophets;* not horizontal, (running along the side of the chamber with *arcosolia*[5], or arched recesses,) as many of those in the *Tombs of the Judges*. Of these loculi the northern chamber (about 13 feet square)

[4] The Tombs of the Judges in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 152—156. The Tombs of the Kings in p. 518.

[5] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 147, 153.

contains three, the southern chamber (15 feet by 12) four, and the eastern (12 feet 6 inches by 21 feet) four.

A flight of steps, cut in the rock, leads up from the North side of the Portico to the top of the cliff; and a passage in the South wall leads down to the *Tomb of Zachariah,* at a distance of 45 feet. This tomb stands isolated from the rock, as does the *Tomb of Absalom,* with a passage round it, 10 feet in width. It is, however, a complete monolith, not surmounted with masonry, as is the other; for the pyramid which forms the upper story of this monument is likewise executed in the solid rock. Its architectural features are Ionic, though not in the purest style. All its four fronts are uniform, and the monument is exactly square, each front being 18 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width; but the face towards the city is better finished than the others. The general design is very similar to that of the Tomb of Absalom—pilasters with antæ-capitals at each angle, having quarter columns attached, and two half-columns between, with Ionic capitals; its base being deeply buried in soil, like that of its neighbour. The Tomb of Zachariah, however, has no frieze, but simply an Egyptian cornice or entablature, (5 feet 6 inches deep), composed of a lower fascia, torus, and cavetto, from which rises the pyramid to an additional height of 15 feet. Mr Scoles thinks it probable that this monument stood on a basement, in which was the entrance to the tomb. There is now no known entrance; but the sepulchral arrangements are probably the same as those in the Tomb of Absalom, and in the Holy Sepulchre. This monument has been stuccoed, and painted a deep red colour; in some parts the stucco and colouring are yet to be seen.

It has been said that the origin and history of these monuments are involved in great obscurity[1]: scarcely two writers of ancient times agree in ascribing them to the same individuals. The earliest extant writer who mentions them is the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, in the time of Constantine (A. D. 333), who assigns the monoliths to Isaiah and Hezekiah[2]. Arculfus (A. D. 697) speaks of but one monolith, probably the Tomb of Absalom, as the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, near which were two excavated Sepulchres of Simeon the Just, and Joseph the husband of Mary[3]. The name given by Arculfus to the Tomb of Absalom seems to have passed current among Christians for many ages[4], though the Jews of the 12th Century certainly regarded it as Absalom's Place[5]; and this tradition, which is now established, is found at intervals in Christian writers[6]. In Mejir-ed-din it is called the Mound of Pharaoh[7]; and it is remarkable, that with its decidedly Egyptian features an Egyptian name should still be found to cleave to it[8]. I have elsewhere suggested whether the original monuments

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. p. 449.

[2] Itin. Hierosol. Wesseling, p. 595.

[3] Adamnanus, Lib. I. chap. xiv.

[4] Marinus Sanuto, A.D. 1321, (Lib. III. pars xiv. cap. ix. in Bongar, Vol. II. p. 255) is, I think, certainly describing the Tomb of Absalom under the name of Jehoshaphat.

[5] Benjamin of Tudela, A. D. 1170. Vol. I. pp. 36, 7. Asher's Edition. The other Monolith he gives to King Uzziah.

[6] Sir J. Maundeville (p. 112) is the earliest (A. D. 1322–56), then Rudolph von Suchem and Breydenbach. Georgius Gemnicensis identifies the Tomb of Jehoshaphat with the Pillar of Absalom, but rejects the latter tradition. Ephemerid. T. S. Lib. II. sect. 8. The others he calls by the now-received names.

[7] Mines d'Orient, Tome II. p. 133. He says, however, that it was built by the Greeks.

[8] Dr. Robinson having noticed the mixture of the Classical and Egyptian Architecture, common to these monuments and those at Petra, as an indication of their late origin, ingeniously suggests the Idumæan descent of Herod, and the connexion of Herod the Tetrarch with Aretas, as an explanation of these common features. Bib. Res. I. p. 521.

may not belong to a much earlier date than the ornamentation[1]; for ancient artists were as well skilled as modern in adapting architectural details to the altered taste of a later period.

The tradition concerning S. James is first found in S. Gregory of Tours, and is as follows[2]: It is said, that when the Apostle James had seen our Lord dead on the Cross, weary of his life, he swore that he would no more eat bread until he should see his Lord risen. On the third day our Lord, returning from his triumph over hell, shewed himself to James, saying, "Arise, James, and eat; for I have now risen from the dead." When the tradition became fixed to this Cave is very uncertain; I do not find it before the 14th Century[3]. It is possible that the Martyrdom of S. James may have taken place near this spot. He was cast down probably from the lofty tower, of which traces may still be seen at the S. E. angle of the Haram, on the precipitous brow opposite to these Sepulchres, in one of which he may have been interred[4].

The *Tomb of Zachariah* I have elsewhere attempted to connect with that son of Barachiah, who was slain by the Jewish zealots, according to our Lord's prophecy, shortly before the destruction of the Temple[5]. Josephus says that his body was thrown down into the valley. It was perhaps deposited near that of S. James the Just: but this is mere conjecture. The Jews, however, regard

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. p. 451.

[2] Historia Francorum, Lib. I. cap. xxi. ap. Bouquet, Tom. II. p. 145. The tradition preserved by him concerning the sepulture of S. James connects his Tomb with those of Zacharias and Simeon. See H. C. Vol. II. p. 449, n. 1.

[3] Sir J. Maundeville, A.D. 1322–56, mentions the Chirche where S. James and Zacharie were buried, south of the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, p. 116.

[4] See Stanley's Sermons, pp. 333, 4.

[5] H. C. Vol. I. p. 173, n. 2.

this monument with peculiar veneration, and think that prayers offered up before it are specially efficacious. A notable instance of this belief is recorded in history. During a long drought in Jerusalem a renegade Jew persuaded the Governor that the Jews had power to procure rain, and that, consequently, it was through them that the City was tortured with thirst. He referred to 1 Kings viii. 35, 6, in proof that the Jews could open heaven at their will. On this the Governor summoned the Rabbies of the various congregations, and threatened that unless they obtained rain within three days, all the Jews in Jerusalem should be put to death. When deprecations proved vain, the Jews entreated that the (Dung) Gate, contiguous to their quarter, which was commonly stopped up, might be opened, in order to allow them free access to the Tomb of Zachariah, where their prayers were sure to find a readier answer. Their request was granted; the whole Jewish population poured out of the City to prostrate themselves before this Sepulchre, and the rain came the first day!

At the Pillar of Absalom a bridge spans the dry bed of the Kidron: crossing this, and proceeding about 1600 feet down the valley, we come to—

53. *The Fountain of the Virgin*, which has been fully described[6] as rising in a small cavity, (25 feet below the level of the valley,) to which is a descent by twenty-six steps cut in the rock. The bitter, sweet, brackish, tasteless water flows off through a serpentine channel cut through the spur of the Temple Mount to—

54. *The Pool of Siloam*, the character of which has been described, and its history investigated[7]. It

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[6] H. C. Vol. II. p. 454, 5.

[7] Ibid. Vol. II. pp. 456, 7, 476—478.

is situated at the mouth of the Tyropœon, where that valley meets those of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom. The water is dammed up in the small basin for the purpose of irrigating the gardens that lie in the bed of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, just beneath the *Village of Siloam.* These gardens occupy the site of the *King's Gardens,* from whence perhaps the valley received the name of the King's Dale.

57. *The original Pool;* now filled with soil, and cultivated as a garden.

Bîr Ayûb. The Well of Job (Joab)[1], called also the Well of Nehemiah, and *Enrogel,* is at the entrance of the *Wady en-Nâr* ("the Fire Valley"), which is formed from the confluence of the three valleys above named. The well is mentioned as a point in the borders of Benjamin and Judah[2], and enables us to determine their limits with such accuracy, that I much wonder how it could ever have been supposed that any part of Jerusalem lay within the Tribe of Judah. It is clear that a line drawn from this well up the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom must have left the whole City on the North side, which belonged to Benjamin. The only other possible hypothesis is that Enrogel is not identical with the present Well of Nehemiah; but if not, where is it to be found?

Besides the notices already given of this Well, I may here insert another which was only referred to before. It relates to the recovery of this Well in the later years of the Frank kingdom, after it had been stopped by the Saracens, as had all others about the City, previous to its investment by the first Crusaders. It is remarkable

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[1] Described, &c. in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 489—495.

[2] Joshua xv. 7, 8, and xviii. 16, 17.

as an instance of the accurate fidelity of the native traditions, which had preserved the memory of this Well for so many years[3].

In the first year of King Baldwin IV. (A. D. 1182) no rain fell in Jerusalem; so that the cisterns were not replenished, and a terrible drought ensued. There was then a charitable burgess named Germanus, who possessed three reservoirs of water, to which all the citizens might resort. But when he saw that the supply failed, by reason of the drought, he was filled with sorrow on account of the poor whom he had sustained. He then remembered how he had heard say by ancient men of the land, that there was hard by the Fountain of Siloam an ancient Well which Jacob (*sic*) made there, but it had been closed and filled, and would with difficulty be recovered. So he made his prayer to our Lord that he would grant him to find this well, and to continue the benefit which he had commenced doing to His poor people in succouring them with water. Then he went to the place with workmen, and dug at the spot indicated. When the well was found, he caused it to be emptied and fresh built, all at his own cost. He further erected a draw-wheel over the well, which was turned by a horse, and stone troughs were provided for the accommodation of the citizens who resorted thither. The worthy burgess employed his own beasts to draw water night and day, and two of his

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[3] The following interesting narrative is taken from the Continuator of William of Tyre, Lib. XXII. In Martene and Durand's Vet. Script. &c., Collect. Tom. V. coll. 586, 7. He says that the water of Siloam was not good to drink, but was salt; that it was used for tanning hides, for washing linen, and for watering the horses and the gardens in the valley below.

horses with three servitors were constantly occupied in conveying water to his reservoirs in the city for the supply of the poor. This well was more than 50 toises deep, and was again filled by the Christians when they had intelligence that the Saracens were advancing to besiege the City. It was probably soon recovered, and we have distinct mention of it a century later[1].

The Well of Job lies between the *Mount of Offence* and the *Hill of Evil Council;* the former named from the abominations of Solomon's idolatry, supposed to have been erected on that hill[2]; the latter from the bargain of the traitor Judas, which is said to have been concluded in the country-house of Caiaphas (or Annas), the ruins of which are shewn on its summit[3].

ii. *South of the City.*

The *Hill of Evil Council* is separated from *Mount Sion* by the deep *Valley of Hinnom,* now called *Wady er-Rubâb,* the bed of which is planted with olive-trees. The precipitous rocks, arranged in natural terraces, at the base of the Hill of Evil Council, are perforated and honey-combed in all directions for the purpose of forming sepulchral excavations, converted by the piety or superstition of a later period into cells for recluses during some centuries[4], and afterwards restored to their original and more appropriate use. Some of them demand a specific

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[1] Viz., by Brocardus, A.D. 1283, who identifies it with Enrogel, cap. VIII., as does also Marinus Sanuto, III. xiv. 9.

[2] First distinctly stated by Brocardus (A.D. 1283). See Bib. Res. I. p. 565.

[3] Dr. Robinson finds this tradition first in Felix Fabri, A.D. 1483. Bib. Res. I. p. 408. Felix makes this hill Gihon.

[4] So Antoninus Placentinus, (A.D. 600). Ugolini. Thes. Tom. VII. p. mccxvii. Compare Edrisi, Tome I. p. 345. ed. Jaubert. Maundeville, p. 93. Felix Fabri, Vol. I. p. 422.

notice. Near the entrance to the valley is "the whited sepulchre," with its Doric pediment, in which Mr. Wilde made his marvellous discovery of the skulls of three distinct races of mankind[5]. Not far from this is the Retreat of the Apostles[6], with a rock-hewn Doric portal, whose roof and pillars were once adorned with Greek paintings of Saints, now almost defaced[7]. In this, and other tombs in its vicinity, Greek inscriptions have been discovered; several of which have been copied with great care by the learned Scholz, and the ignorant Krafft[8]. Over the entrance of the Retreat are the words

+ ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CIѠN,

which gave occasion to Dr. Clarke's preposterous hypothesis, that the *Hill of Evil Council* is the true Sion[9]! They occur two or three times, and are no doubt correctly explained by Dr. Schultz to signify that these tombs belonged to the Church (ΑΓΙΑ) of Sion, the present Mosk "Nebi Daûd[10]." In contradistinction to these *quasi* public graves we have other sepulchres, marked as private, with the name of the owners, or the persons therein deposited.

I will exhibit these inscriptions, both according to the decipherment of Professor Scholz, and with the very questionable corrections of Krafft[11].

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[5] Narrative, Vol. II. pp. 341—357. His theory is, of course, worthless. Krafft, p. 196, notices this tomb.

[6] "Latibula Apostolorum." Felix Fabri, l. c., and Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 283, give the reason of the name.

[7] Bib. Res. I. p. 526. Krafft, ibid.

[8] J. M. A. Scholz, Reise, &c. pp. 180, 81, A.D. 1822. Krafft, Topographie, &c. pp. 190—198, and Table of Inscriptions, Nos. 1—5.

[9] Clarke's Travels, Part II. Vol. IV. pp. 331—2, 8vo. Ed.

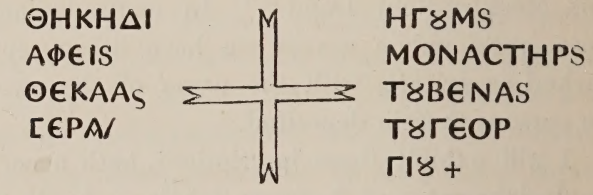
[10] Jerusalem, p. 39.

[11] Krafft, p. 193, and No. 1 of the Inscriptions. This is on a tomb which lies near the path that crosses the valley of Hinnom, and leads from Sion to the Hill of Evil Council.

SCHOLZ.	KRAFFT.
ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕ	⊞ ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕ
ΡΟΝΘΕΚΑΛΙΨ·ΡΕ	ΡΟΝΘΕΚΑΑΝΔΡΟΝ
ΑΦΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΜΙΚΗ	ΑΦΟΥΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΗ
+ S C	C

To Herrn Krafft, however, is due the whole merit of the interpretation, which Professor Scholz would probably not be ambitious to share with him.—"This is the grave of ten different men from Germany." An interesting record, which, he tells us, afforded him and his companion food for pensive reflection. But how this sense is to be derived from the words he does not shew; and all that I can venture to assert positively is, that either his decipherment, or his translation, or, more probably, both, are grossly erroneous.

The same may be said of the inscription on the Tomb with a Doric pediment before noticed, which Krafft represents as follows[1]:



This the bold critic explains to mean,

Θηκη διαφερων θεκα ανδρων ηγουμενων Μοναστηριου του Βενας του Γεοργιου:

which he translates,—"Grave of ten different men, Superiors of the Monastery of Benas, of George."—Ten men again, apparently the normal number of the occupants of these Tombs; and he tells us that there

[1] Pp. 196, 7, and No. 2 of the Inscriptions. Here, unhappily, Professor Scholz is too obscure to be of any value. p. 180.

were two Greek Monasteries of S. George in Jerusalem, but can give no account of that of S. Benas. It were strange, indeed, if he could, since no such Saint is to be found in any Calendar.

The third is equally infelicitous[2].

+ ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΤΗΝ
ΑΦΟΥΡΟΜΙΙΣΑΓΙΑΣΣΙΩΝ.

i. e., he says,—"Tomb of different men, from Rome, belonging to the Holy Sion."

I hope that some future traveller may be more successful in deciphering, and more happy in translating these inscriptions. It was worth while to give the above attempts as a warning to others, and as a specimen of the critical acumen of the somewhat supercilious "Licentiate of Theology, and private-tutor in the Rhenish University of Bonn."

Another, which appears to have escaped the observation of Krafft, is thus given by Professor Scholz:—

ΜΝΗΜΑΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑΤΟΥΕΥΓΗ
ΝΟΣΟΝΟΜΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣ
ΑΓΟΣΟΥ. . .

It is curious that these same excavations furnish an amusing example of the ignorance in a former Cambridge Professor, whose travels have obtained a very undue celebrity[3]. Dr. Clarke copied with considerable care an inscription, the words of which, he says, "are supposed to be *Arabic*, expressed in *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* characters. The *arrow-headed* character occurs here, as in the inscriptions at Telmessæ."

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[2] P. 198, and No. 3. This is near the bottom of the cliff.

[3] Clarke's Travels, Part II. Vol. IV. p. 330. 8vo. Ed. 1817.

This tomb lies a little to the West of the path that crosses the Valley of Hinnom from the South of Mount Sion, and is near a small grave-yard of the Jewish literalists (Karites)[1], to which community the inscription, which is entirely Hebrew, and in Hebrew characters, may confidently be ascribed. It has been copied by modern travellers[2], but is too much mutilated to give any connected sense, and is certainly inaccurately represented by Dr. Scholz, though he deserves great credit for having recovered so much. A comparison of the last eight lines of the inscription, as given by him, with that of Dr. Clarke will shew how difficult was his task, and will explain though not excuse the error of his predecessor, whose ignorance of the Hebrew character led him to insert natural marks in the rock as letters, and to omit parts of letters as natural lines.

Among the sepulchral excavations that lie around the Retreat of the Apostles is that which particularly attracted Dr. Clarke's attention, "from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances connected with the history of our Saviour's Tomb[3]," being a double cave with one loculus in the inner chamber. He was not aware that this identical grave had been described upwards of three hundred years before as the counterpart of the Holy Sepulchre[4], and that Father

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[1] Its position is given by Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 523, and Krafft, p. 190.

[2] Clarke, l. c. gives fragments of eight lines, in his own way; Dr. Robinson deciphered only a few words; the fullest is that given by Krafft, p. 191, who acknowledges in a note his obligations to Professor Scholz.

[3] Travels, Part II. Vol. IV. p. 327. In p. 328 he suggests the probability that this was "The identical Tomb!"

[4] So Felix Fabri, in A.D. 1480. "In eodem horto ingressi sumus quandam singularem speluncam, dominico Sepulchro simillimam, prout erat in suo primo statu." Tom. I. p. 423. This was upwards of seventy years before Boniface's repairs, which see loc. inf. cit.

Boniface, the Superior of the Franciscan Convent, who uncovered and recased that Sacred Tomb, had declared that this was in all respects similar to it, and had pointed it out to the brethren, that they might have it in their power to exhibit to the pilgrims an actual pattern of the Holy Sepulchre, existing in its natural state[5]. It is a curious coincidence that the sceptical traveller should have selected this very Tomb as "the True Holy Sepulchre."

On a higher ledge of rock, above the Retreat of the Apostles, lies the most interesting of the excavations in this Necropolis, situated in the parcel of ground known as *Aceldama*, "the Field of Blood." It was first thoroughly explored by Dr. Schultz, whose description I adopt[6]. He descended into it by help of a ladder, and found it to be an old rock-grave with a double sepulchral cave, in both of which many niches still remain,—the loculi for corpses. The rock is very soft lime-stone, and in order to prevent it from falling, the front wall of the cave is supported by two pillars of bevelled stones neatly executed. They seem formerly to have borne a vaulted ante-chamber, corresponding to that which now exists, but is of comparatively recent date and very roughly constructed. There are traces also of steps hewn in the rock, which formerly led down to the grave. He thinks that the masonry of these pillars must be referred to a time preceding the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and that this charnel-house must have formed the grave of some distinguished personage of that time. He imagines, in fact, that this is no other than the Sepulchre of Ananus (or Annas, father-in-law of Caiaphas), mentioned by Josephus in this part, in his

[5] See H. C. Vol. II. pp. 192, 4. The repairs were commenced in A.D. 1556.

[6] Jerusalem, p. 39.

account of the Wall of Circumvallation[1]. With reference to the Christian tradition that marks it as the Potter's Field, he says, "A stratum of white clay, which is still worked, corroborates the identity of the locality, for which one might otherwise look near the ruins of *Abu Wa'ir*, where is to be seen a bed of reddish clay[2]."

It is a curious coincidence that this Potter's Field has been used until very recent times for the purpose for which it was purchased by the High Priests, having been the ordinary place of burial for such strangers as died at Jerusalem during their pilgrimage. For when, during the Frank occupation of the City, the Church on that site was conveyed to the Hospital of S. John[3], by grant of the Latin Patriarch William (A. D. 1143), it is already described as the place "where the bodies of pilgrims are buried." It had heretofore belonged to the "ancient Syrians," i. e. the natives of the Greek rite. It was next used for the burial of such pilgrims as died in the Hospital[4]. This continued until the 14th century[5]. In the middle of that century the Franciscans purchased at a high price from the Sultan permission to erect a Convent on this site, which they were soon obliged to abandon on account of the incessant attacks of the Arabs, who then destroyed the Church and all other buildings, excepting the charnel-house. After

[1] P. 72. I am quite satisfied with this identification, of which more will be said below.

[2] Jerusalem, p. 39.

[3] Dr. Schultz, p. 119, cites the Deed of grant from Seb. Pauli's Codice Diplomatico, &c., p. 23. No. XXII.

[4] Jacobus, de Vit. Hist. Hierosol. Sect. lxiv. p. 1082. The Norman Chron. Sect. VI. corrupts Aceldama into Chaudemar. In illustration Dr. Schultz (p. 119) aptly introduces William of Tyre's remark on Banias. "Dicitur et Paneas: sed nostri Latini corrumpentes nomen, sicut pœne omnium aliarum urbium, Belinas vocant." Will. Tyr. XIX. 11.

[5] Sir J. Maundeville, p. 112, ed. 1727, cited also by Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. I. p. 525.

this the site was occupied by Greek Monks for a short time, until they were driven out in a similar manner[6]. Subsequently it passed to the Armenians, and served as the depository of their pilgrims for some centuries[7].

Leaving these *Sepulchral Excavations*, and proceeding northward up the *Valley of Hinnom*, we reach the *Sultan's Pool*[8], unquestionably an ancient work, and long prior to the Sultans. It is sometimes spoken of by later pilgrims as Bathsheba's Bath[9], but was known as the Lake of Germain in the time of the Frank Kingdom[10]. Its length along the middle is 592 feet, its breadth at the North end 245 feet, at the South 275; its depth at the North 35 feet, and at the South 42[11].

A little above the *Sultan's Pool*, the *Aqueduct of Pontius Pilate* crosses the Valley of Hinnom by a stone bridge of nine low arches, constructed to convey water from the Pools of Solomon to the Temple Mount[12]. It skirts great part of the West, the whole of the South and East sides of Mount Sion, and is conducted to the Haram by the Causeway that joins the N. E. corner of that hill[13]. It passes at the S. W. corner of Mount Sion the *Hammâm Tabariyeh* (the Baths of Tiberias), where

[6] Felix Fabri, I. pp. 424, 5, mentions these facts, and cites Ludolph of Suchem (A. D. 1350) in confirmation. He further describes the charnel-house, as it then existed, with nine orifices for the corpses, overgrown in great part with long grass, so that the unwary might easily slip through into the loathsome pit.

[7] Quaresmius, E. T. S. II. p. 285. See other citations in Bib. Res. I. p. 525.

[8] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 496, 7.

[9] Quaresmius, E. T. S. II. p. 596. See further, Bib. Res. I. 485-7.

[10] So the Norman writer, Sect. vi. He assigns as a reason for the name, that Germain (doubtless the worthy burgess in p. 55) caused it to be made as a reservoir for the rain-water that descended from the mountains. This must be a mistake, for William of Tyre, an earlier writer, says that it was celebrated in the times of the Kings of Judah, VIII. ii. p. 747; he does not assign it any name.

[11] So Dr. Robinson, l. c. p. 486.

[12] Holy City, Vol. II. pp. 497—502.

[13] Ibid. pp. 43, 44.

ruins of baths may still be seen. They doubtless derived their supply of water from this aqueduct. On the East of Sion it passes close to the *Cave of S. Peter*, where, according to the tradition, he wept bitterly after his thrice-repeated denial. A Church formerly stood over this Cave, and the suggestion of Felix Fabri is probably true, that a deep cistern, still to be seen there, was a Crypt of the Church supplied from the aqueduct[1].

The pile of buildings now called *En-Nebi Daûd* (the Prophet David), was formerly the Franciscan Convent, erected for that community in the 14th century (A. D. 1313), by Sancia, Queen of Robert of Sicily, and occupied by them until the 16th century (A. D. 1561), when they were expelled by the Moslems[2]. It contains the Cœnaculum, sometimes called the Church of Sion, the Church of the Apostles, the Upper Church,—perhaps the most ancient sacred edifice in Jerusalem[3]. The subterranean Tomb of David is also entered from this building. In connexion with this it may be well to mention a curious discovery lately made in this neighbourhood. The Jews' Society recently purchased a plot of ground for a burying-place on Mount Sion, not far from Nebi Daûd, to the South-west, I believe. In digging on this ground a staircase cut in the native rock was discovered. It was excavated to the depth of forty

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[1] Evagator. Vol. I. p. 261. The Church was called Gallicantum, but was already, in his day, "totaliter eruta, adeo quod ejus non apparent vestigia." It is mentioned in the Norman Chron. as standing, "moustier de S. Pierre en Galliceinte." Sect. v.

[2] See more fully Bib. Res. I. p. 353; and Quaresmius, Elucid. T. S. Tom. I. p. 176, and II. pp. 51, 122.

[3] Mentioned by Epiphanius at the close of the 4th Century as having escaped the destruction under Titus; mentioned also by S. Cyril, Prudentius, S. Jerome, Theodoret (in Ezechielem, apud fin. Op. Tom. II. p. 1050. Ed. Halæ, 1769, 8vo), and others. See H. C. Vol. II. p. 508, and notes.

steps, when the works were suspended. Is it possible that this can be any way connected with the sepulchral caverns of David and the Kings of Judah?

iii. *West of the City.*

On the opposite side of the Valley of Hinnom we may observe *Kasr el-Ghazul* (the Gazelle's Castle), and *Abu Wa'ir*, both marked by ruins of former habitations, and the latter by a small cell dedicated to S. George[4]. Passing through the Christian graveyards towards the Citadel, and then turning West, at the distance of about 700 yards from the Jaffa Gate we arrive at *the Pool of Mamillah*, which is formed in the natural basin at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, on the West of the City. It is not a reservoir, but a mere receptacle of the rain-water from the sloping ground around it, which immediately runs off by a rude aqueduct into *the Pool of the Bath* within the City[5]. It was called by the Crusaders the Patriarch's Lake[6], and has of late years been erroneously identified with "the Upper Pool," mentioned by the Prophet Isaiah, while, of course, the *Sultan's Pool* was made to do service for "the Lower Pool." Both these names are quite recent, as is also that of Gihon as assigned to the upper part of the Valley of Hinnom[7].

The dimensions of the tank as measured by Dr. Robinson are as follows: Length, 316 feet; width at the West end, 200 feet; at the East end, 218 feet; depth,

[4] H. C. Vol. II. p. 515.

[5] See further, H. C. Vol. II. pp. 488, 9.

[6] So Will. Tyr. VIII. ii. p. 747, and Norman Chronicle, Sect. vi.

[7] Dr. Robinson, who accepts this identification, (Bib. Res. I. pp. 352, 402, 3, 483—485,) cites Quaresmius, II. 715, as representing the monkish tradition; and Pococke, pp. 25, 26.

18 feet. Its modern native name is derived from a Church, formerly situated in this vicinity, dedicated to S. Mamilla or Babila[1]. It was built over the extensive catacombs called *The Charnel-house of the Lion*, from the tradition of the Lion that assisted to bury in this Cavern the corpses of the Christians slain by the Persians and Jews in the invasion of Chosroes II.; and in the times of the Frank kingdom prayers were daily chanted over their relics[2]. The road to the Convent of the Cross passes near this Cavern[3].

The Mohammedan burial-ground, *Turbet Mamillah*[4], is the most extensive about the City, but not so highly esteemed as that under the East wall of the Haram. Apropos of this graveyard, I may remark that the City is completely hemmed in by graves. Commencing with the S. Mary's Gate, we have the Moslem burial-ground extending all along the East wall of the Haram to the S. E. angle: below is the large graveyard of the Jews on the base of Mount Olivet; then the Necropolis of the Valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, the former including the village of Siloam, which is entirely formed of sepulchral excavations; then the Christian cemeteries on Mount Sion: the *Turbet Mamillah* continues the line, which, after a short break, is again resumed by the *Tur-*

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[1] For S. Babila see Dr. Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 120. Mejir-ed-din says that the Christians call this place Babila, (p. 134). He gives some fanciful derivations of the Moslem name.

[2] See H. C. Vol. I. pp. 302, 3. Bernhardi Mon. Itinerarium, (A. D. 870,) p. 792. Eutychii Annales, (A. D. 940) Tom. II. p. 213. Eugesippus, (A. D. 1120) ap. Leonis Allatii Opuscula, p. 118. Will. Tyr. VIII. ii. p. 747. Norman Chron. Sect. vi. This last writer, in common with Bernhard, falls into the natural error of substituting the Saracens for the Persians.

[3] In Frank times it was an abbey of Nuns. Norman Chron. vi. See the account in H. C. Vol. II. p. 553.

[4] For this and the other burial-places of the Moslems, see Mejir-ed-din, p. 134.

bet ez-Zahara, and completed by a line of graves under the East wall of the City quite to the S. Mary's Gate.

iv. *North of the City.*

The *Turbet ez-Zahara* is over the *Cave of Jeremiah*, where, according to a late tradition, that Prophet wrote his Lamentations, and the savage wildness of that uncouth cave may well seem to have caught the gloomy colour of the desolate heart that pours forth its plaintive melody in the dirge of the old Jerusalem. The date of the formation of this grotto is very uncertain. It was apparently a quarry from which stones have been taken for the construction of the city-walls, and at no remote period[5]; for the historians of the Crusades make no mention of this cave, which they would scarcely have passed over in silence. The great stable of the Hospital must have stood in this immediate vicinity, according to the description of the Norman writer[6]. It survived the siege of Saladin, and furnished extensive accommodation to the pilgrims that resorted to Jerusalem during the truce. Several Mohammedan saints lie buried before the mouth of the cave, which is now under charge of a Derwish, and serves for the Lazarette of the Quarantine establishment. The City-wall opposite to this cave is formed by a precipice of rock

[5] See H. C. Vol. II. p. 428, and notes, and p. 516.

[6] Sect v. As you approach the S. Stephen's gate from the Nablouse road, S. Stephen's Church is on the right, the "*Assery*" of the Hospital before it on the left. The deed of grant to the Hospital, made in A.D. 1163 by Eustachius and Agnes his wife, describes the land of the Hospital as adjacent to the two roads that led from the gate of S. Stephen, one to the North, the other to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, i. e. to the East. The cistern is, no doubt, as Dr. Schultz remarks (p. 118), the Cotton Grotto, marked *Quarry* in the Plan, described in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 470, 71.

75 feet high, (seen in Section E,) and the strata of the limestone corresponding with those of the Cave strengthen the impression that it was formerly all one hill, excavated for the purpose already mentioned.

In a wider range from the City-walls we have on the North *the Tombs of the Kings*, situated at the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat[1], and on the East *the Church of the Ascension*, on the centre summit of the Mount of Olives[2]; but as these have been elsewhere described, I may now pass on to the Antiquities; and I trust it will be found that the attempt to identify and illustrate these will be much facilitated by the foregoing notices of the Modern and Mediæval City.

VI. THE ANCIENT CITY.

The notices in detail of ancient Jerusalem contained in Canonical Scripture are very partial, being confined almost exclusively to the reconstruction of the walls by Nehemiah after the Babylonish Captivity; for the account of the building of the Temple and Solomon's other works relates almost entirely to the edifices themselves, and very little to their respective sites. The remaining notices are allusive rather than descriptive, and afford little to satisfy the curiosity that craves for particular information concerning the arrangement and adornment of the Holy City.

Very nearly the same may be said of the uninspired writers. The arrangement of the City is indeed graphically described by Aristeas[3], and Tacitus has sketched its position and general appearance with his

[1] Described in H. C. II. pp. 518, &c.
[2] Ibid. pp. 445, 6.
[3] See H. C. Vol. I. pp. 73—75.

usual vigour[4]; but it were vain to attempt a restoration of the old City from these very scanty materials. Josephus, the most accurate and best-informed writer on the subject, little aware of the importance that would one day be attached to his descriptive notices of his native City, has given only such particulars of its disposition as were necessary to render intelligible his account of the siege by Titus; and even here we find cause to complain of some important omissions, particularly in his account of the second wall. His other notices are, like those of the Sacred narrative, merely allusive.

Under these circumstances, it should be no matter of surprise that the earlier attempts to trace the features of ancient Jerusalem were so eminently unsuccessful, or that such diversity of opinion on the subject should still exist among archæologists, notwithstanding the increased advantages which their researches have derived from a more critical examination of ancient authors, and a more scientific survey of the City and its environs.

It were a wearisome task to notice and to comment on the fanciful restorations of Brocardus, Villalpandus, Lightfoot, and others, and could answer no good purpose. The principal parts of Dr. Robinson's theory have been fully considered in the IInd Chapter of the Second Part of my Work, and I must here assume the results without repeating the arguments. Dr. Schultz and Herr Krafft are the only other writers on the subject that are entitled to any consideration. I shall commence with the notices of Josephus, as the most sure and solid basis for the investigation, and shall then identify such sites as I can in the earlier Scripture notices.

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[4] H. C. Appendix to Vol. I. pp. 475, 6.

VII. THE CITY ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS[1].

"The city was fortified with three walls, save where it was skirted by the impassable ravines, (for here there was but one circuit), and it was built on two eminences, which fronted each other, and were divided by an intervening ravine, at the brink of which the closely-built houses terminated. Of these eminences that which had upon it the Upper City was by much the loftier, and in its length the straighter.

"This eminence (then), for its strength, used to be called the Strong-hold by King David, (he was the father of Solomon who first built the Temple), but by us it was called the Upper Forum. But the other (eminence), which was called Acra, and which supported the Lower City, was in shape gibbous. Opposite to this latter was a third eminence, which was naturally lower than Acra, and was once separated from it by another broad ravine, but afterwards, in the times when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up the ravine, wishing to join the city to the temple; and having levelled the summit of Acra, they rendered it lower, so that in this quarter also the Temple might be seen rising above other objects.

"But the ravine called the Tyropœon (Cheese-makers'), which we mentioned as dividing the eminence of the Upper City and the Lower, reaches to Siloam,—for so we called the spring, both sweet and abundant. But in their outer sides the two eminences

[1] The following extracts are made from Bell. Jud. Lib. v. cap. iv. It may be necessary to caution the reader that no reliance can be placed in Whiston's translation, which is very inaccurate. The original is given in the Appendix to H.C. Vol. I. p. 473—475.

of the city were hemmed in within deep ravines; and by reason of the precipices on either side, there was no approach to them from any quarter."

This was the Old City, but in process of time the city, "being over-abundant in population, began gradually to creep beyond its old walls; and the people joining to the city the region which lay to the North of the Temple, and close to the hill (of Acra), advanced considerably; so that even a fourth eminence was surrounded with habitations, viz. that which is called Bezetha, situated opposite to the Antonia, and divided from it by a deep ditch. For the ground had been cut through on purpose, that the foundations of the Antonia might not, by joining the eminence, be easy of approach, and of inferior height." The Antonia, we are further told, was a Castle, situated at the N. W. angle of the outer enclosure of the Temple, occupying a precipitous rock 50 cubits high.

Such was the general disposition of ancient Jerusalem; and in proceeding to compare it with the modern city, it may be convenient to state broadly, at the outset, 1st, that the *Armenian and Jewish Quarters*, with so much of *Mount Sion* as is now excluded from the walls, composed the *Upper City;* 2dly, that the present *Mohammedan Quarter* corresponds exactly with the *Lower City;* 3dly, that the *Haram es-Sherif*, or Noble Sanctuary of the Moslems, occupies the *Temple Mount*, originally divided from the Hill *Acra*, (at the North of the *Lower City*), by a wide ravine, afterwards filled up by the Asmoneans; and, 4thly, that the *Haret Bab-el-Hitta* is the lower part of the *Hill Bezetha*, enclosed by the Wall of Agrippa, (A.D. 40), which wall also comprehended the *Christian Quarter*, and a considerable

space to the North of the modern city. The several parts of the ancient city were enclosed by distinct walls, which must be noticed in detail.

i. *The Upper City and Old Wall.*

"Of the three walls the old one was difficult to be taken, both on account of the ravines, and of the eminence above them, on which it was situated. But, in addition to the advantage of the position, it was also strongly built, as David and Solomon, and the kings after them, were very zealous about the work. Beginning towards the North from the tower called Hippicus, and passing through the [place] called Xystus, then joining the Council Chamber, it was united to the western cloister of the Temple. In the other direction, towards the West, commencing from the same place, and extending through a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes, and then turning towards the South, above the fountain Siloam, thence again bending towards the East to the Pool of Solomon, and running through a place which they called Ophla, it was joined to the Eastern cloister of the Temple."

Now the first remark to be made on this account, (and it is of the utmost importance for the right understanding of this description of the walls), is this, that Josephus commonly describes the wall by the quarter which it faces: thus, the North wall is that which faces the North; the West, that which faces the West; and so following[1]. Hence, it is clear that the Hippic Tower lay in the N.W. corner of the Upper City.

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[1] See this same remark in Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. 1. p. 411, n. 1. Dr. Schultz, on the contrary, charges the historian with great laxity in the use of these expressions; but here, I think, through misapprehension of his meaning. Jerusalem, pp. 57, 69, 70. In some cases the charge is just.

1. *The North.*

But we have a more particular description of the Tower Hippicus, and of two other towers near it, erected by King Herod, in the Old Wall, excelling all in the world in size, beauty, and strength, dedicated to the memory of his brother, his friend, and his best-loved wife. "The Hippicus, named from his friend, was a square of 25 cubits, and 30 high, entirely solid. Above the part which was solid and constructed with massive stones, was a reservoir for the rain-water, 20 cubits in depth, and above this a house of two stories, 25 cubits high, divided into different apartments, above which rose battlements of 2 cubits, on parapets of 3 cubits, so that the whole height amounted to 80 cubits.

"But the second Tower, which he named from his brother Phasaëlus, was 40 cubits square, and solid to the height of 40 cubits; but above it was erected a cloister 10 cubits high, fortified with breastworks and ramparts. In the middle of the cloister was carried up another tower, divided into costly chambers, and a bath-room, so that the tower was in nothing inferior to a palace. Its summit was adorned with parapets and battlements more than the last-mentioned. It was in all 90 cubits high, and resembled the tower of Pharos near Alexandria, but was of much larger circumference.

"The third tower, Mariamne, was solid to the height of 30 cubits, and 20 cubits square, having above a richer and more exquisitely-ornamented dwelling. Its entire height was 55 cubits.

"Such in size were the three towers, but they looked much larger, through the site which they occupied. For both the old wall itself, in the range of

which they stood, was built upon a lofty eminence, and likewise a kind of crest of this eminence reared itself to the height of 30 cubits, on which the towers being situated, received much additional elevation. The towers were constructed of white marble, in pieces of 20 cubits long, 10 wide, and 5 deep, so exactly joined together that each tower appeared to be one mass of rock.

"To these, situated on the North, was joined within, the King's Palace, surpassing all powers of description. It was entirely surrounded with a wall 30 cubits high, with decorated towers at equal intervals, and contained enormous banquetting-halls, capable of accommodating a hundred guests, besides numerous chambers, richly adorned. There were also many cloisters encircling one another, with different columns to each, surrounding green courts, planted with a variety of trees, having long avenues through them, and deep channels and reservoirs everywhere around, filled with bronze statues through which the water flowed, and many towers of tame doves about the fountains."

These magnificent works of Herod the Great, designed, apparently, to defy the ravages of all time, have so entirely crumbled to dust, that their site is scarcely to be identified; and antiquaries are not yet agreed as to the position occupied by the Upper Palace and its three imposing towers. But the platform of rock occupied by the present citadel does so entirely answer to the rocky crest of the hill on which they stood, and its position so well corresponds to all that we read of the Palace[1], that I have no hesitation in fixing it

[1] See more fully H. C. Vol. II. pp. 14—17. Section A of the walls shews the rocky platform.

to this locality. The coincidence in measure between the N.W. (*a*) and N.E. (*b*) towers of the modern citadel, and the *Hippicus* and *Phasaelus* respectively, while it affords a strong confirmation of this view, furnishes other important landmarks in our survey of the ancient City; and the steep ridge, a little to the South of *the Street of David*, that may be traced down to the Bazaars, is easily recognized as the northern brow of Sion, on which also the third tower, *Mariamne*, must have stood (near *c*), and along which the old wall was carried.

This conclusion is farther strengthened by the position of the *Pool of the Bath*, which exactly answers to the Amygdalon, or Almond Pool, opposite to which the Romans erected one of their banks against the North wall of the Upper City[2]. This Pool again fixes another important point in the topography of ancient Jerusalem, viz. the Monument of the high-priest John, by which this part of the New City is described in the Jewish War. It was about 30 cubits distant from the Pool; and as it is mentioned both in the attack on the first wall, and the defence of the second, it may be confidently concluded that it lay between the two[3]. In his description of the northern line of the *First Wall*, the historian makes no mention of any place between Hippicus and the Xystus, the former at its western extremity, the latter near its eastern termination, as is obvious from other passages; for this public gymnasium of Jerusalem was situated at the western end of the Bridge or Embankment that united the Upper City to the Temple-area, and joined the Palace of the Asmo-

[2] H. C. Vol. I. p. 180; II. pp. 19, 24, 38.

[3] The position of this monument is fixed in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 19, 24.

neans[1]. The Causeway still exists, and is traversed by the *Street of the Temple,* that leads down from the *Bazaars* to the *Gate of the Chain;* and the Palace and Xystus may be safely assigned to the South side of that Street, the latter probably occupying the N.E. angle of Sion, the former, perhaps, attached to it, but certainly overlooking it, and commanding, from its upper chambers, an extensive view of the City, including the Temple-area.

The last place mentioned on this line of wall is the Council-Chamber. As it was between the Xystus and the western cloister of the Temple, there can be no difficulty in identifying its site with that of the Corresponding Office of Modern Jerusalem, *the Mehkemeh,* or Town-Hall—the Council-Chamber of the Judicial Divan[2].

There is, however, another point in the northern wall of the Upper City incidentally mentioned in another passage. The second wall, it is said, had "its beginning at a place in the old wall, called the *Gate Gennath,*"—that is, the Gate of the Gardens. This Gate, then, must have stood somewhere between the Hippic Tower and the Xystus[3]. The high crest of the eminence on which the three towers stood, with the palace-gardens within, would prevent an exit from the city towards the western part of the North wall; so that the Gate Gennath must have been considerably to the East of the Hippic Tower. Now it is a curious fact, that tradition has preserved the memory of a city-gate, at a spot (*e*) which would well agree with the position of the Gate Gennath, as determined by these consi-

[1] All this is proved at length (ibid.) pp. 392—397, and notes.

[2] H. C. II. pp. 42, 3. So also Dr. Schultz. Jerusalem, p. 57.

[3] H. C. II. pp. 17, &c.

derations[4]; and it is certain that it could not be far distant.

2. *The West.*

But the wall of the Upper City has now to be traced in the opposite direction, commencing at Hippicus.

"It first ran southward (according to Josephus, with a western aspect) through a place called Bethso, to the Gate of the Essenes—then turning East, ran with a southern aspect above the fountain of Siloam." It is an unfortunate circumstance that neither of the two sites first named—Bethso, nor the Gate of the Essenes—occur elsewhere, nor can they be identified with any other notices of the city. In default of this, however, the nature of the ground will hardly permit us to doubt that the old wall of Sion followed the line of the modern wall, along the *Towers of Gaza,* and continued in the same line along the western brow of the hill quite to the S. W. angle; and a remarkable ridge near the angle is probably composed of the foundations of the western wall. Whatever then may be the signification of these two words, concerning which the learned are not agreed[5], it may be safely concluded that Bethso lay in the place now occupied by the *Garden of the Armenian Convent,* and that the Gate of the Essenes must have stood nearly at that point where a path still ascends the steep of Sion from the South end of the *Sultan's Pool.*

3. *The South.*

The scarped rock at *the Baths of Tiberias* marks the line of the South wall of the Upper City, and traces

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[4] H. C. II. pp. 55, 6.

[5] Dr. Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 58. Krafft, pp. 20, 151.

of the wall and ruined cisterns may still be seen in a continuous line from the South-west corner of the hill to a point South-east of *Nebi Daûd*, where a ditch hewn in the rock follows the curve of the highest brow of Sion nearly to the present city-wall, but can be traced no further.

Now Benjamin of Tudela[1] notices the ruins of the old wall of Sion, in the vicinity of the *Tomb of David* during the Frank domination; and again, after another interval of more than three centuries, Felix Fabri speaks of the foundations of the wall and towers as still existing in the garden of the Franciscan Convent, on the South-east corner of the hill[2].

Its course from this point is extremely doubtful. Josephus says only that "it ran above the Fountain of Siloam, thence bent eastward to the Pool of Solomon, and extending as far as a place called Ophla, was joined to the eastern cloister of the Temple."

Perhaps all that can be assumed as certain in this description is, that the Fountain of Siloam is identical with the modern *'Ain Silwan*, in position as in name.

The first difficulty, then, relates to the course of the wall from Nebi Daûd to Siloam. For although Josephus makes no mention of any inclination in the South wall, until after passing above Siloam, whence it continued with an eastern aspect, yet it is urged that the nature of the ground renders it highly improbable that the wall ran in a straight course: for the eastern declivity of Sion, near the mouth of the Tyropœon, is extremely steep, almost precipitous, and the natural

[1] Cited in H. C. Vol. I. p. 509.

[2] Evagatorium, Vol. I. p. 276.

advantage of the ground would thus have been lost to the fortification, as Dr. Schultz remarks[3]. He therefore carries the wall along the eastern brow of Sion, and makes it cross the Tyropœon some considerable distance above Siloam. And he finds authority for this in the cistern at the Cave of S. Peter, the masonry of which he considers similar to that at *the Baths of Tiberias*. He is followed by Krafft, who, however, adduces no new evidence[4]; and the Reviewer in the "Neues Repertorium" is of opinion that the old wall crossed the valley in the same place as the modern wall, viz. at the *Bab-el Mugharibeh*, or the Dung Gate[5].

But, on the other hand, the silence of Josephus is almost decisive against these deviations of the main wall from the direct line between the two points specified; for he is generally very particular in his mention of its inflexions, and many incidental remarks in the course of his narrative seem to intimate that the Lower City included the whole of the Cheesemakers' Valley, quite to Siloam[6], although it is clear that this Fountain was not included within the wall, but only commanded

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[3] Jerusalem, pp. 58, 59, and Plan.

[4] Topographie, pp. 21—2, and Plan.

[5] In p. 3, of an able Review of Dr. Schultz's book and my own, in Vol. VI. No. 1. The Reviewer's argument in support of this theory is founded on a misapprehension of Josephus. He takes the words πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολήν κ.λ. to imply that the wall had run east before; but it is clear that the πάλιν refers to the ἐκκλίνον, not to the πρὸς ἀνατολήν—to the inclination, not to the direction.

[6] Thus in Bell. Jud. v. iv. the Tyropœon which separated the two hills of the city, is said to extend to Siloam: this, however, is not decisive. But in the account of the two days' sack of the Lower City, we are told that on the first day "the Romans fired the Record Office, and the Acra, and the Council-chamber; and the fire advanced as far as the place of Helena, which was situated in the middle of Acra." Bell. Jud. VI. vi. 3. On the following day they drove the robbers from the Lower City, and burnt all as far as Siloam. vii. 2.

by it[1]. Since it is certain, however, that the Upper City was entirely encompassed by a wall of its own—for the Romans had to make regular advances against it, even after they were masters of all the Lower City including Ophla and Siloam—it is very probable that the East wall of the Upper City did follow the brow of the ridge, along a line nearly coincident with the aqueduct, until it joined the North wall at the Xystus, while the main wall continued its easterly course down the steep slope of Sion, and across the Valley of the Tyropœon, not far from its mouth, and a little above the Pool of Siloam.

4. *The East.*

Its further course to the Temple is equally obscure, as the historian has not fixed any of the points mentioned in connexion with this part of the old wall, neither the Pool of Solomon, nor Ophla, nor the Basilica of Grapte, or Monobazus[2]. With regard to the

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[1] For it is certain, from the harangue of Josephus (v. ix. 4), that its water was available to the Romans before the Lower City was taken, which it could not have been if it was included in the walls, as Dr. Robinson supposes, B. R. i. p. 460. He takes the περιτείχισμα in Bell Jud. vi. viii. 5, for "a wall around the fountain;" but it is clearly the wall of circumvallation. In the distribution of the City between the two factions, when assailed by Titus, "Simon held the Upper City, and the great wall (*i. e.* the third) as far as the Kedron, and so much of the old wall as bends from Siloam to the east, and went down as far as the Hall of Monobazus....He held also the fountain, and the Acra, which is the Lower City, and all as far as the Palace of Helena the mother of Monobazus. But John held the Temple, and a great space about it, and Ophla and the Valley of the Kedron." (Lib. v. vi. 1.)

[2] I have suggested that the wall running from Siloam to the Hall of Monobazus, mentioned in the last note, was the east wall of Sion, (H. C. Vol. i. p. 147, note 3), and also that this Hall of Monobazus was at the ancient Palace or House of the Asmoneans, where King Agrippa built his obnoxious chamber, (Ant. xx. vii. 11. Bell. Jud. ii. xvi. 3. H. C. Vol. i. p. 158), identical also with the Royal Hall built by Grapte, a female relative of Izates, the brother of Monobazus, and both sons of Monobazus the Elder and

Pool, I consider its identity with the Fountain of the Virgin extremely doubtful[3]; for this cavity is certainly not a Pool, and the writer who designates this a Pool would hardly have described Siloam as a Fountain. Indeed, I much question whether the mouth of the *Virgin's Fountain* was not stopped during the later years of the Jewish Commonwealth; for we certainly have no other notice of it in the history. It is clear, too, that in this as in other passages, Ophla is used in a more restricted sense than has been lately supposed: it was apparently a large building on the line of wall between the Pool of Solomon and the Temple, and not the whole of the sloping ridge South of the Temple[4]. The Basilica, or Royal Hall of Monobazus, must have stood between Ophla and Siloam; for in the distribution of the walls between Simon and John, the former, who held the fountain, occupied also the wall between Siloam and the Basilica; while the latter, who defended the Temple and the parts about it, held also Ophla and the Valley of the Kedron[5].

Helena. (Bell. Jud. IV. ix. 11. H. C. Vol. II. p. 395, note 4.) On further consideration, I think it more likely that the Hall of Monobazus and the Royal Hall of Grapte are identical but distinct from the House of the Asmoneans or Palace of Agrippa. The Royal Hall is again mentioned (VI. vii. 1), evidently without the Upper City, but with no definite notice of its site. I am disposed, however, to understand the bend in the wall at Siloam in the last note, to be the same that is mentioned in the account of the Walls, the result of which will be to bring the Basilica, or Royal Hall of Grapte, or Monobazus, on the ridge commonly called Ophel, between Siloam and the Temple.

[3] Dr. Robinson considers them identical (Vol. I. p. 460); but finds "no other passage in Josephus which can be applied to this ancient fountain." Dr. Schultz takes the old Pool of Siloam, now filled up, for Solomon's Pool; but this is to suppose the same site mentioned under two different names, which is very improbable. (Jerusalem, pp. 58, 59). So also his echo, Krafft, p. 21.

[4] See more at length H. C. Vol. II. p. 365, n. 7. Dr Robinson's view is given in Bib. Res. I. p. 394.

[5] See p. 80, notes 1, 2.

The nature of the ground does not help us on the East more than on the South. There are three observations, however, which may throw some light upon the course of this wall. The *first* is, that "on the narrow ridge North of Siloam, and South of the Temple, at the distance of 960 feet from the city-wall, are scarped rocks, apparently the foundations of a wall or some other like structure[1];" the *second*, that, below the S. E. angle of the Haram, the Kedron "bends S. W. round the corner," and that the wall of "the S. E. corner of the enclosure stands directly on the very brink of the steep descent, and impends over the valley, which is here about 150 feet deep[2]," so that the old wall must have made an angle here; the *last*, that this S. E. angle still retains the features of a tower, once perhaps attached to the original Ophla[3]; while the lower part of the South wall of the Haram exhibits traces of ancient masonry, supposed to be Jewish, in a continuous line from this angle to its point of junction with the modern city-wall[4].

In the absence, therefore, of more satisfactory evidence on the subject, I would place the Basilica of Grapte or Monobazus near the present *Mosk el-Aksa*, and draw the wall from Siloam above the scarped rock noticed by Dr Robinson, joining the line of the present city-wall at the S. E. of the *Garden* (near Section I.), and following it up to *el-Aksa*, and along the South side of the Haram, to the S. E. angle; and then continue it, past Ophla, still in the line of the present wall,

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[1] Bib. Res. I. p. 460, note 5.
[2] Ibid. pp. 429, 430.
[3] See H. C. II. pp. 365—368.
[4] See Mr Tipping in Traill's Josephus, p. 46, and H. C. II. 319.

until it joined the Eastern Cloister quite at its southern extremity.

"The Pool of Solomon" I should like to connect with the Royal Pool, which existed formerly, and probably still exists beneath the pavement of the Haram, before the porch of *El-Aksa*, or with the reservoir beneath the El-Aksa itself, with which the *Well of the Leaf* communicates[5].

ii. *The Lower City and Second Wall.*

I HAVE dwelt at length on the First or Old Wall, because I have before had no occasion to investigate it. The Second Wall I shall dismiss much more summarily, after the precedent of the Jewish historian, particularly as I have elsewhere discussed it[6].

"It had its beginning at the Gate Gennath, which was a place in the Old Wall, and encompassing the Northern parts of the city, ended at the tower Antonia." *The Gate Gennath* has been already fixed (*e*)[7]. A little to the East of that point, a valley-like depression runs through Mount Sion from North to South. Here, I apprehend, was the junction of the second wall, and the *crown* of a massive *circular arch* (at *f*) may mark the position of one of its gates. There are *ancient columns* in a coffee-shop hard by (*g*).

At a distance of nearly 400 feet North of this arch is a mass of old masonry with a *spring-course of an arch* entire (*h*), apparently another gate in the second Wall. At a further distance of 400 feet (*k*) are the remains of a wall and portal which Dr Schultz thinks may have belonged to the same wall; but they are more probably

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[5] These cisterns are noticed in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 469, 481.

[6] H.C. II. pp. 55—60, and 428—430.

[7] Above, p. 76.

ruins of the propylæum of Constantine's Basilica, or Martyry of the Resurrection, as the *cistern* of the Copt Convent, called the *Treasury of S. Helena* (*l*), was a crypt of the Church or of the Court in front of it. In the N. W. angle formed by the *Street of S. Stephen* and the *Street of the Holy Sepulchre,* is the shaft of a column and other indications of ancient masonry, said to mark the site of the *Porta Judiciaria,* "the Gate of Judgment" (*o*). No other remains have hitherto been found North of this, but a steep bank on the West side of *S. Stephen's Street* perhaps marks the continuation of the Second Wall, until its junction with the modern city-wall, about 300 feet West of the Damascus Gate, where Dr. Wilson noticed a wall of cyclopean masonry. On either side of the Damascus Gate is a chamber of huge bevelled stones (*rr*), apparently connected with the fortification of the wall, at its weakest part, where it crossed the *Valley of the Tyropœon.* Hence, it probably followed the line of the present wall nearly to the *Gate of Herod,* where it turned South, and was drawn along the high ridge which rises up steeply from the valley-like depression that runs down from the Gate of Herod to the western end of the *Birket Israîl.* In this Valley, no doubt, lay the great pool so often mentioned by mediæval writers, which in more ancient times formed the fosse of the Fortress Antonia, at which fortress the second wall terminated.

iii. *The New City and Third Wall.*

The wall that enclosed the New City was commenced by King Agrippa in A. D. 40, but the building was interrupted by the suspicions of Claudius, and only completed during the preparations made by the Jews for the final struggle, and then not on the scale on

which it had been commenced. Its course is described as follows. "It commenced at the tower Hippicus, from whence it extended to the northern quarter as far as the tower Psephinus, then passing opposite to the monuments of Helena, and being produced through the Royal Caves, it bent at the angular tower by the Monument called the Fuller's, and joining the old wall, terminated at the Valley of the Kedron." It was commenced with stones 20 cubits long and 10 wide, and was raised by the Jews to the height of 25 cubits, with the battlements.

The positions of the various towers and monuments mentioned in this description have exercised the ingenuity of the learned, but they have arrived at strangely different conclusions. I have already stated that the massive ruins of the *Castle of Goliath*, formerly Tancred's Tower, were regarded as remains of the Psephine Tower by Felix Fabri[1]. He has been followed, in modern times, by Krafft, who, however, has adduced no valid arguments in support of this theory[2]. I agree with Drs Robinson and Schultz in drawing the commencement of the Third Wall along the course of the present wall, and producing it in the same line along the highest part of the rocky ridge that attains its greatest elevation near the N. W. angle of the modern city[3]. Indeed, considerable remains of this wall may still be traced, even from the Jaffa Gate to some old foundations occupying the highest part of the ridge indicated. These foundations, Dr Schultz says, certainly

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[1] See above, p. 48, and reference.

[2] Topographie, pp. 40, 41, and Plan. He strangely misrepresents Brocardus, whom see in Canisii Thes., Tom. IV. pp. 18, 21, ed. Basnage.

[3] Bib. Res. I. p. 465, and Theolog. Rev. p. 447. Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 62, 63.

belonged to the Tower Psephinus, the octagonal form of which tower he thinks may still be recognized in the ground-plan of these massive ruins: while a large cistern in the midst of them is a further confirmation of their identity, as we are informed that the towers were furnished with reservoirs for rain-water. This octagonal tower was the most wonderful part of this Third Wall, rising in its N.W. angle to the height of 70 cubits, and commanding a view of Arabia on the East, and the remotest limits of the Hebrew possessions, as far as the sea.

The next point mentioned in this wall is "the Monuments of Helena," which Josephus elsewhere tells us were three pyramids situated three stadia from the city[1]. Pausanias, a hundred years later (A. D. 174), speaks[2] of the tomb of Helena in the city Solyma, with a stone door so constructed as only to open one day in the year, always at the same hour. Being thus opened only by mechanical contrivance, it closes again after a short interval: and should you attempt to open it at another time, you would break it before you could succeed. They are next mentioned by Eusebius, as remarkable monumental pillars still shewn in the suburbs of Jerusalem[3]. S. Jerome, nearly a century later, perhaps intimates that they still stood; for when describing S. Paula's approach to Jerusalem, he says that she had the mausoleum of Helena on her left[4]. The latest notice

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[1] θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμέσιν . . . . τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρία στάδια τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. Ant. xx. iii. 3.

[2] Pausanias, Lib. VIII. (Arcadia) cap. xvi. Tom. II. p. 501, ed. Bekker. Happily for his veracity, he does not speak as an eye-witness, as Valesius intimates.

[3] Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. cap. xii. εἰσέτι νῦν στῆλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας. Vid. Valesii Annot. in loc.

[4] "Ad lævam mausoleo Helenæ derelicto ingressa est Ierusolymam urbem," &c. Epist. ad Eustochium virginem, Op. Tom. IV. pars ii. p. 673.

is that of the Armenian writer, Moses Chorenensis, probably in the fifth century, who describes it as a remarkable monument before the gates of Jerusalem[5]. Notwithstanding these frequent notices, it is very difficult to determine the position with any degree of precision; for it is extremely uncertain whether Josephus's three stadia are to be measured from the outer wall or the second; the statements of Pausanias and Eusebius are utterly vague and indefinite; the value of that of S. Jerome, which promises most, is vitiated by the uncertainty that attends the movements of S. Paula after her visit to Gibeah of Benjamin; and the Armenian writer is worthless, because he indicates no particular gate.

The difficulty of fixing Helena's Monuments from these data is obvious from the discrepancies of archæologists; for while Professor Robinson assigns them to the *Tombs of the Kings*, Dr Schultz finds traces of them near the *Tombs of the Martyrs;* the former apparently measuring the three stadia from the second, the latter from the outer wall[6]. I cannot assent to Dr Robinson's theory, for reasons already stated[7]; while that of Dr Schultz appears involved in no less difficulty, besides being open to this additional objection, that it compels him to continue the west wall more than 3000 feet north of Psephinus, thereby leaving that tower, not at the N.W. angle of the outer wall, but near the middle of its west side. I am therefore disposed to look for the Monuments of Helena among some tombs excavated

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[5] Historiæ Armeniacæ, Lib. II. cap. xxxii. p. 145, ed. Whiston; and for the date of the author, see Prefat. pp. xix., xx.

[6] Bib. Res. I. pp. 465, 535—38. Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 63—67, and their Plans.

[7] H. C. II. p. 520.

in a rocky court, on the right-hand side of the *Road* that leads *to Nebi Samwil,* about three stadia from the outer wall. This situation will agree very well with all the notices of the Monuments in question, which are further mentioned in two passages relating to the preparatory operations of the Romans. Titus advances to the city from Gibeah of Saul, with 600 picked cavalry, to reconnoitre[1]. While he kept the direct road to the walls no one appeared before the gates; but when he declined from the road towards the Psephine Tower, and led the troop transversely, numbers of the enemy suddenly rushed forth near the Women's Towers, through the gate opposite to the Monuments of Helena, and drawing up opposite to those who were yet on the road, prevented them from joining those that had declined, and so cut off Titus with a few of his soldiers, that he had great difficulty in recovering the road. Now this account can only be understood by supposing that the gate in question lay between the Northern Road and the Psephine Tower, towards which Titus was advancing. On another occasion[2] the Jews, advancing out of the Women's Towers, succeed, by a feint, in drawing the Romans between the Towers of the Gate. The latter, with great difficulty and after considerable loss, make good their retreat, and are pursued by the Jews as far as the Monuments of Helena. They retreated, no doubt, towards the Nablûs Road, for their camp was on Scopus, and the Monuments must therefore have been East of the Women's Towers.

There is a further difference between Drs Schultz and Robinson concerning the Royal Caves, next men-

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[1] Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. ii. 1, 2. [2] Ibid. v. iii. 3.

tioned in the description of the North wall; the former[3] identifying them with the sepulchral excavations of the upper parts of the Kedron, commencing with the *Tombs of the Kings;* the latter[4], with some rock-graves to the S. E. of those Tombs, and near the brow of the valley. They consequently differ as to the course of the wall through this part; for while Dr Robinson draws it 1200 feet South of the Tombs, Dr Schultz makes it include them, which appears to me highly improbable. The whole subject, however, is full of difficulty, and I am glad to take refuge from a dilemma in the belief that several fine sepulchral excavations in this vicinity may have gone by the general name of the "Royal Caves[5]," and that the wall did actually pass through them, along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. I think that Dr Robinson does not extend the wall far enough North; for the expression of Josephus, with reference to it, intimates an extension in this direction; a fact which is further confirmed by his statement of the total length of this wall, of which more will be said in the sequel.

The two scholars above named are also at variance on the identity of the Royal Caves with the Monuments of Herod; Dr Robinson inclining to the opinion that they are identical, while Dr Schultz[6] places them as

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[3] Jerusalem, p. 64. There can be no doubt, I think, that the Royal Caves are identical with the Royal Monuments in which Aristobulus was buried. Bell. Jud. I. ix. 1. But this gives us no clue to their position.

[4] Bib. Res. I. pp. 534, 5.

[5] See this same conjecture in Dr Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 64, and H. C. Vol. II. p. 523. I wish I could find warrant for Dr Robinson's suggestion, when advocating the same view, (Bib. Res. I. p. 535), viz. that "the tombs with sunken courts," such as are found in these parts may have been "a style appropriated to royalty."

[6] Bib. Res. I. 534, 5. Jerusalem, p. 67.

far asunder as the *Tombs of the Kings* and the *Charnel-house of the Lion*, in which last he finds the Monuments of Herod. These Monuments are twice mentioned, unless perhaps the singular in one passage and the plural in the other point to two different localities[1]. Titus, wishing to facilitate the approach of his troops, levels the whole space from Scopus to the wall, and then it is said that the space was levelled as far as the Monuments of Herod[2]. Surely the two expressions are equivalent, and the Monuments must have been contiguous to the North wall, opposite the Northern Road. What occasion would there be to level as far as the *Pool of Mamilla?* Then, if I was prepared to admit that the Monument of Herod in the subsequent passage is identical with the Monuments in the preceding, (which is extremely doubtful, to say the least,) yet I should still be obliged to fix them on the North of the City, for the following reason[3]. When Titus had taken the New City, he encamped within its wall, at a place called "the Camp of the Assyrians"—and held all as far as the Kedron[4]. A council of war[5] having determined to draw a wall of circumvallation around the devoted City, it was commenced from this Camp of the Assyrians, where Titus was encamped, was drawn along the lower part of the New City, thence through the Kedron to Mount Olivet, and then, having encircled the City on the East and South, along a line which I shall hereafter endeavour to follow, and having enclosed the Mount where Pompey encamped, turned North, advanced as far as a village called the House of the Erebinthi, after that

[1] As Dr Robinson supposes. Ibid. p. 535, n. 6. The question will be examined below.

[2] Bell. Jud. v. iii. 2.

[3] Ibid. vii. 3. [4] 2 Kings xviii. 17.

[5] Bell. Jud. v. xii. 2.

embraced the Monument of Herod, and was joined on the East to his own camp, whence it commenced.

In attempting to clear up one difficulty, we here encounter another—as is so often the case in Josephus. Where was "the Camp of the Assyrians?" for it is obvious that the Monuments of Herod lay to the West of it[6], as the Kedron did to the East. Dr Schultz having placed the House of the Erebinthi at *Abu Wa'ir*[7], marks the N.W. corner of the Modern City, now occupied by the Latin Convent, as the Camp of the Assyrians[8]; then his Monument of Herod (the *Charnel-house of the Lion*) is on the West. But this does not at all satisfy the language of Josephus, who implies that the West line of circumvallation terminated at the House of the Erebinthi, so that the Monument of Herod was on the North line, whereas, according to this view, both were on the West line, the direction of which appears unreasonable and incomprehensible, as drawn in his Plan.

I feel constrained, then, to fix the Camp of the Assyrians on a comparatively level space, to the North of the Modern City, between the *Tombs of the Kings* (identical, I think, with Herod's Monuments,) and the *Valley of the Kedron.*

I think I find authority for this position of the Camp of the Assyrians, in the last point mentioned by Josephus in the Wall of Agrippa. This is the Fuller's Monument, situated near the corner tower at the N. E. angle of the New City[9]. This Fuller's

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[6] This seems decisive against Dr Robinson's theory above stated, for if the Tombs of Herod, identical with the Royal Caves, lay where he places them, there was no room for the camp of Titus to the East.

[7] Jerusalem, p. 72.

[8] See his Plan, Memoir, pp. 72, 82.

[9] Dr Schultz identifies this Fuller's Monument with a remarkable grave among those that are perforated in the rocky face of the Valley of Jehosha-

Monument I cannot but connect with the Fuller's Field, mentioned with the camping-place of the Assyrian host[1]. Here also I am so unfortunate as to be at variance with the two scholars[2] so often mentioned, who have a tradition, of no great antiquity, in their favour, when they assign the Fuller's Field to the *Turbet Mamillah*[3]. But more of this hereafter.

If *the Tombs of the Kings* be the Monuments of Herod, I should like to identify the Tank in their immediate vicinity with the Serpents' Pool[4]. But I feel that the whole subject of this North wall is so involved in difficulty, that it ill becomes one to dogmatize on any particular connected with it. Between the Tombs of the Kings and the Corner Tower, Dr Schultz discovered, along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat[5], foundations of the old wall, which doubtless followed the bend of the Valley, and ran along its brow[6] until it was joined, says the historian, to the old wall at the Kedron Valley. As he had said that the old wall ended at the eastern cloister of the Temple, the only intelligible meaning that can be assigned to this account of the termination of the Wall of Bezetha is, that it joined the northern extremity of the eastern wall of the Temple, as the old wall did its southern extremity; but

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phat, east of the Tombs of the Kings, and thinks he has found traces of the angular tower. Jerusalem, p. 64. Compare p. 38, where he more fully describes the Tomb.

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 17. Isaiah vii. 3.

[2] Bib. Res. I. p. 484. Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 84, 5.

[3] Brocardus, however, who seems to be the earliest (A. D. 1230), is very obscure, and possibly does not allude to this locality. Canisii Thes. IV. p. 21. Eusebius and St Jerome speak of it as still shewn ἐν προαστείοις, in suburbiis Hierusalem. Onomasticon, sub voc. *Ager Fullonis.*

[4] Bell. Jud. v. iii. 2. See H. C. II. p. 522, for the Tank.

[5] Jerusalem, p. 64.

[6] Perhaps along a precipice of rock, scarped probably to add to the defence of the new city on the east side.

in one place he regards it as the wall, in the other as the cloister, of the Temple. It was in fact both[7].

The principal difficulty connected with this extremely difficult subject must now be mentioned; and it is curious that it has hitherto escaped notice or comment. After his description of the Walls the historian proceeds to the towers, to his account of which, already given, he adds[8], that the third wall (*i. e.* the outer wall of Agrippa) had ninety towers 20 cubits wide, at intervals of 200 cubits; the middle wall was divided into fourteen, the old wall into sixty. As the elements of the towers on the middle and old walls are not stated, we can only assume their intervals equal to those on the third. Now if we leave out of the calculation the width of the towers, and suppose Josephus to reckon from the middle of one tower to the middle of the next, 90 intervals of 200 cubits will give us ($90 \times 200 =$) 18,000 cubits for the third wall; 14 intervals of 200 cubits ($14 \times 200 =$) 2800 cubits, for the middle wall; and 60 intervals of 200 cubits ($60 \times 200 =$) 12,000 cubits for the old wall, or 45, 7, and 30 stadia respectively. Now the length of the North front of the old wall between Hippicus and the Temple must have been about 2000 feet. Let us allow it 4 stadia, and the remaining 26, added to the 45 of Agrippa's wall, will give the circuit of the entire city as 71 stadia, or nine Roman miles, *minus* one stadium. Yet Josephus, in

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[7] Dr Robinson makes the "junction with the ancient wall, *in the Valley* of the Kedron," supposing it to pass "along that valley, until it met the ancient wall coming up from the south on the east of the Temple." Bib. Res. i. p. 465. This hypothesis seems to me quite untenable: Dr Schultz makes the wall of Bezetha join the *second* wall at the N. E. angle of the present city. See Plan. This is directly contrary to Josephus. Krafft agrees with me.

[8] Bell. Jud. v. iv. 3.

immediate connexion with this statement, computes the circuit of the entire city as 33 stadia, or four Roman miles, *plus* one stadium, *i. e.* less than half the sum arrived at by the former process, and less by 12 stadia (a mile and a half) than the length assigned to the third wall. This last consideration renders all attempts to reconcile the conflicting statements perfectly hopeless; for the details of this wall are most fully given, and the measures here least liable to error. Is it possible that, as in the commencement of his description he regards the Old City apart from the New, so at the conclusion, he states the circumference only of the first and second walls[1]? Or can the obliquities and sinuosities of the walls noticed by Tacitus[2], still to be traced in the zig-zag course of their foundations[3], equalize the difference? If neither of these theories is admissible, the difficulty appears to me insurmountable—the particular statement is too large, and the general one too small: the middle wall is the only one whose length is at all accurately stated.

iv. *The Temple and its Courts*[4].

As I have elsewhere devoted a long Chapter to this subject[5], I shall here only add such particulars as will serve to explain the letters of reference, which, (as in the case

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[1] This would give 37 stadia: but four stadia might be deducted for the part of the Old wall covered by the Second, and for its East line along Mount Sion covered by the outer wall.

[2] Cited in H. C. Vol. I. p. 476.

[3] Bib. Res. I. p. 466.

[4] As the tract Middoth (Measures) in the Mishna is devoted expressly to this subject, I give in the text the dimensions there stated, but mark the variations of Josephus in the notes. But see H. C. Vol. II. p. 342, n. 3. I use Surenhusius's Edition of the Mishna, where the Tract Middoth is given in Tom. v. p. 325, et seq. The vth Chapter of the vth Book of the Jewish War is devoted to the Temple.

[5] H. C. Vol. II. chap. iv. pp. 295, &c.

of the figures,) are repeated in the Supplementary Plan from *a* to *r* inclusive, and refer to the Antiquities.

a. The Place of the Altar.—This is ascertained by a bore in the Sacred Rock of the Moslems, communicating with a cave which answers exactly to the description given in the Mishna[6] of the drain and cess-pool of the Jewish altar, which communicated with the great sewer by which the offal ran off into the Kedron, and was sold as manure to the gardeners. Its mouth may still be seen above the Fountain of the Virgin[7].

At the S.W. horn of the altar were two orifices to the drain like two small nostrils, one on the West of the base, through which flowed the blood that was sprinkled on the inner part of the altar, and one on the South, through which flowed that of the interior altar. There was, also, a place one cubit square, closed with a marble slab, through which a man descended to cleanse it[8]. The altar which was 32 cubits square at the base, was gradually contracted, until the hearth at the top became 24 cubits square[9]. It was 15 cubits high according to Josephus, and had an ascent by an inclined plane on the South side, 32 cubits long, and 16 wide. On the North of the altar, at the distance of 8 cubits, commenced six rows of rings, four in a row, at which the sacrifices were slaughtered, and near the rings a series of low columns supporting cedar-beams with iron hooks, to which were hung the victims during the process of flaying; and marble tables stood between

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[6] This was first noticed by Professor Willis. See H. C. Vol. II. p. 196, note, and pp. 341, 2, and notes—where (and in p. 303) the Cave is described. See Middoth, cap. iii. sect. ii. Mishna, Tom. v. p. 355. Conf. Yoma, cap. v. sect. vi. Ibid. Tom. II. p. 236.

[7] H. C. Vol. II. p. 453.

[8] See Middoth, l. c. p. 356.

[9] The Altar is described in Middoth, cap. III. i. p. 348.

the columns for washing their entrails, and otherwise preparing them for the sacrifice[1].

The space between the altar and the porch of the Temple was 22 cubits[2], rising in a gentle ascent by steps to the propylæum, the door of which was 40 cubits high and 20 wide[3].

b. The Holy House itself was divided into three parts, the Pronäus or Vestibule, the Sanctuary or Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. I cannot enter into a detailed description of it, but must satisfy myself with giving its most important dimensions. The author of Middoth says that the Temple was 100 cubits in length, and width, and height[4]. The length was thus[5]: The East wall of the Vestibule 5 cubits, the Pronäus 11, the wall of the Sanctuary 6, the Sanctuary 40, the wall of the Holy of Holies 1, the Holy of Holies itself 20[6], its wall 6, the chamber to the West 6, and its wall 5 cubits :—100 cubits in all. The general exterior width was 70 cubits, of which the Sanctuary occupied only 20[6], the remainder being distributed into side chambers and their walls. But the Pronäus was 30 cubits wider, (15 on the North and 15 on the South), so that while the Pronäus was 100 cubits wide in front, the hinder part of the Holy House was contracted, and offered the Rabbies an explanation of the name "Ariel" (Lion) applied to the Temple, as they supposed, by the Prophet

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[1] Middoth, sect. v. p. 359. In cap. v. i. p. 375, the dimensions of these spaces is clearly given.

[2] Ibid. cap. III. sect. vi. p. 359.

[3] Ibid. sect. vii. p. 361. Josephus says 70 cubits high and 25 wide, without the doors.

[4] Ibid. sect. v. cap. iv. i. p. 371. Josephus states that its eastern elevation, *i.e.* the Pronäus, was 100 cubits in height and the same in width.

[5] Ib. sect. vii. p. 373.

[6] Josephus likewise makes the Sanctuary 40, and the Most Holy Place 20 cubits in length, the same in height, and only 20 in width. l. c. sect. v.

Isaiah; for a Lion, they argued, is narrower behind and broader in front[7]. The Pronäus alone was carried the entire height of the building, having an elevation of 90 feet within; while the Sanctuary and Most Holy Place had chambers above. This vestibule was richly gilded throughout, with patterns of vines and clusters of grapes, and was divided from the Sanctuary by doors 55 cubits high and 16 wide, before which was a richly-broidered Babylonian veil of variegated colours.

On the sides of the Temple were numerous chambers, in three stories, reaching to the height of 60 cubits[8]; but the middle part, over the Sanctuary and Holy of Holies, had an additional elevation of 40 cubits, distributed likewise into chambers, exhibiting, in fact, an enormously developed clerestory of equal exterior height with the Vestibule.

The front of the Temple was plated with gold, and reflected back the beams of the rising sun with dazzling effect[9]. Viewed from a distance the pile of buildings looked like a mountain covered with snow; for where it was not encrusted with gold it was exceeding white. Its roof was armed with golden spikes to prevent the birds from settling on it; and some of the stones of which it was constructed were 45 cubits long, 5 deep, and 6 wide. An elegant stone fence one cubit high surrounded the Temple and altar, separating between the priests and the people.

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[7] Isaiah xxix. 1, &c. Middoth, l. c. Josephus mentions this peculiarity, but states that the hinder part was contracted 40 cubits, allowing what he aptly terms the shoulders (wings) of the porch 20 cubits excess on either side, l. c. sect. 4.

[8] Josephus, B. J. v. v. 5.

[9] Ibid, sect. 6.

Immediately to the East of the altar was the Court of the Priests, 135 cubits in length and 11 in width; and East of that, again, was the Court of Israel, of the same dimensions[1]. The former was raised $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits above the level of the latter.

cc. The Wall which separated the Court of Israel from the Court of the Women. This latter was considerably below the level of the former, and the ascent was by a flight of fifteen semicircular steps, at the head of which was the magnificent Gate of Corinthian brass, 50 cubits in height, with doors of 40 cubits[2]. Under the platform of the Court of Israel were two chambers, opening into the Women's Court, in which were kept the musical instruments of the Levites[3]. This Court was 135 cubits square, and in its four corners were chambers 40 cubits square, devoted to several uses. There were entrances to this Court from the middle of its three sides.

d, e, f, g. The boundary of the Inner Temple and its intermural space.

The Inner Temple was separated from the outer Court by a stone wall three cubits in height, on which stood pillars at equal intervals with inscriptions in Greek and Latin forbidding access to aliens[4]. To this Court was an ascent of fourteen steps, then a level space of ten cubits, and a further ascent of five steps to the Gates, of which there were four on the North and South sides, and two on the East, including those of the Women's Court, which is sometimes included and sometimes excluded from the Inner Temple[5]. Between the

[1] Middoth, cap. ii. sect. 6.
[2] Ibid. cap. ii. sect. 5. l. c. p. 341. Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. v. 2, 3.
[3] Middoth, ibid. sect. 6, p. 344.
[4] Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. v. 2.
[5] Holy City, Vol. II. p. 343, n. 5.

Gates were single cloisters, running before the treasuries (*hh*), adorned with large and beautiful columns.

kkkk. The outer Court, according to the Middoth[6], was a square of 500 cubits, but Josephus allows it only a stadium[7], or 400 cubits. Even the largest measure must be too small, if the present area be taken to represent either in length or width the dimensions of the Ancient Temple. It was originally surrounded with double cloisters[8] on all sides; but on the South the Royal Porch was substituted by Herod the Great. This was a triple colonnade consisting of 162 Corinthian columns, arranged in four rows[9]. The two side aisles were each 30 feet wide, and the centre ambulatory 45 feet. The cloister was one stadium in length.

There were four entrances to the outer Court on the West[10]. One the Gate Shallecheth (*m*) leading to the Palace on Sion, by the Causeway (*l*); two others, (*n,o*) into the Valley of the Tyropœon, called by Josephus the Suburb, probably the Millo of the historical books, of which *n* may be the Gate Parbar, *o* the Gate of Asuppim, by which name the fourth (*p*), which led into the other City or Acra, was likewise called.

q. The Fortress Antonia occupied the N. W. angle of the Temple Area[11], and the modern *Seraîyah* corresponds with that ancient official residence both in situation and in the use to which it is designated. It is

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[6] Cap. II. sect. i. p. 334.

[7] Ant. xv. xi. 3, but in Bell Jud. v. 1. c. he says it was six stadia including Antonia. The difficulties are stated in H. C. II. 344—47, but I have no solution to propose that is satisfactory to myself.

[8] Ant. VIII. iii. 9.

[9] It is not my fault that 162 will not divide by 4: I simply follow Josephus. Ant. xv. xi. 5. I do not repeat the particulars given in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 329, 30.

[10] More fully described in H. C. Vol. II. pp. 41—49.

[11] Ibid. pp. 403—11.

also based on a platform of rock answering to that which supported the ancient Castle[1]. On the North side was only one Gate, Tedi[2]; and I think it probable that *Bab el-Hitta* is its modern representative. The approach to this Gate is over two arched vaults (*ss*) which run in westward from the *Pool of Bethesda* for upwards of 100 feet[3]. It would appear that this expedient was adopted from early times to add to the defence of the Temple, as such a bridge could easily be broken down for the security of the Gate[4]. The *Birket Israîl* is doubtless the fosse described by Strabo and Josephus as covering the Temple on the North[5]: but it may still be the *Bethesda* of the Gospel, situated by the Sheep-gate, which Nehemiah would teach us to look for in this neighbourhood[6]. Indeed, it is very possible that the North Gate of the Outer Temple, the Tedi of the Mishna, now represented by *Bab el-Hitta*, may be the very Sheep-gate mentioned in conjunction with the Pool. This reservoir is 360 feet long, 103 broad, and 75 deep, independently of the accumulated rubbish[7].

t. The Ancient Masonry at the N. E. corner of the Haram exhibits indisputable traces of an angular tower, doubtless one of those which, according to Strabo[8], defended the Wall of the Temple. This is noticed by Brocardus as remains of the Tower Ophel[9]; (which he translates Nebulosa or Neblosa, *dark;*) but as Ophel was

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 300. 354.
[2] Ib. p. 352, n. 2.
[3] Ibid. p. 325.
[4] Ibid. p. 394, n. 3; and p. 485.
[5] Ibid. pp. 349, 353, n. 5.
[6] Ibid. p. 325.
[7] Ibid. pp. 314, 354.
[8] Cited l. c. p. 353, n. 5.
[9] In Canisii Thes. Tom. IV. pp. 18, 21. He considers this Ophel the same with Ananeel and Antonia. The identity of the two last I am not disposed to question, only it is certain that these massive remains cannot have belonged to them.

certainly South of the Temple, this is but another instance of the unfortunate guessing of that very unsuccessful antiquary[10].

The next object worthy of remark in the Temple area is the *Golden Gate*, a highly-ornamented double gateway of Roman construction, doubtless the representative of the Gate Shushan[11], the eastern gate of the Temple, opening into the Porch of Solomon, as this cloister was called, from the fact of its being erected on the massive substructions and bank raised with incredible labour by that great King[12], from the depth of the valley. There is a small Saracenic portal, now blocked up (*u*), forty feet South of the Golden Gate, a late insertion of the Moslems[13]; but the lower part of this eastern wall exhibits along its whole length traces of that massive masonry which indicates an earlier date than the Saracenic conquest, and must here be ascribed to Hebrew masons, as there is no subsequent period to which they can be assigned. The same may be said of

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[10] A modern traveller, however, has published a theory even more absurd. It is Mr. Wilde, who suggests that the stairs leading up to the City-wall at this angle may be the very stairs from which S. Paul preached to the people, when having been rescued from the fury of the Jews he obtained permission to harangue them from the stairs of Antonia, (Acts xxi. 30—40). Wilde's Narrative of a Voyage, &c. Vol. II. p. 235. There is a still more egregious error of Mr. Wilde, which I must notice. Having occasion to mention (from Nehemiah iii. 7), "the house of the Governor on this side the river"—he shrewdly remarks, p. 241, "this was probably the governor appointed by the Persian King over Jerusalem."—As if there could be any doubt on the point. But he adds, "some difficulty arises here regarding the river mentioned in the seventh verse, *none such now existing.*" He then suggests the ditch round the City-wall, or the pools or "*stream-ways*" in or around the city—for the river in question! The Euphrates never occurred to him! Yet this writer is the great authority of my Reviewer in the Dublin University Magazine, (September 1845, pp. 269, &c.) and his testimony is to be received before all other.

[11] H. C. II. pp. 313 and 355—59.

[12] Ibid. pp. 320, 346.

[13] Ibid. p. 315, and note 6.

the tower at the S. E. angle (*v*), standing on the brink of the valley which here inclines westward, with a declivity almost precipitous[1].

The present arrangement of *the Vaulted Substructions*[2] within this angle, supporting the platform of the Haram, I have assigned to the period of the erection of Justinian's Church of S. Mary[3], now the Mosk el-Aksa; but as it would appear that the Tower of Temptation near the chambers of Solomon's palace, mentioned by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim in the time of Constantine, occupied this position[4], it is probable that some public building did exist near here in Jewish times. Its materials were doubtless worked into the new erections of Justinian; for it is remarked by Dr Richardson that the piers which support the vaults appear more ancient than the arches themselves, and that the bevelled stones of which the piers are composed are disintegrated, as though they had been long exposed to the weather[5], from which they have been protected since the construction of the vaulting. I believe, then, that here we have the remains of the Ophel or Ophla mentioned by Josephus in his description of the old wall[6], evidently not far distant from its junction with the eastern cloister of the Temple. The lower part of this wall is still to be traced westward to the point where the modern City-wall is joined with that of the Haram[7], though here again we have a Saracenic arch (*u*) of comparatively recent insertion, and a late Roman gateway with portals (*w*), which I likewise connect with Justinian's hospitals and other great works

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[1] H. C. II. pp. 311, 316.
[2] Described ib. pp. 311, 12, 17.
[3] Ibid. p. 374.
[4] Ibid. pp. 366—68.
[5] H. C. II. p. 311.
[6] Bell Jud. v. v. 2; above, p. 72.
[7] H. C. II. p. 319.

about the Church of S. Mary. The passage from this gateway led by an inclined plane, through three compartments of the vaults, to the upper Area[8].

x. The Double Gateway opening into the vestibule and vaulted passage beneath *El-Aksa*[9], I believe to be the substruction described by Procopius as supporting the Church of S. Mary; probably also the *stoa*, called Narthex, the vestibule, and propylæum of the same description, though the unusual disposition of these members of the building, perhaps not clearly understood by the writer himself, has occasioned some slight obscurity in his account.

In thus identifying the ancient remains at the South of the Haram with the buildings of Justinian, I am sorry to run counter to the deliberate judgment of my friend and coadjutor Professor Willis, who is disposed, from a remarkable coincidence of measures, to connect these vaults with the Royal Cloister of Herod the Great, and consequently to extend the Area of the Temple thus far South. The difficulties which I feel to the adoption of this hypothesis have been elsewhere stated[10], and we must be content to submit the question, with all its difficulties, to the arbitration of the learned. The grounds of his conclusions are stated by himself in a note to this Memoir[11].

y. The ruined arch at the South-west angle, which is

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[8] H. C. II. pp. 312, 318.

[9] Ibid. pp. 309, 10, 18, 73.

[10] Ibid. 401—3.

[11] I can sincerely say that I have tried to receive this view, which is that of all modern writers on the subject—of Drs Robinson and Schultz, of Krafft and the Reviewer in the Neues Repertorium. The difficulties, however, appear to me insurmountable. I may express my satisfaction that, among the complicated difficulties which involve the subject, this is the only material point of disagreement between my valued ally and myself—

. . "hac in re scilicet una
Multum dissimiles; ad cætera pœne gemelli;
Fraternis animis, quicquid negat alter, et alter
Annuimus pariter."....

identified by Dr Robinson with the bridge mentioned by Josephus, I take to be a continuation of the substructions of Theodore, Justinian's architect; for the Moslems profess that the series of vaults run under the South part of the Haram, quite to the western wall[1]. The Bridge I find in the still existing *Causeway* at *l*.

z. *The Jews' Wailing Place*, exhibits upwards of 100 feet of the West wall of the Haram, composed of massive bevelled masonry. This, in my view, was the western termination of the Royal Cloister of Herod[2].

v. *Wall of Circumvallation.*

Before we dismiss Josephus, who has occupied us so long, we must endeavour to identify the points mentioned in the Wall of Circumvallation with which Titus encompassed the City, after he had taken Bezetha and the Lower City[3]. Beginning at his own encampment within the New City, at the Camp of the Assyrians, he drew the wall to the lower Cænopolis, thence through the Cedron to the Mount of Olives, then turning to the South he enclosed the mountain as far as the rock called Peristereon, and the neighbouring hill which overhangs the Valley at Siloam. Thence inclining to the West, it descended to the Valley of the Fountain. From which, ascending to the Monument of the High Priest Ananus, and including the mountain where Pompey had encamped, it turned to the North, and advancing as far as a village called the House of the Erebinthi, and then embracing the Monument of Herod, was joined towards the East to his own camp, whence it commenced.

Now here it is important to remark, that the his-

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[1] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 320, 21, 387—398.

[2] Ibid. pp. 321, 398, 400.

[3] Bell. Jud. v. xii. 2.

torian does not describe the Wall of Circumvallation by the quarter to which it turned, as he did in the case of the city-walls[4]; and in this he is perhaps chargeable with inconsistency, though happily the variation in the form of expression involves no ambiguity.

The Camp of the Assyrians I have already fixed to the level space within the third wall, on the North of the Cave of Jeremiah. Its position is not indeed precisely determined by the historian, but the nature of the ground was suitable to the encampment, and the incidental notices of the history confirm this conjecture. Titus is said[5] to have pitched within the City, at the Camp of the Assyrians, holding all the intermediate space as far as the Kedron, but was without the range of missiles discharged from the second wall. Now, when he was preparing to attack the outer wall, he had taken up a position two stadia distant from the Psephine Tower, and another division of his army was encamped at the same distance from the Hippic Tower[6]: so that an interval of two stadia may well be allowed between the second wall and Titus's Camp. The whole intermediate space between his Camp and the Kedron was occupied by his troops, and is called the Lower Bezetha, in the account of the Wall of Circumvallation; which wall probably ran through the North-east corner of the modern city (*Haret Bab el-Hitta*), and crossing the Kedron, turned South, and skirted the lower part of Mount Olivet. The

[4] In describing the City-walls (v. iv. 2) we have πρὸς δύσιν· πρὸς νότον ...ἐπιστρέφον· ἐκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολήν· for the western, southern, and eastern walls respectively; whereas in xii. 2 the course of the wall is described as ἀνακάμπτων κατὰ μεσημβρίαν· ἐκκλίνας πρὸς δύσιν· πρὸς κλίμα βόρειον ἐπέστρεφε· evidently meaning the eastern, southern, and western walls respectively. See above, p. 72.

[5] Bell. Jud. v. vii. 3.

[6] Ibid. v. iii. 5, ad fin.

Rock Peristereon I should like to identify with the precipitous cliff at the base of the southern part of Mount Olivet, perforated with sepulchral excavations, from which it might borrow the not inappropriate name of a Pigeon-house[1]. Then the neighbouring hill overhanging the Valley at Siloam would be *the Mount of Offence.* The Valley of the Fountain, to which it descended after turning westward, is certainly the upper part of *Wady en-Nar*, from which it ascended again to the monument of the High Priest Ananus, the ancient rock-grave of *Aceldama*, as Dr Schultz conjectures, with great probability[2]. The mountain where Pompey had encamped is not mentioned in any other part of the history, but must be the rocky knoll opposite to the South-west corner of Mount Sion. Here the wall turned North, and ran as far as the village called the House of the Erebinthi, which I agree with Dr Schultz in fixing at the ruined Arab village of *Abu Wa'ir.* Here, however, we part company; for I can imagine no object to be gained by the eccentric course which he assigns it from this point[3]. I would rather draw it in a direct line to its termination at the Camp of Titus on the East, though the mention of the Monument of Herod, which it enclosed, presents a formidable objection to my wishes. The Monuments of Herod we have already

[1] It was an ingenious suggestion of Dr Schultz that Josephus may have here translated the Latin word *Columbarium*, to describe the Tombs of the Prophets, (Jerusalem, p. 72). Dr Robinson thinks it "fanciful"–but I consider it probable; though I prefer the explanation in the text. Indeed, Dr Schultz in a private letter, while maintaining his former view, writes, "The only thing I am doubtful about is whether that 'Columbarium' of Josephus might not be identified with the rock near the tombs of Absalom and Zachariah."

[2] Jerusalem, p. 72.

[3] It seems to me that his Plan itself is sufficient to convict it of error, nor does the Memoir, p. 72, offer any explanation of this eccentricity.

encountered[4] on the North front of the outer wall, identical, as I believe, with the *Tombs of the Kings*. If those monuments are the same with this monument, the wall was extended far beyond all reasonable limits, for no other apparent purpose than to add to the toil of the legions. I cannot then accept this theory, and I much wish that I could find some warrant for substituting the name of Alexander in this passage for that of Herod, and was at liberty to believe that the Cave of Jeremiah is intended[5]. Certain, at least, it is that the Wall of Circumvallation could not have extended so far North as the Wall of Agrippa; for the whole circuit of the former was only 39 stadia[6], and as it had so wide a range on the East, South, and West, it is clear that unless it had been much contracted towards the North, it must have exceeded the length of the City-wall by more than six stadia. I presume that the three encampments of the Romans were not enclosed within the wall, the object of which was to blockade the City, so as to preclude the possibility of escape.

Having thus disposed of the walls, it must be distinctly stated that their course as dotted in on the Plan pretends to no minute accuracy, and on this account we have abstained from giving it any architectural character, and have not attempted the insertion of the towers. We have followed such indications as still exist, and where these fail, have roughly traced out such a course as, after very mature consideration, appears most probable. The grounds of my conclusions have been stated, I trust, with sufficient perspicuity, and with a diffidence becoming a subject so extremely obscure.

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[4] See above, pp. 90, 91.

[5] H. C. II. p. 516. Vid. Bell. Jud. v. vii. 3.

[6] Bell. Jud. v. xii. 2.

VIII. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The topographical notices in the New Testament are very few and indistinct, since, for the most part, they imply in the writers, and assume in the readers of the Sacred Narrative, a local knowledge which rendered periphrasis unnecessary. The most important point, beyond all comparison, is that connected with the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre, concerning which so much has of late been written. I cannot here undertake even to recapitulate the arguments for the conclusion at which I have arrived[1]. I will merely say, that the incidental notices of this part of the City by Josephus convince me that the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was without the second wall;—that there was here a considerable interval between that wall and the Wall of Agrippa, added about ten years after the events of which that Church is the monument;—that this interval was comparatively unobstructed by buildings, so that it allowed a camping-place for soldiers, and afforded easy access to the North wall of the Upper City;—that sepulchral monuments—one of the High Priest John in particular, and probably those of other distinguished individuals—did occupy this space;—and that such monuments were situated in gardens, as we gather from the fact of the Garden-gate (Gennath) opening upon this tract. These remarkable coincidences, with a tradition that can be traced back to the time of Hadrian, when the first generation from the Apostles was still in being, do not allow me to doubt the authenticity of the site, nor do I

[1] The whole question is fully examined in the 1st and 2nd Chapters of the Second Part and Volume of the Holy City.

believe that it would ever have been called in question, but for the disgust engendered by the incrustation of legendary and fictitious sites that have accumulated around the nucleus of truth. The Hebrew name Golgotha, and its Greek equivalent Calvary, which would doubtless continue current in the mouths of the Jews and Greeks, as designating this locality, was not an inappropriate name for the rocky promontory that runs in from the N. W. of the City, on whose declivity the Church is situated [2].

The Pool of Bethesda[3] is said to have been situated at the Sheep-gate, and as we shall presently find that this Gate was to the North of the Temple, we may well believe that the large tank, called *Birket Israîl*, did supply that House of Effusion, although it must be conceded that the ecclesiastical tradition, fickle and inconstant in this as in other cases, formerly assigned this honour to the large tank in its vicinity, which has now disappeared [4].

The Tower of Siloam [5] I should be glad to identify with the large tower whose massive ruins I have so often noticed at the South-east angle of the Haram: but I fear this is too far from the Pool of that name, which is certainly the scene of the miracle recorded by

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[2] This explanation suggests itself to me as far more satisfactory than any I have seen. The most generally received in ancient times was that Adam's Skull was buried here—(see the citations and references in Reland, p. 860); in modern times, a place of public execution (*capital* punishment) or sepulture. But what more natural than that the ancients should describe this feature as modern writers do? See Drs Schultz and Robinson. H. C. Vol. II. pp. 25, 33. The use of the modern Arabic name for a cape or promontory, *Ras* (answering to the Hebrew *Gulgoleth*, in Judg. ix. 53, &c. and exactly equivalent to the Italian *Capo*) is not confined to the sea-coast.

[3] S. John v. 2.

[4] H. C. Vol. II. pp. 38, 9; 485.

[5] S. Luke xiii. 4.

S. John[1]: only that the large Pool, now filled up and cultivated as a garden (57), was then in use.

The Judgment Hall of Pilate was doubtless in the Castle Antonia, whose site has been determined. The Palace of Herod has been assigned by a recent tradition to the highest point of Acra, to the North-west of the Haram (40), where a Mosk of Derwishes exhibits distinct traces of a Christian Church. If any Palace stood on this site in ancient Jerusalem, it must have been that occupied by Helena, Queen of Adiabene, in the middle of Acra proper[2]: and it is possible that it may have been previously the residence of Herod Antipas during his periodical visits to Jerusalem.

It is, however, more reasonable to suppose that he occupied either the Upper Palace of his father on the N.W. angle of Sion, or the old Palace of the Asmoneans at the Causeway, afterwards inhabited by his nephew Herod Agrippa. We have mention of Solomon's Porch in connexion with the Temple[3], but nothing sufficiently definite to enable us to test the accuracy of the former conclusion. The Beautiful Gate[4] was probably the Great Gate of Corinthian brass leading from the Court of the Women into the Court of Israel, of which Josephus speaks in terms of admiration.

Mount Olivet is not to be mistaken, and its sacred localities and associations may be left to the undisturbed enjoyment of the devout pilgrim, for there is nothing in the Scripture Narrative inconsistent with them—Gethsemane at its western base close to the brook Kedron, the Place of the Ascension on its centre summit, the Village of Bethany on its eastern slope.

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[1] Ch. ix. 7. [2] Bell. Jud. VI. vi. 3. [3] John x. 23. Acts iii. 11; v. 12. [4] Acts iii. 2.

IX. THE WALLS OF NEHEMIAH.

By far the most copious source of information concerning the topography of ancient Jerusalem, contained in the Holy Scriptures, is found in the account of the restoration of the City-walls after the Babylonish Captivity; and it is the more important and interesting as coming from the inspired pen of the religious Governor, through whose agency that restoration was effected. We have the circuit of the Walls described no fewer than three times in the book of Nehemiah[5]; first, in his nocturnal survey preparatory to their restoration; secondly, in his narrative of the rebuilding; and thirdly, in his account of their dedication. Of these three descriptions the first is very brief; the second enters, as was natural, most into detail; and the last is more full than the first, but more brief than the second. In all, even the shortest, some points are noticed which are found in neither of the others, as *e. g.* "the Dragon-well," and "the King's Pool," in the first; "the Gate of Ephraim" in the third; and many gates and houses in the second, which need not be here enumerated, as they will presently come under notice. Most of the places indicated are not elsewhere mentioned; and it were a vain endeavour to reconstruct the walls from these notices, although the task has been sometimes attempted with doubtful success. It must be considered, too, that any estimate of the length of the wall, or of the interval between any two points, founded on the names of those employed in the building, must be wholly fallacious, as it would depend on the state of ruin of the wall, and the

[5] Ibid. Chap. ii. 13—15, iii. throughout; xii. 37—39.

number of the party—which would vary throughout. Having premised thus much, I proceed to identify such few points in the course of the walls of Nehemiah, as I have been able to determine to my own satisfaction, availing myself of such light as I can borrow from the earlier books of the Old Testament. It will be borne in mind that we are now only concerned with the first and second wall of Josephus, comprehending the Upper and Lower City, and the Temple.

The points mentioned in the Survey of the Wall are the following. Emerging by the Valley-gate, Nehemiah passes before the Dragon-Fountain to the Dung-gate, the Gate of the Fountain, and the King's Pool; then up the Brook, and re-enters by the Valley-gate.

In the rebuilding of the wall the continuity of the description is implied by the constantly-recurring expression "after him[1];" and we are not at liberty to devise a new starting point except where this copulation is omitted, probably not without design. Commencing then with the Sheep-gate, we have the Towers of Meah and Hananeel, the Fish-gate, the Old Gate, the Throne of the Governor, the Broad Wall, the Tower of the Furnaces[2].

Let us endeavour to fix some of these points, before we proceed further.

The description starts with "the Sheep-gate," to which it is also brought back at the conclusion[3]. In the account of the dedication of the walls we have mention of the Gate of Ephraim, between the Broad Wall and the Old Gate[4], but no mention of the Throne

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[1] אַחֲרָיו, עַל־יָדָם, עַל־יָדוֹ and the like, passim.

[2] Neh. iii. 1—12. [3] Ibid. ver. 32.

[4] Chap. xii. 38, 39.

of the Governor" placed between the same two points in the former description[5]. From the Old Gate the Procession passes "above the Fish-gate and the Tower of Hananeel, and the Tower of Meah, even unto the Sheep-gate:" all which points were mentioned in the reverse order in the former Chapter.

Now "the Fish-gate" is elsewhere mentioned several times. In the history of Manasseh[6] (B. C. *cir.* 679) it is said that "he built a wall without the City of David, on the West side of Gihon in the Valley, even to the entering in at the Fish-gate," and this "Fish-gate" is in juxtaposition with "the second" in Zephaniah[7], (B. C. *cir.* 639); by which "second" must be understood, I apprehend, that part of Jerusalem which was inhabited by Huldah the Prophetess[8], and of which Judah the son of Senuah was governor[9]. And I have no doubt that this is the part of the City which was fortified with "another (or second) wall," by Hezekiah when preparing against the Assyrian invasion[10], (B. C. *cir.* 713); and that the broken wall which he built up, and raised up to the towers, was that 400 cubits of wall broken down by

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[5] This seems to countenance the notion of Aben Ezra, and other commentators, that the words so rendered are the proper name and office of one of the builders; or of Houbigant, that they are a definition of the Mizpah just mentioned. Barrett's Synopsis in Neh. iii. 7. Vol. III. p. 401.

[6] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Dr. Schultz also takes the same view. Jerusalem, p. 86. The valley is נַחַל.

[7] מִשַּׁעַר הַדָּגִים...מִן־הַמִּשְׁנֶה Zeph. i. 10.

[8] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22. בַּמִּשְׁנֶה Comp. 2 Kings xxii. 14.

[9] Neh. xi 9. עַל הָעִיר מִשְׁנֶה not, "was second over the city," as in the Eng. Vers., but "was over the second *part of the* city," as Gesenius understands it; or Dr. Lee—"A division of Jerusalem so called." Barrett's Synopsis in 2 Kings xxii. 14. Vol. II. p. 990.

[10] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. הַחוֹמָה הַשֵּׁנִית אַחֶרֶת. Dr. Schultz also says that this "other wall" may certainly be referred to the second wall. Jerusalem, p. 83.

Joash, King of Israel[1], (B. C. *cir.* 826,) "from the Gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate," at which Corner Gate, as also at "the Valley Gate," and at "the turning of the wall," Uzziah had erected towers in the interval[2], (B. C. *cir.* 800,) but had apparently allowed the wall to continue in ruins.

In all these passages I presume reference to be made to the Lower City of Josephus, and to the Second Wall of his description. His Tyropœon will then be the Gihon, on whose West side Manasseh built the Wall in the Valley; and this will be identical with "Millo, the City of David," repaired by Hezekiah, the same with Parbar or the Suburbs[3].

With respect to other points, I would suggest that "the Corner Gate" was so named from the angle at the junction of the first and second walls, where the head of a Roman Gateway still remains (*f*); and that "the Tower of the Furnaces" was the tower built by Uzziah at that Corner Gate. "The Gate of Ephraim" would then be 400 cubits to the North of this[4], not far from the *Porta Judiciaria* (*p*); and the "broad wall" between the two might be the part strengthened with a second wall by Hezekiah. The "Old Gate" would then be in the same West Wall, between the Gate of Ephraim and the Fish-gate, which last corresponded perhaps in position with the present *Damascus Gate.*

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[1] 2 Kings xiv. 13. Perhaps the same which Manasseh rebuilt, after it had been again reduced to ruin, in the Assyrian invasion, which ended in his deportation to Babylon. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

[2] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

[3] See more fully H. C. Vol. II. pp. 44—48, and notes.

[4] I was formerly disposed to take the Gate of Ephraim for the present Damascus Gate, as Dr. Robinson also does, Bib. Res. I. p. 473. Biblioth. Sac. I. 191, 2. But this seems to involve serious difficulties.

"The Sheep-gate," repaired by the priests, I take to be the North Gate of the Temple, corresponding to *Bab el-Hitta;* and the "Towers of Meah and Hananeel" may have afterwards formed part of the Tower Antonia[5]. But I would rather place the tower of Hananeel at the N.E. angle, because it is used both by Jeremiah[6] and Zechariah[7] to designate one extremity of the City.

The most difficult part of the description appears to me to be that contained in the 13th and 14th verses, where we have mention of "the Valley-gate" and "the Dung-gate," with an interval of a thousand cubits of wall between them. The two gates occur in the Survey of Nehemiah; for he went out by the Valley-gate[8], and passing before the Dragon-Fountain[9], came to the Dung-gate[10]. In that account, too, as in this, and in the line followed by the first procession, the Gate of the Fountain is mentioned next to the Dung-gate,

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[5] See H. C. Vol. I. p. 76.

[6] xxxi. 38. "From the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner," would thus describe the whole of the north and west wall of the Lower City.

[7] xiv. 10. "From the tower of Hananeel unto the king's wine-presses:" As the king's wine-presses were probably at the king's gardens, below Siloam, this would describe the east side of the city.

[8] Chap. ii. 13, 15, שַׁעַר הַגַּיְא This gate is mentioned also in 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, as one of those at which Uzziah built a tower. It must, I think, be a gate leading into the Valley of the Kedron; and is generally so understood. It is, however, important to remark that the Kedron is always in Scripture נַחַל "a brook;" so that the brook in Nehemiah ii. 14. ought to be the Kedron. On the other hand, the Valley of Hinnom is always גַּיְא The LXX. have represented this as πύλη τοῦ γωληλὰ, reading (in v. 13) גַּיְא (*valley*), and לַיְלָה (*by night*), as one word. In v. 15 they have rightly πύλη τῆς φάραγγος.

[9] אֶל־פְּנֵי עֵין הַתַּנִּין not "dragon-*well*," as our version has it, but *fountain*. The LXX. give this πρὸς στόμα πηγῆς τῶν συκῶν, reading תְּאֵנִים *figs*. Gesenius reads תַּנִּים, and renders it "fountain of jackals."

[10] שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפֹּת, πύλην τῆς κοπρίας. This Esquiline Gate is mentioned by Nehemiah ii. 13, and iii. 13, 14; xii. 31; and nowhere else.

which would lead me to believe that they were not far distant, and on the same line of wall; indeed, the last passage clearly implies a continuity of the wall between them. But the position of the Valley-gate, and the Dung-gate, with the wall between them, is so obscure, though their distance is the only definite measure given in the whole description, that it will be better to follow so much of the wall as can be identified with tolerable certainty, before attempting to lay down these gates and the intermediate wall.

Commencing with "the Gate of the Fountain," the first or old wall may be traced round the Upper City, to its junction with the second wall. The Fountain-gate being mentioned in immediate connexion with "the wall of *the Pool of Siloah*, by the *king's garden*[1]," gives us a sufficiently definite starting-point, and reflects considerable light on other topographical notices of the Old Testament; for this Gate must, I think, necessarily be identical with that by which Zedekiah attempted to effect his escape from the Chaldeans: for he fled by night "by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls[2];" and this last expression enables us to identify "the Pool of Siloah" with the Pool which Hezekiah made for the waters of the Upper Gihon, "between the two walls[3]."

As I have before stated that the great steepness of Mount Sion above the Pool of Siloam presents a difficulty to the direct course of the old wall as indicated by Josephus, I am glad to find notice here of "the stairs that go down from the city of David;" implying

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[1] Nehem. iii. 15.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 4. Jerem. xxxix. 4. lii. 7.

[3] Isaiah xxii. 11; compare 2 Chron. xxxii. 3—5. This is more fully investigated in H. C. II. pp. 473—478.

a steep declivity to the Pool in question; by which stairs the procession went up in their passage round the walls[4].

"The Sepulchres of David" are next named in connexion with the "Pool that was made," and "the house of the mighty;" and here we have no difficulty in recognising *En-Nebi Daûd*, and *Birket es-Sultan*[5]; while the Giants' House, probably the site of the strong fortress of the ancient Jebusites, occupied the S.W. angle of Mount Sion, and the scarped rock at the *Hammam Tabariyeh* may possibly be their work. "The armoury at the turning" will very well suit the position of the *Hippic Tower* at the N.W. angle of Sion, and was, I doubt not, the tower that Uzziah had built, "at the turning of the wall[6]," subsequently developed by Herod, and called by a new name.

Hence, following the course of the North Wall of Sion, and passing the house of Eliashib the high-priest, we come to another "turning, even unto the corner," either the junction of the second wall, or, perhaps, more probably the N.E angle of Mount Sion; for, not far distant, was "the tower that lieth out from the king's high house, that was by the court of the prison;" which

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[4] See above p. 78, and Nehem. iii. 15; xii. 37.

[5] H. C. II. p. 505. Dr. Schultz (Jerusalem, pp. 84, 91, and Plan,) and Herr Krafft (Topographie, p. 152, and Plan) consider Asuya in חַבֻּרְכָה הָעַשׂוּיָה a proper name. Both regard it as Hezekiah's Pool, the former as identical with the Lower Pool and the present Sultan's Pool. Krafft places it in the southern part of the Tyropœon, where are no traces of a Pool, nor a tradition of one.

[6] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, where הַמִּקְצוֹעַ answers to מִנֶּגֶד עֹלֵת הַבְּשָׁק הַמִּקְצֹעַ in Nehem. iii. 19, translated by Houbigant, "e regione clivi, armamentarii ad angulum." Here is now the arsenal or armoury of modern Jerusalem.

high house I take to be identical in situation with the palace of Joash before the Captivity,[1] and with the palace of the Asmoneans in after times[2].

"The court of the prison in the king's house of Judah," in which the prophet Jeremiah was confined[3], is evidently the same with this in Nehemiah; and since "the stocks[4] that were in the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord," were probably connected with this prison, I think that we may assume the identity of that high Gate with the "third (or principal) entry that is in the House of the Lord[5]," where King Zedekiah conferred with the captive Prophet: which gate, I believe, to be called Miphkad by Nehemiah[6], the Shallecheth of more ancient times, the *Bab es-Salsala* (the Gate of the Chain) of the modern Haram; a sufficiently appropriate synonym for the Prison-gate, and another remarkable instance of happy coincidence, probably not accidental.

Thus, then, if I have been successful in my attempts to follow the course of the walls as marked out by Nehemiah, we have made the entire circuit of the second wall, encompassing the Lower City, from the North of the Temple to its junction with the North wall of Sion, near the Gate Gennath; and of the first or old

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[1] 2 Kings xii. 20. "The house of Millo at the going down of Silla." See H. C. Vol. I. p. 24, note 1; II. p. 603.

[2] Ant. xx. vii. 11. See H. C. II. pp. 294—5, and notes. Here it was that Simon erected a tower in his conflict with John. Bell. Jud. VI. viii. 1.

[3] Jeremiah xxxii. 2: different from the dungeon in the house of Jonathan the scribe, to which he was consigned by the princes (xxxvii. 15), and from which he was rescued by Ebed-Melech, xxxviii. 6—13, when he was sent back to the king's prison.

[4] Jeremiah xx. 2, הַמַּהְפֶּכֶת Compare xxix. 26. Here also Asa confined Hanani the seer, 2 Chron. xvi. 10.

[5] Jer. xxxviii. 14.

[6] Ibid. iii. 31. See below, p. 121, n. 13.

wall encompassing the Upper City, from the Pool of Siloam, to the Causeway at the N.E. angle.

Here then we approach the Temple-area, and I think it is clear that the further description of the building has reference to the courts of the Temple or its immediate neighbourhood. But before proceeding to this I must endeavour to fill up the gap between Siloam and the Temple. This I purpose to do with the 1000 cubits of wall between the Valley-gate and the Dung-gate, to which I could assign no place before. And even now I have some misgivings, because I could rather believe that the Valley-gate led into the Valley of Hinnom than into the Kedron[7]. But I see no escape from the conclusion at which I have arrived, and much in its favour; for it gives a very natural order to the narrative, if we believe that, having commenced from the north of the Temple, and brought the second wall round to its point of junction with the first, it should then commence the description of the first wall from the south of the Temple. The relative positions of the two Gates here mentioned, with the King's Pool, as indicated in the account of the nocturnal survey[8], falls in with this view, which further supplies us with a Dragon-Fountain, and enables us to explain the name of the Dung-gate. For if we suppose the Governor to have gone out at a gate somewhere on the south of the present Haram, and to have descended into the Valley of the Kedron, he would soon pass before *the Fountain of the Virgin;* and it is a curious coincidence mentioned by Dr. Schultz in confirmation of this hypothesis, that the rise and fall of the water in this intermitting spring

[7] For reasons already stated in p. 115, note 8.

[8] This has been pointed out above, p. 112.

is popularly ascribed to a dragon that lies concealed in it[1]. I am glad also to account for the Esquiline Gate by its proximity to the ancient sewer[2], above *the Fountain of the Virgin*, through which the offal from the temple flowed into the Kedron[3]. Then the *Pool of Siloam*, here called the "King's Pool[4]," follows in its proper order. Perhaps the Nakhal, or Brook, here mentioned, is not the Kedron usually so called, but that noticed under the same denomination in connexion with the works of Manasseh, *i. e.* the *Tyropœon*[5].

To return now to the walls. I presume the part repaired by the Nethinims and the Tekoites was the remainder of the first or old wall, between the Valley-gate and its junction with the wall of the Temple. "The Water-gate" was not on this line of wall, but was one of the Temple-gates[6], opposite to which the Nethinims were employed; and "the tower that lieth out" is not the one before named in connexion with the "king's high house[7]," but that whose massive remains we have

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[1] Jerusalem, p. 90.

[2] In this also Dr. Schultz coincides; and it may add some weight to the agreement if I state that when I first saw Dr. Schultz's theory concerning this part of the wall, I rejected it utterly, and that when it had entirely escaped my memory I worked it out for myself independently, as in the text.

[3] See above p. 95. Another ancient sewer is noticed by Dr. Robinson in the Valley of the Tyropœon, but nothing is certainly known of it. Bib. Res. I. pp. 390, 91. Can this be the drain marked in the Officers' Plan?

[4] Either from Hezekiah, who built the Pool (See H. C. II. p. 484), or from Solomon, who was anointed at the fountain—then called Gihon. 1 Kings i. 33.

[5] Above, p. 113, and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

[6] One of the Southern Gates, apparently the easternmost of the inner temple, was so called, because by it the water of Siloam was brought in to be poured on the sacrifices on the last day of the feast of tabernacles, (see John vii. 37). Middoth, cap. II. sect. vi. Mishna, Tom. v. p. 345. Conf. Shekilim, cap. vi. sect. iii. Tom. II. pp. 195, 6. And see Lightfoot, Prospect, &c. chap. xxiv. Vol. IX. p. 351. A comparison of Nehemiah iii. 26, with xii. 37, 40, will shew that the Water-gate was a gate of the Temple.

[7] Verse 25.

before had occasion to notice at the south-east angle of the Haram[8]. The wall of Ophel was just south of the Temple, as Josephus also implies[9], and the Horse-gate I apprehend was contiguous to its south-east extremity, opening upon the Valley of the Kedron, as the same historian also intimates[10]. And it is another curious coincidence that the Hippodrome was south of the Temple[11], and that tradition has preserved among the vaults at the south of the Haram a memorial of the Stables of Solomon[12].

As the parts repaired by the priests are designated only by their own houses and chambers, all that can be concluded with certainty is that the description belongs to the Temple. The work of the goldsmiths and merchants was also, I apprehend, confined to the sacred enclosure. The gate Miphkad, which I have already identified with the Prison-gate[13], is here connected with the going up of the corner[14], *i. e.* the causeway near the south-west angle of the Temple communicating with the north-east angle of Sion, from which point the wall was continued along the west and north of the enclosure, until it came to the Sheep-gate.

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[8] See above, p. 82, and references.

[9] As cited above, p. 72.

[10] In his account of the death of Athaliah, he paraphrases the Scripture narrative (2 Kings xi. 15, 16) thus: "Joadus, calling the captains, ordered them to bring Gotholia to the Valley of the Kedron, and there to slay her... Therefore they led her to the Gate of the King's mules, and there killed her."

[11] Vid. Ant. IX.vii. 3. Bell. Jud. II. iii. 1. H. C. I. p. 127.

[12] H. C. II. p. 311.

[13] For the various explanations of this name, see Barrett's Synopsis in Nehem. iii. 31. "The house of correction" is taken by some, and its identity with the Prison-gate of xii. 39, is suggested by Villalpandus. Others take it to mean "porta judicii" s. "præcepti" (as in 2 Chron. xxxi. 13); others "lustrationis" s. "censûs." In any of these last senses it would very well suit the βουλευτήριον or Mehkemeh—the office of the Cadi or Judge—at the Causeway.

[14] See H. C. Vol. II. p. 606.

Such is my view of the topographical notices of Nehemiah. How far it may serve to elucidate this extremely difficult subject, it is for others to decide. But I can truly say that I have spared no pains and diligence in the investigation, and that, after most mature deliberation, it appears to me the only theory that is consistent with the nature of the ground, with the description of Josephus, and with the incidental allusions in other parts of the Sacred Books.

I believe that in illustrating this account of the Walls of Nehemiah, I have exhausted nearly all the topographical notices of the Old Testament; but I would here make a few remarks on the Fuller's Field and Gihon.

Dr. Schultz identifies the Fuller's Field with the *Turbet Mamillah*, and places the Camp of the Assyrians on the brow of the high ridge within the N. W. corner of the modern City, now occupied by the *Latin Convent;* and consistently with this he takes the *Birket Mamillah* for "the Upper Pool," and the rude aqueduct for "the conduit[1]." He finds warrant for this in the probable line of march of the detachment of Sennacherib's army, under Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh[2]; for as the main force now lay at Lachish, South-west from Jerusalem, near Beit-Jebrin, he thinks that these generals must have approached Jerusalem by Wady el-Werd, and that the place indicated by him would be most convenient for their camp.

I do not think that much weight can be attached to this argument, because as no opposition was offered to the invaders, they had leisure to select a camping ground,

[1] Jerusalem, pp. 63, 82, 84, 5.
[2] 2 Kings xviii. 17, and Isaiah xxxvi. 2.

and it seems to me that the narrow ridge in question is much too confined for the "great host" commanded by those three captains. Besides which, an earlier notice of the same localities[3] points more clearly to another quarter. For the conjecture of Dr Schultz is probably well founded, that Isaiah was sent to encourage Ahaz when he had advanced with his army before the walls, to oppose the approaching enemy. But the confederate armies of Syria and Israel were to be expected from the North; and on the North, I have no doubt, king Ahaz was encamped, on the ground subsequently occupied by the Assyrians, and again by the Romans.

Nor do I think that the disappearance of the Pool and Conduit are any objection to this view; for in the first place when Hezekiah[4], in his preparations against the Assyrian invasion, had diverted the water and drained the Pool that existed in the days of Ahaz, the conduit would soon fall to decay: And again, the peculiar water of Siloam, still to be traced to the *Cotton Grotto* without *the Damascus Gate*, which grotto local tradition connects by an aqueduct with the *Haram* in one direction and with the *Cave of Jeremiah* in the other, so clearly directs us to the North of the City for the upper outflow of Gihon, or the Upper Pool, and for the commencement of the Conduit of Hezekiah, the murmur of whose water is still to be heard, that I cannot but fix the Camp of the Assyrians on the North of the City, and connect the Fuller's Field of the Scriptures with the Fuller's Monument mentioned by Josephus at the North-east angle of the New City. Here is a large

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[3] Isaiah vii. 3.

[4] I have discussed this subject at length in H. C. II. pp. 470—478.

level space well suited for an encampment, at the proper distance from the second wall[1].

I have, consistently with Jewish[2] and early Christian[3] tradition, identified Gihon with *Siloam*, but I cannot venture to say whether it was here, or at "the upper outflow," that Solomon was anointed[4], or not at any fountain at all, but simply in some part of the Valley of the Tyropœon, anciently called Gihon[5], from which it is probable that the fountains derived their name. The scene of Adonijah's conspiracy is to be found in the small plain around the *Well of Job*[6], which still perpetuates the name of one of the chief conspirators in its synonym "Joab." The shouts of the rejoicing multitude borne down the Valley gave intimation to the conspirators of the coronation of Solomon. The name of Gihon has gradually shifted[7] from this Valley to the high ridge on the North-west of the City, and this transference has given occasion, as usual, to many errors.

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[1] Bell. Jud. v. vii. 3. It seems to me that the mention of the Kedron here leaves no doubt of the matter. I cannot extend the Encampment, as Dr. Schultz must do, from the Latin Convent to the Kedron. See above, p. 105.

[2] The Chaldee paraphrase in 1 Kings i. 33, 38, 45, and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, renders Gihon by Siloam: conversely, in the Mishna, Siloam is called Gihon. See further in Lightfoot, Chorograph. Cent. Chap. xxv. Vol. x. p. 54, &c. and Chorograph. Inq. Chap. v. sect. ii. p. 344. He maintains that the שִׁלֹּחַ of Isaiah viii. 6 is not the same with the שִׁלֹּחַ of Nehem. iii. 15; but this is a mere fancy. Ibid. sect. iii. p. 345.

[3] See Theodoret as cited by Reland, Palæst. p. 859.

[4] 2 Chron. xxxiii.

[5] See above, pp. 113, 114.

[6] 1 Kings i. 9, &c. See Holy City, II. pp. 490, 91.

[7] See H. C. Vol. II. p. 25, n. 4, and p. 489. We find it on its way in Felix Fabri, (A. D. 1480), when the *Hill of Evil Counsel* was so called. See Evagat. Tom. I. p. 422. So Baumgarten (A. D. 1507, 8,) Perig. Lib. II. cap. v. p. 81. Furer (A. D. 1566) first describes the ridge on the Jaffa Road as Mons Gihon, p. 50, but in p. 89 he is evidently describing the Sepulchral Caverns on the Hill of Evil Counsel, which he here calls Gihon. Itinerarium, Norimb. 1621.

NOTES TO MEMOIR.

NOTE A.

By Professor Willis.

The object of the present Note is to point out some remarkable coincidences (already alluded to in p. 103) between the disposition and measurements of the "Vaulted Substructions," (the piers of which are shewn in the "Detailed Plan of the Temple Area" at the South-eastern angle,) and those of the Basilican Stoa of Herod, which Josephus describes as having occupied the Southern side of the Area.

The construction of the Vaults is similar to that of many Roman Buildings, as, for example, the Piscina Mirabile at Baia. Parallel waggon vaults, lying North and South, rest on arcades, the arches of which spring from the piers, shewn in the Plan.

The coincidences are the following: First, the width of the central aisle of the Basilican Stoa is stated by Josephus to have been 45 feet, and the width of each lateral one 30 feet. Now the piers of the present substructions are shewn in Mr. Catherwood's Plan to be as nearly as possible 15 feet asunder from centre to centre in the North and South directions, so that the distances correspond exactly, if we suppose the columns of the stoa to have been placed above the second rank, the fifth rank, and the seventh rank, of these piers.

Again, reckoning from East to West, the coincidence between the number of pillars of the stoa and the spacing of the present structures is scarcely less remarkable, as I shall proceed to shew.

In the first place, it is pretty evident that the substructions which have been explored and planned by Mr. Catherwood at the South-eastern corner, do in reality extend completely along the southern boundary, so as to support the Mosk Abu Bekr and the southern part of the Mosk El-Aksa.

The distribution of the piers in these two buildings also shews that, as might be expected, they stand very nearly over the piers of these hidden substructions; for their mean distances, measured in the East and West directions, are the same as the mean distances of the piers in the substructions at the South-east angle. Thus we may ascertain the number of spaces or alleys into which the entire range of substruction is divided, for the Mosk of Abu Bekr occupies ten, and the Mosk El-Aksa eight, (reckoning two for its central alley). The space between El-Aksa and the eastern substructions appear to occupy seven, and, finally, the latter substructions themselves sixteen, making in all forty-one. Now the south-side of the area is 890 feet according to the Ordnance Survey, whence subtracting 24 feet for the thickness of the

walls at each end, and dividing the remainder by 41, we get about 21 feet for the mean breadth of each alley, (measured from centre to centre of the piers).

But Mr. Catherwood's Survey, (Robinson's Palestine, Vol. I. p. 449, Bartlett's Walks, p. 165, and Fergusson's Jerusalem, Pl. 5,) assigns about 320 feet for the length of the sixteen alleys of the substruction which he examined: this gives 20 feet for the mean breadth of each alley, a sufficiently close coincidence for our purpose. However, I am inclined to suspect that this measure is too small; for the Ordnance surveyors place the arches of the triple gateway, which now terminates these substructions westward, twelve or fourteen feet further to the West than Mr. Catherwood, which would make the coincidence of measures in the breadth of the alleys more close. The position assigned in the Ordnance Survey to the centres of these arches is shewn in our "Detailed Plan" by the three marks at *w*; and it will be seen that these marks lie more westward than the extreme passages in Mr. Catherwood's Survey of the substruction, which is laid down upon the same Plan in outline. It is clear from this Plan, that the breadth of these alleys varies systematically, probably in accordance with the distribution of the buildings above, which they were intended to support, and which I believe to have been the Basilican Stoa of Herod. It cannot be supposed that a building of such enormous extent could have been designed without considerable variations in the distribution of the columns and piers in its different parts.

But to return to the forty-one alleys into which I have endeavoured to shew that the substructions are divided. Josephus describes the stoa as having 162 columns disposed in four rows, which gives forty columns in each row and two to spare. This appears to me to be so singular a coincidence with the forty-one spaces, that, added to the coincidence of the transverse measures already mentioned, can hardly be accidental, and at least gives great support to the opinion that the Basilican Stoa was erected on this site, and the entire substruction originally constructed expressly for its reception. The two spare columns may be disposed of in various ways; for, as I said before, the building could not have been so simple as Josephus' description would lead us to suppose at first sight. Many square piers were probably introduced which would not be mentioned. Again, I think it likely that the clerestory of the structure did not extend from end to end; but that it stopped short of the extremities, and that the side-aisles passed round them, in conformity with the usual form of the ancient Basilica. The wide alleys (at *u* in the Detailed Plan), may indicate the place where the side-aisles thus passed round. The small scale of our Plan has made it impossible to distinguish accurately the variations in width of the alleys of the substructions, but in Mr. Catherwood's Plan (Robinson, p. 449, &c.) two wide alleys are shewn, of which the one opposite to *u* is 30 feet wide, exactly the same as the

side-aisles, and the one next to it Eastward is 21 feet wide, while the remaining four to the East are only 15 feet 6 inches. Those which lie to the West of the wide ones I suppose to have belonged to the clerestorial part of this structure, and their intercolumniation is between 20 and 21 feet, and therefore wider than that of the four alleys which lie next to the eastern boundary. This last was the part of the building against which the eastern stoa of the area abutted, and would probably be treated as a distinct mass, with some variation of dimensions. According to this view the clerestory would terminate about 130 feet short of each extremity, and would thus occupy a length of 630 feet. This happens to be very near to the stadium (606 ft. 9 in. English), which Josephus assigns as the length of the entire structure. However, I am quite aware that difficulties attend upon this view, as, indeed, upon every attempt to construct plans of a building from descriptions alone.

The distribution of the alleys of the substruction into forty-one, is confirmed by the position of the gateways. The triple gateway at *w* occupies the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth alleys from the East. The double gateway at *x* occupies in like manner the fifteenth and sixteenth alleys from the West; and the symmetry of this arrangement makes it probable that these gateways are on the sites of the two southern gates mentioned by Josephus, although the western one has been manifestly altered by Justinian.

The greatest difficulty in the whole question is in the statement of Josephus (De Bell. l. v. c. v.) that the circumference of the Temple-area was six stadia, including Antonia; whereas the present area has a circumference of between eight and nine stadia, taking the stadium at the length usually assigned to it of 606 feet 9 inches English, and as I have laid it down beneath the Detailed Plan. At least, therefore, the measurement given by Josephus is an exceedingly loose estimation. But, by comparing this statement with another in the Antiquities (l. xv. c. xi. 3), to the effect that the enclosure of the Temple-area was four stadia, it has been inferred that the difference between the two is due to Antonia, which, therefore, must have occupied an area equal to that of the Temple. This conclusion I am compelled to differ from. The four-stadium circumference I believe to apply to the Temple enclosure as it was left by Solomon, for the measurement in question is given at the conclusion of a description of Solomon's work, and the same author tells us in another place (De Bell. l. i. c. xxi.), that Herod, when he restored the Temple, enlarged the area at an enormous expense, so as to enclose a space twice as great as before: thus, of course, alluding to the enormous substructions by which the southern part of the area and the Basilican stoa were carried. I regret that want of time and space prevent me from entering more at large into this curious question; and I have, therefore, merely thrown together the above notes as they have

occurred to me, and which may, perhaps, suggest a more complete elucidation of the text of Josephus.

I will conclude, by remarking that the twenty-one feet width of the alley gives an excessive intercolumniation; but, as the architraves were evidently constructed of timber, the intercolumniation must have been *arœostyle.*

NOTE B.

I HAVE received the last Volume of the Bibliotheca Sacra, or Theological Review for 1848, just in time to make a few remarks on Dr Robinson's strictures on Majors Symonds and Aldrich and their important labours in Jerusalem and Palestine.

In a Paper on the "Depression of the Red Sea and of the Jordan Valley," read before the New York Historical Society in June 1847, and before the Ro ya Geographical Society of London, November 22 in the same year; published in the American periodical above named (No. xix. August 1848. Vol. v. p. 397, &c.) and in the Journal of the Geographical Society, (Vol. xviii. 1848, Part II. p. 77, &c.,) Dr Robinson has commented somewhat severely on Major Symonds' Survey, apparently because it "was not carried on by the process of levelling usually employed in laying out the course of a canal or railroad. However exact, therefore, the observations may have been in themselves, yet no one probably will suppose that this method of survey would ever be adopted, or in any way relied on, in undertaking any great public work, like a railroad or canal, where the ascertaining of the true level was essential." (p. 85. Geog. Journ.; p. 406. Theol. Rev.) And after some further attempts to discredit the Survey, he concludes that, "taking into consideration all the circumstances thus far adduced, there certainly does seem ground sufficient for the suggestion of a doubt whether the problem of the depression of the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley is yet fully solved." (G. J. pp. 86, 7, and T. R. 407.)

Whether the argument from a certain feature in the Officers' Plan of Jerusalem was adduced to discredit the Survey, or whether the correctness of the Survey was questioned in order to shake confidence in the Plan, Dr Robinson best knows. It appears in the former aspect in the Paper referred to. He says that "under a certain aspect, it is not without some weight;" and again, "it is easy to perceive that it might have some bearing upon a judgment of the present question." (pp. 86 and 407.) The inference here obviously suggested is, that as the Plan of Jerusalem is incorrect, so probably is the Survey of the Country; as "this Plan differs from every other in the form and extent of the Haram-area, the site of the ancient Jewish Temple;" and is therefore wrong—(for this must be assumed in order to give the argument any weight)—so the Survey,

which gives such a rapid fall to the Jordan (16·4 feet per mile according to his computation), and such an enormous depression to the Dead Sea (1312·2 feet), is probably inaccurate.

Now first with regard to the Plan of Jerusalem. The discrepancy in the *extent* of the area is accounted for by an error in the scale of the Plan to which Dr. Robinson refers—an error of one in ten, inadvertently committed in its reduction from the original draught in the Ordnance Office. The variation in the *form* is not so easily accounted for; and it is indeed a matter of surprise that the numerous errors of former surveys have passed current so long, and been acquiesced in by all travellers, and perpetuated in all Plans, from D'Anville to Schultz, including Mr. Catherwood and Dr. Robinson. And this consideration alone ought to have withheld Dr. Robinson from charging the Engineer Officers with inaccuracy—for it is very improbable that they would, in important points, depart from every precedent without excellent reason. The chief discrepancy in their Plan of the Haram is thus stated and commented on by Dr. Robinson—"Above all, the western side of the area, instead of being marked as a straight line, as is done correctly in every Plan of Jerusalem from D'Anville to Schultz, is here represented as being drawn in towards the southern end by two rectangular offsets one of 100 feet, the other of 130 feet. That no such offsets exist is a matter of public notoriety to all who have ever visited Jerusalem."

As I have before had occasion to dwell at length on this peculiarity of the west wall of the Haram, and have stated the authority on which it was so laid down by the Officers, (H. C. Vol. II. pp. 322—324. Supplement, above, pp. 32—34,) I need only here add, that if errors in the principal thoroughfares of Jerusalem, as laid down by Mr. Catherwood, were not rectified in subsequent Plans—if *e. g.* so keen and accurate an observer as Dr. Robinson not only represented, on his *corrected* Plan, Streets which do not exist, but actually argued about them as established facts, (above p. 8, and notes)—if Dr. Schultz, who had resided for years in Jerusalem actively prosecuting archæological researches in all parts, allowed the same mistakes to pass uncorrected,—is it not possible that the angles in the West Wall of the Haram may have escaped observation, especially considering the obstacles that the buildings interpose to an accurate survey? and if further, the Officers have corrected the errors in the Streets, may it not be that their scientific survey discovered other facts which had escaped less experienced observers?

I may add a few words concerning the results of Major Symonds' trigonometrical survey of the country between the Mediterranean and the Valley of the Jordan. These are so far from justifying a presumption against his accuracy, that all subsequent observations tend only to confirm them. And although I apprehend there is no immediate intention of forming either "a canal or railroad" between Jaffa and Jericho, yet the credit of the Ordnance Office was a sufficient guarantee for the fidelity of

the Survey, and its completeness for all scientific purposes. But in the same number of the Geographical Journal which contains Dr. Robinson's Essay, is an interesting Paper of Mr. Petermann, shewing, 1st, that "Lieut. Symonds' results for the depression of the Dead Sea, compared with the different barometrical results, do not prove such an amount of discrepancy as to justify a doubt in their accuracy."

2dly, That "the fall of the Jordan of 984 feet, between the two lakes," [even assuming Dr. Robinson's measure of their distance,] as computed from the trigonometrical results, does not exhibit an "immense contrast with all similar phænomena." And, moreover, owing to our present defective knowledge of the entire course of the Jordan, and the anomaly of the fall of rivers in general, inferences, drawn from the aggregate fall of the Jordan, can scarcely prove of sufficient weight to control the results of trigonometrical observations." (Geog. Journal, p. 98.)

The justice of this last remark appears from the Notes on the course of the Jordan between the two Seas, by Lieut. Molineux, (published in the same number of the Journal), who explored the Ghor and the Dead Sea in a boat, in August 1847, and added another to the list of victims to this perilous undertaking. He died soon after he had completed his task. He speaks of continual rapids and weirs over which he had to drag his boat with extreme toil, and thus describes the river: "Its winding course, which was marked by luxuriant vegetation, looked like a gigantic serpent twisting down the valley." "The river here and there washes the foot of the cliffs which enclose this smaller valley, but generally it winds in the most tortuous manner between them." "It would be quite impossible to give any account of the various turnings of the Jordan in its way from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea." pp. 111—113.

All this has been since confirmed by the very recent Survey (A.D. 1848) of Lieut. Lynch and the other American officers, who have ascertained that, instead of 60 geographical miles computed by Dr. Robinson, the course of the Jordan between the two seas is not less than 200 statute miles—so reducing the rate of fall from 16·4 feet per mile to 6 feet per mile; which is further accounted for by twenty-seven threatening rapids, besides many others of less descent. Lastly, of the results of the trigonometrical survey of these same American officers, with a view to determine the depression of the Dead Sea, Dr. Robinson admits, "we may infer, if the calculations prove correct, that this level will not differ very greatly in its results from the triangulation of Lieut. Symonds." See Dr. Robinson's account of the Dead Sea Expedition, in the Theological Review for 1848, pp. 764—769.

This same Volume of the Review contains the letter of Mr. Whiting, with the shadow of an argument for the pseudo-Tyropœon, noticed in H. C. II. p. 529, n. 4.

APPENDIX II.

No. I.

Account of Jerusalem during the Frank Occupation, extracted from the Universal Geography of Edrisi. Climate III. sect. 5. Translated by P. Amédée Jaubert. Tome I. pp. 341—345. Paris, A.D. 1836.

[This work, written about the middle of the 12th Century, was first published under the name of "Geographia Nubiensis," in a Latin translation, A.D. 1619. The writer was a Mohammedan, as Casaubon maintained, not a Christian, as the learned translator and editor Gabriel Sionita supposed. See further Dr. Robinson's Biblical Researches, First Appendix (A), p. 7. in ann. c. 1150.]

JERUSALEM.

Beït el-Mocaddas (Jérusalem) est une ville illustre, ancienne et pleine d'antiques monuments. Elle porta le nom d'Ilia (Ælia Capitolina). Située sur une montagne d'un accès facile de tous les côtés, elle s'étend de l'ouest à l'est. A l'occident est la porte dite d'el-Mihrab ; au-dessous est la coupole de David (sur qui soit le salut !) ; à l'orient, la porte dite de la Miséricorde, laquelle est ordinairement fermée et ne s'ouvre que lors de la fête des rameaux ; au midi, la porte de Seïhoun (Sion) ; au nord, la porte dite d'Amoud el-Ghorab. En partant de la porte occidentale ou d'el Mihrab, on se dirige vers l'est par une large rue, et l'on parvient à la grande église dite de la Résurrection, et que les Musulmans appellent Comamé. Cette église est l'objet du pélerinage des chrétiens de tous les pays de l'orient et de l'occident. On y entre par la porte occidentale, et l'on parvient sous le dôme qui couvre toute l'enceinte et qui est l'une des choses les plus remarquables du monde. L'église est au-dessous de cette porte, et il n'est pas possible de descendre dans la partie inférieure de l'édifice par ce côté ; on y descend du côté du nord par une porte donnant sur un escalier qui a trente marches, laquelle porte s'appelle Bab Santa-Maria. A son entrée dans l'église, le spectateur trouve le saint sépulcre, édifice considérable, ayant deux portes et surmonté d'une coupole d'une construction très-solide, très-forte et faite avec un art admirable ; de ces deux portes l'une fait face, du côté du nord, à la porte de Santa-Maria, l'autre fait face au sud et se nomme Bab el Saloubié (porte du crucifiement) : c'est de ce côte qu'est le péristyle de l'église, péristyle vis-à-vis duquel est, vers l'orient, une (autre) église considérable, immense, où les chrétiens célèbrent leurs saints offices et font leurs prières et leurs oblations.

A l'orient de cette église, en descendant par une pente douce, on parvient à la prison où le seigneur Messie fut détenu et au lieu où il fut

crucifié. La grande coupole est circulairement percée à ciel ouvert, et l'on y voit tout autour et intérieurement des peintures représentant les prophètes, le seigneur Messie, sainte Marie sa mère, et saint Jean-Baptiste. Parmi les lampes qui sont suspendues au-dessus du saint sépulcre, on en distingue trois qui sont en or et qui sont (placées) dans un lieu particulier. Si vous sortez de l'église principale en vous dirigeant vers l'orient, vous rencontrerez la sainte demeure qui fut bâtie par Salomon, fils de David, et qui fut un lieu de pélerinage du temps de la puissance des Juifs. Ce temple leur fut ensuite ravi et ils en furent chassés à l'époque de l'arrivée des Musulmans. Sous la domination musulmane il fut agrandi, et c'est (aujourd'hui) la grande mosquée connue par les Musulmans sous le nom de Mesdjid el-Acsa. Il n'en existe pas au monde qui l'égale en grandeur, si l'on en excepte toutefois la grande mosquée de Cordoue en Andalousie ; car, d'après ce qu'on rapporte, le toit de cette mosquée est plus grand que celui de la Mesdjid el-Acsa. Au surplus, l'aire de cette dernière forme un parallélogramme dont la hauteur est de deux cents brasses (*ba'a*), et le base de cents quatre-vingts. La moitié de cet espace, celle qui est voisin du Mihrab, est couverte d'un toit (ou plutôt d'un dôme) en pierres soutenu par plusieurs rangs de colonnes ; l'autre est à ciel ouvert. Au centre de l'édifice est un grand dôme connu sous le nom de Dôme de la roche ; il fut orné d'arabesques en or et d'autres beaux ouvrages, par les soins de divers califes musulmans. Au-dessous est la roche tombante ; cette roche est de forme quadrangulaire comme un bouclier ; l'une de ses extrémités s'élève au-dessus du sol de la hauteur d'une demi-brasse ou environ, l'autre est adhérente au sol ; elle est à peu près cubique, et sa largeur égale à peu près sa longueur, c'est-à-dire près de dix coudées (Zira'a). Au-dessous est un caverne ou une retraite obscure, de dix coudées de long sur cinq de large, et dont la hauteur est de plus d'une toise ; on n'y pénétre qu'à la clarté des flambeaux. Le dôme est percé de quatre portes ; en face de celle qui est à l'occident, on voit l'autel sur lequel les enfants d'Israël offraient leurs sacrifices ; auprès de la porte orientale est l'église nommée le saint des saints, d'une construction élégante ; au midi est une chapelle qui était à l'usage des Musulmans ; mais les chrétiens s'en sont emparés de vive force et elle est restée en leur pouvoir jusqu'à l'époque de la composition du présent ouvrage. Ils ont converti cette chapelle en un couvent où résident des religieux de l'ordre des templiers, c'est-à-dire des serviteurs de la maison de Dieu. Enfin la porte septentrionale est située vis-à-vis d'un jardin bien planté de diverses espèces d'arbres et entouré de colonnes en marbre sculptées avec beaucoup d'art. Au bout du jardin est un réfectoire pour les prêtres et pour ceux qui se destinent à entrer dans les ordres.

En sortant de ce lieu d'adorations et en vous dirigeant vers l'orient, vous parviendrez à la porte de la Miséricorde, condamnée ainsi que nous venons de le dire, mais auprès de laquelle est une autre porte

par laquelle on peut entrer et sortir, et qui se nomme Bab el-Asbat (ou des tribus israélites). A la distance d'un jet de flèche de cette dernière est une très-grande et très-belle église sous l'invocation de sainte Marie et connue sous le nom de Djesmanié ; c'est là qu'est le tombeau (de la Vierge) en vue de la montagne des Oliviers, distante de Bab el-Asbat d'environ un mille. Sur le chemin par lequel on monte à cette montagne on voit un autre église, grande et solidement construite, qu'on nomme l'église de Pater Noster ; sur le sommet de la montagne, une grande église où des hommes et des femmes demeurent cloîtrés, attendant ainsi la rémunération divine ; au sud-est de la montagne, le tombeau de Lazare qui fut ressuscité par le seigneur Messie ; et à 2 milles du mont des Oliviers, le bourg d'où fut amenée l'ânesse qui servit de monture au seigneur Messie lors de son entrée à Jérusalem ; ce bourg est actuellement désert et ruiné.

C'est à partir du tombeau de Lazare que commence la voie qui conduit au Jourdain, fleuve éloigné de la ville sainte d'une journée de distance. Avant d'arriver sur ses bords, vous rencontrez la ville d'Erikha (Jéricho), située à 3 milles du fleuve. Auprès du Jourdain est une grande église sous l'invocation de saint Jean, desservie par des moines grecs. Le Jourdain sort du lac de Tibériade, et verse ses eaux dans le lac de Sodôme et de Gomorrhe, villes que le Très-Haut submergea en punition des crimes de leurs habitants. Au midi de ce fleuve est un vaste désert.

En ce qui touche la partie méridionale de Jérusalem : en sortant par la porte de Sion, vous trouvez, à la distance d'un jet de pierre, l'église de Sion, église belle et fortifiée, où se trouve la salle où mangea le seigneur Messie avec ses disciples, ainsi que la table, encore subsistante de nos jours, et qu'on va visiter le jeudi. De la porte de Sion on descend dans un fossé connu sous le nom de vallée de l'Enfer (Jehennom), auprès duquel est l'église de Saint Pierre. C'est dans ce fossé qu'est la source de Selwan (de Siloë), où le seigneur Messie donna la vue à un aveugle qui auparavant n'avait jamais joui de la lumière du jour. Au midi de cette source est le champ qui fut acheté par le Messie pour la sépulture des étrangers. Non loin de là sont un grand nombre de maisons creusées dans le roc, et habitées par de pieux cénobites.

No. II.

NORMAN CHRONICLE.

The following very curious and interesting description of Jerusalem must have been written by some one who had long resided there during the Frank occupation, but did not compose it until their expulsion by Saladin, as the introductory notice declares.

It was first published by Beugnot in a note to his splendid edition of the "Assises de Jérusalem," (Tome II. p. 531, note a. Paris 1843,) from a Manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris—(Fonds de Sorbonne, No. 387, fos. 304—308). It is one of the most valuable documents on the subject that has been yet brought to light; and I follow the example of Dr. Schultz in appending it to my book. (Dr. Schultz's Jerusalem, Zusätze, No. II. pp. 107—115); adding also the important illustrations gathered by him chiefly from Sebastiano Pauli's "Codice Diplomatico de Sacri Militari Ordine de Jerusalemme," to which I have not access.

i. *En quel estat la citez de Jerusalem et li seins lieu estoient à ce jour.*

Pource que li plus des bons Crestiens parolent et houent parler volentiers de la seinte cité de Iherusalem, et des seins lieus où Ihesu Cris fu mors et vis, nous dirons conment elle aroit au jour que Salhadins et li Sarrazin la conquisent sur les Crestiens. Aucunes gens porent estre qui le vodrent ouir; cil à qui il desplaisoit, porent trespasser ce lieu....

Il ot en la cité de Iherusalem IIII. maistres portes en crois, l'une endroit l'autre, entre les pourternes. Or les vous nommeray coument elles serient. La *porte David* estoit vers soleil couchant et estoit à la droiture des *portes Obres*, qui estoient vers soleil levant de derrieres *le temple Domini*. Cele porte tenoit à la porte David[1]. Quant on estoit devant cele porte, si tournoit an à main destre, en une rue par devant *la tour David*. Si poit on aler ou mont de Syon par une posterne qui là estoit en cele rue à mein senestre. Ainsi comme on ilsoit hors de la posterne, un moustier monseigneur *S. Jaque de Galice*, qui freres estoit monseigneur S. Jehan evangeliste; là disoit on que S. Jacques ot la teste copée, et pource fist on le moustier là. La grant rue qui aloit de la tour David droit aux portes Ores. La grant apeloit on *la rue David*, jusqu'au change, à mein senestre. De la tour Davit avoit une grant place où on vendoit le blé. Et quant on avoit un peu avalé cele rue, qui avoit non la rue David, si trouvoit on une rue à mein senestre qui avoit non *la rue au Patriarche*[2], pource que li patriarches manoit au chief de cele rue. Li patriarches avoit une porte de là où on entroit en la maison de l'Ospital. Après si avoit une porte par où on entroit ou moustier deu Sepucre, mais n'estoit mie la mistre. Quant on venoit au *change*, là où la rue David failloit, si trouvoit on une rue qui avoit non *la rue de Mont Syon*. Et à l'issue du change trouvoit on une rue couverte à vote qui avoit non *la rue des Herbes;* là vendoit on toutes les herbes, et tous les fruis de la vile, et les espices. Au chief de cele rue avoit I. lieu où on vendoit le poisson. Et avoit une grant place à mein senestre, là où en vendoit les fromages et les poules et les oes. A mein destre de cel marchié estoient *li lié as orfevres surieis*. Et si y vendoit on les paumes que li pomier aportent d'Outremer[3]. A mein destre de cel marchié estoient *les eschepes des orfevres latins*. Au chief des eschopes avoit *une abaïe de nonnains*, que on apeloit *Seinte Marie la Grant*[4]. Après cele

abaïe de nonnains trouvoit on une *abaïe de moignes noirs*, que on apeloit *Seinte Marie la Latine.* Après trouvoit on *la meison de l'Ospital* à mein destre.

ii. *De ce meisme.*

De la droiture de l'Ospital estoit *la mestre porte du Sepucre.* Devant cele porte du Sepulcre avoit une moult bele place pavée de marbre. A mein destre de cel Sepulcre avoit I. moustier que l'on apelle *S. Jaque des Jacopins.* A mein destre, devant de cele porte du Sepulcre, avoit I. degré par où en montoit ou mont de Calvaire. Là sus, en son le mont, avoit une moult belle chapelle. Et si avoit I. autre huis en cele chapelle, par où en entroit ou moustier du Sepuchre et y avaloit on par uns autres degrez qui là estoient. Tout ainsi c'on, entroit ou moustier du Sepulcre, desouz le mont de Calvaire, si estoit Golgatas; à mein destre estoit li clochiers du Sepulcre, et si avoit une chapelle que en apeloit *Seinte Trinité.* Cele chapelle si estoit mout grans, car on y espousoit toutes les fames de la cité. Et là estoit li fons où en baptizoit touz les enfans de la cité. Et cele chapelle si estoit tenant au Sepucre, si comme il y avoit une porte de dont on entroit ou moustier: à l'endroiture de cele porte estoit *li monumens.* En cel endroit, là où li monumens, estoit li moustiers tous roons, et si estoit ouvres par desure, sanz couuverture. Et dedans cest le monument estoit la pierre dou Sepulcre, et li monumens couvers a voute au chavech de cel monument, ausi com au chief de l'autel par dehors, que l'en apeloit *Chavec;* là chantoit en chascun jour au point du jour. Il avoit moult bele place tout entour le monument et toute pavée, si com en aloit à pourcession tout entour le monument. Après, vers Orient, estoit li cueurs du Sepucre, là où li chanoines chantoient; si estoit lons. Entre le cuer, là où li chanoine estoient et le monument, avoit I. autel là où li Grieu chantoient. Mès I. autre clos avoit entre II; y avoit I. par où on aloit de l'un à l'autre. Et en milieu du cuer au chanoines, avoit I. letrin de marbre, que en apeloit *le compas;* lassus list en l'epistre. A main destre du mestre autel de ce cuer estoit mons de Calvarie. Si que, quant on chantoit messe de la Resurrexion, li diacres, quant il chantoit l'Evangile, si se tournoit vers le mont de Calvaire quant il disoit *Crucifixum;* après si se tournoit vers le monument quant il disoit *resurrexit, non est hic,* si monstroit au doit: *Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum;* et puis si se retournoit au livre si pardisoit son Evangile. Au cheves dou cuer avoit une porte, par là où li chanoine entroient en leur offecines, à mein destre. Entre cele porte et mont de Calvaire avoit I. mout parfont fossé, où en avaloit à degrez. Là avoit une place que en apeloit *Sainte Helaine.* Là trouva sainte Helainne la crois et les clous et le martel et la courone. En cele fosse, ou tens que Ihesu Cris fu en terre, getoit on les cors de larrons qui estoient crucifiez, quand on les despendoit. Et quant on leur coupoit ou poing ou teste, ou en en faisoit aucune justice, on le faisoit ou mont de Calvarie; que on y faisoit les justices et ce que les lois

aportoient, et que on gistoit les menbres que on jugoit à pardre aus malfaiteurs. Tout ainsi que li chanoine issoient dou Sepulcre, à mein senestre estoit leur dortoirs, et à mein destre li refrotois et tenoit au mont de Calvarie. Entre ces II. offices estoit leur clistres et leur preaus. En un lieu du peel avoit une grant ouverture, dont on veoit en la chambre Elaine qui dessous estoit, car autrement n'i veoit on goute.

iii. *De ce meisme.*

Le changes estoit tenans à la rue des Herbes, que on apeloit *Mal-quismat.* En cele rue cuisoit on la viande au pelerins, que en vendoit, et si lavoit on les chiez. Et si aloit on de la rue au Sepulcre. Tout avant de cele rue de Malquimat, avoit une rue que en apeloit *la rue Couverte,* là où en vendoit la draperie ; et estoit toute à voute par desure. Et par cele rue aloit on au Sepulcre. Cele rue dont aloit du change aus portes Oires, avoit à non la *rue du Temple ;* pour ce l'apeloit on *la porte du Temple,* que en venoit ainçois au Temple que aux portes Oires. A mein senestre, si com on avaloit cele rue à aler au Temple, là estoit la Boucherie, là où en vendoit la char de la boucherie à ceuz de la vile. A mein destre avoit une autre rue, par là où on aloit à l'Ospital. Cele rue avoit non *aus Alemans.* A mein senestre, sur *le pont,* avoit I. *moustier de S. Gile.* Au chief de cele rue trouvoit on unes portes que en apeloit *portes Precieuses ;* que Ihesu Cris par ces portes entroit en la cité de Iherusalem, quant il ala par terre. Ces portes si estoient en un mur qui estoit entre la cité et le mur des portes Oires.

iv. *De ce meisme.*

Entre le mur de la cité et le mur des portes Oires si estoit li Temples. Et si y avoit une grant place qui plus estoit d'une traictie de lonc et le giet d'une pierre de lé, ain que en veigne au Temple. Cele place si estoit pavée, dont on apeloit cele place *le Pavement.* A mein destre, si come en issoit de ces portes, estoit *li temples Salemon,* là où li frere du Temple manoient. A la droiture des portes Precieusses et des portes Oires estoit *li moustiers du temple Domini.* Et si estoit en haut, si come il monta aus degrez haus. Et quant en montoit ces degrez, si trouvoit on moult large, et cis pavement aaloit tout entour le moustier du Temple. Li moustiers dou Temple estoit tous rons. Et à mein senestre du haut pavement du Temple, estoit l'offecine de l'abbé et des chanoines. Et de cele part avoit uns degrez par où en montoit au Temple, du bas pavement en haut. Devers soleil levant, tenant au mostier du Temple, avoit une *chapelle de monseigneur S. Jaque l'apostre,* le menor ; pource estoit ilec quant cele chapele que il y fu martiriez, quant li Juis le giterent de sur le Temple aval. Dedens cele chapelle estoit li lieus où Ihesu Cris delivra la pecharresse qui on menoit martirer, pource qu'ele avoit esté prise en avoultere. Au chief de ce pavement, par devers soleil levant,

ravaloit en uns degrez à aler aus portes Oires. Quant on les avoit avalez, si trouvoit l'on une place grant, ains que en venist au portes: là seoit li autres que Salemons fist. Par ces portes ne passoit nus, ains estoient murées, et se n'i passoit nulz que II. foiz en l'an, que on les desmuroit; et aloit on à pourcession le jour de Pasques Flories, pource que Ihesu Cris y passa à cel jour, et fu recueillis à pourcessions; et le jour de la feste Seinte Crois en stenbrre, pour ce que par ces portes fu raportée la crois en Iherusalem, quant li emperieres de Rome Eracles le conquesta en Perse et par cele porte la remist en la cité et [a]la en à pourcession encontre lui. Parce que on n'issoit mie hors de la vile par ces portes, yl y avoit une posterne par encoste, que en apeloit *la porte de Josaphat.* Par cele posterne issoient ceulz de la cité hors de cele part. Et cele posterne estoit à mein senestre des portes Oires, par devers midi. Y avoloit on du haut pavement du Temple bas. de dont on aloit au temple Salmon. A mein senestre, si com on aloit du haut pavement en bas, là avoit I. moustier que on apeloit *le Biers.* Là estoit li bers dont Diex fu berchiés en s'enfance, si que en disoit. Ou moustier dou Temple avoit IIII. portes en crois; la premiere estoit devers souleil couchant: par celi entroient cil de la cité ou Temple; et par celi, devers soleil levant, entroit on en la chapelle, et si s'enrissoit on ileques aus portes Oires. Par la porte devers midi entroit on ou temple Salemon. Et par la porte devers Aquillon entroit on en *l'abaïee.*

V. *De ce meisme.*

Or vous ai devisé du Temple et dou Sepulcre, coment il seent, et de l'Ospital, et des rues qui estoient des porte de David deci as portes Oires, l'une endroit l'autre. Cele devers Aquilon avoit non *la porte Seinte Estiene.* Par cele porte entroient tout li pelerin et tout cil qui par devers Acre venoit en Iherusalem, et par toute la terre du flun jusqu'à la mer d'Escalone. Dehors cele porte, ainsi com on y entroit, à mein destre avoit un *moustier de monseigneur Saint Estienes*[5] qui fu lapidés. Devant ce moustier, à mein senestre, avoit un grant manson que en apelloit *l'Asnerie;* là souloient gesir li asne et li sommier de l'Ospital, pource avoit non l'Asnerie. Ce moustier de S. Estiene abatirent li Crestien de Iherusalem devant ce qu'il fussent assegié, pour ce que li moustiers estoit près de murs. L'Asnerie ne fu pas abatue, ains ot puis grant mestier aus pelerins qui par treuage venoient en Iherusalem, quant elle estoit as Sarrasins, et que les Sarrasins n'es laissoient mie herbergier dedens la cité: pource lor [fu] la maison de l'Asnerie gran mestier. A mein destre de la porte de Iherusalem, tenant au murs, devant à la maladrerie, avoit une posterne que on apeloit *la posterne S. Ladre.* Quant li Sarrasins orrent conquise la cité sur les Crestiens, par là metoient il ens les Crestiens pour aler couvertement au Sepulcre. Car li Sarrasins ne vouloient mie que li Crestien veissent la couvine de la cité; pour ce

les metoie on ens par la porte le Patriarche, qui estoit en *la rue dou moustier du Sepulcre,* ne on ne les metoit mie ens par la mestre porte. Mais sachiez bien de voir que li Crestien pelerin qui vouloient aler au Sepucre et as autres seins lieus, que li Sarrasins en avoient d'eulz granz treus et grans leviers et grans services. Li Sarrasins les prisoient bien chascun an xx^{m} besans. Mais en escomenia après tous les Crestiens qui logier en donoient, par quoy il ne valoit mie tant. Quant on entroit en la cité par la porte de S. Estiene, si trovoit on II. rues, l'une à destre et l'autre à senestre qui aloit à la porte de mont Syon qui estoit endroit midi. Et la porte en mont si estoit à droiture, aloit à une posterne que on apelle *la Tanerie* et aloit droit par dessous *le pont.* Cele rue qui aloit à la porte du Mont Syon, avoit à non *la rue S. Estiene.* Desci qui en venoit as changes des Suriens avoit à mein destre qui en apeloit *la rue dou Sepucre;* là estoit la porte de la Meson dou Sepucre: par là entroient ceus du Sepucre en leur meisons et en leur manoirs. Quant en venoit devant ce change, si tournoit en à mein destre une rue couverte à voute, par où en aloit au moustier dou Sepucre. En cele rue vendoit li Surien leur draperie et si faisoit on les chandeles de cire. Devant ce change vendoit on le poison. A ces changes tenoient les III. rues qui tenoient aux autres chanches des Latins. Dont l'une de ces III. rues avoit non *rue Couverte.* Là vendoient li Latin leur draperie; et l'autre *rue des Herbes,* et la tierce *Masquismat.* Par la rue des Herbes aloit on en la rue du Mont Syon, dont on aloit à la porte du Mont Syon, et tres copoit on la rue David. Par la rue Couverte aloit on en une rue par le change des Latins; cele rue apeloit on *la rue de l'Arc Judas,* pource que en disoit que Judas s'i pendi: si y avoit I. arc de pierre. A senestre de cele rue avoit I. *moustier de S. Martin.* Et près de cele porte avoit I. *moustier de S. Pierre.* Là disoit on que ce fu que Ihesu Cris fist la boue que il mist ès eux de celuy qui n'avoit onques veu. Hors de la porte de Mont Syon si trovoit on III. voies. Une voie à mein destre, qui aloit à l'abaïe et au *moustier de Mont Sion.* Et entre l'abaïe et les murs de la cité avoit I. grant atre et I. moustier, en milieu de la voie; à mein senestre si aloit selonc les murs de la cité droit au portes Oires et d'ilec avaloit on ou val de Josaphat, et si en aloit en *la fontaine de SSyloe.* Et de cele porte à mein destre sur cele voie, avoit I. *moustier de S. Pierre en Galiceinte.* En tel moustier avoit une parfonde, là où en disoit que S. Pierres se musa, quant il ot Ihesu Cris renoié et il oï le coc chanter, et là ploura il. La voie, à la droiture de cele porte par devers midi, si aloit par desur le mont, de si que en passalareie si avaloit on le mont et aloit en par cele porte en Bethleem.

VI. *De ce meisme.*

Quant on avoit avalé le mont, si trouvoit en I. lai en la valée, qu'en apeloit *le lai Germain*[6], que Germains le fist faire pour recueillir les iaues qui descendoient des montaignes quant il plovoit; et là abuvroit

on les chevaus de la cité. D'autre part la valée, à mein senestre, près d'iluec, avoit I. carnier que en apeloit *Chaudemar*[7]. Là getoit on les pelerins qui mouroient à l'Ospital de Iherusalem. Cele [valée] où li charniers estoit fu acheté des deniers dont Judas vendi la cher Ihesu Crist, si come l'Evangile tesmoigne. Dehors la porte avoit I. lai par devers soleil couchant, que on apeloit *le loy du Patriarche*, là où on recueilloit les iaues d'iluec entour pour abeurer les chevos. Près de cele lai avoit un charnier que en apeloit le *Charnier du Lyon*. Il avint jà, si com en disoit, à I. jour qui passez estoit, qu'il avoit entre Crestiens et Sarrasins une bataille entre celle charnier et Iherusalem, où il avoit mout de Crestiens ocis, et que li Sarrasins de la bataille les devoient tous faire lendemain ordoir pour la puor. Tant que il avint que uns lyons vint par nuit, les porta touz en cele fosse, si con en disoit; pour ce l'apeloit on le Charnier du Lyon. Et dessus ce charnier avoit I. *moustier* où en chantoit chascun jour près d'ileques. A une lieue avoit une *abeïe de nonnains*, là où en disoit que une des pieces de la vraie crois fu cueillue...

vii. *De ce meisme.*

Or revieng à la porte S. Estienne, à la rue qui aloit à main senestre, qui aloit à la posterne de la Tanerie. Quant on avoit alé une grant piece de ceste rue à main senestre, que on apeloit *la rue de Josaphat;* quant en avoit I. pou alé avant, si trovoit en I. quarrefour d'une voie, dont la voie qui venoit devers senestre au Temple et aloit au Sepucre. Au chief de cele voie avoit une porte par devers le Temple, que on apeloit *portes Doulereuses*. A main destre, sur le carfor de cele voie, fu li ruisiaus dont l'Evangile tesmoigne; dont il disoit que nostre sires le passa quant il fu menez crucifier. En cel endroit avoit un *moustier de S. Jehan l'evangelistre*, et si y avoit un grant manoir. Cil manoirs et li moustiers estoit de nonnains de Bethanie; la manoient eles quant il estoit guerre de Sarrasins. Or revieng à la rue de Josaphat. Entre la rue de Josaphat et les murs de la cité, à main senestre, avoit rues, ainsi com à une vile. Là manoient li plus de ceulx de Iherusalem, et ces rues apeloit on *la Merie*. En tel merie avoit un *moustier de sainte Marie Madelaine;* et près du moustier avoit une posterne. En ne povoit mie issir de hors aus chans, mais entre II. murs en aloit on. A main destre de cele rue de Josaphat avoit un moustier que en apeloit *le Repons*[8]; là disoit on que Ihesu Cris se repousa quant on le mena crucifier. Et là estoit la prison où il fu mis la nuit que il fu pris en Gessemani. Un peu avant en cele rue avoit esté *la maison Pilate*. A main senestre, devant cele maison, avoit une porte par où en aloit au Temple. Près de la porte de Josaphat, à main senestre, avoit une abeïe de nonnains, si avoit à non *Sainte Anne*. Devant cele abeïe avoit une fontaine que en apeloit la *Fontaine dessous la pecine*. Cele fontaine ne quert point, ains estoit desure. En cele fontaine, au temps de Ihesu

Crist, descendoit li anges, et mouvoit li aue, et li premiers malades qui y descendoit après estoit garis de s'enfermeté. Cele fontaine avoit v. porches où li malades gisoient, si con on dit. De la porte de Josaphat si avaloit on en val de Josaphat. Si avoit une *abeïe de noirs moigne.* En cele abeïe avoit un *moustier de madame Sainte Marie.* En cel moustier estoit li sepucres où ele fu enfouie. Li Sarrasins quant il orent prise la cité abatirent cele abeïe et en porterent les pierres à la cité fermer, mais le moustier n'abatirent il mie. Devant ce moustier, au pié dou mont d'Olivet, avoit I. moustier en une roche que on apelloit *Gessemani:* là fu Ihesu Cris pris; d'autre part la voie, si con l'en monte ou mont d'Olivet, tant con on giteroit une pierre, avoit I. moustier que on apeloit *S. Sauveur;* là ala Ihesu Cris aourer la nuit qu'il fu pris; et là li sueurs de son cors aussi com sans. Ou val de Josaphat avait hermites et veveles. Et s'estoit tout contreval, car je ne sai mie nommer jusqu'à de Syloe. Et sur le mont d'Olivet avoit une *abeïe de blans moignes.* Près de cele abeïe, à main destre, avoit une voie qui aloit en Betanie, toute la costiere de la montaigne. Seur le tour de cele voie avoit I. moustier qui avoit à non *Sainte Patenostre;* là disoit on que Ihesu Cris fist la patenostre et l'enseigna à ses apoutres. Près d'iluec fu li figuiers que Diex maudist quant il aloit en Iherusalem, entre le moustier qui avoit non *Belfage.* Là vint Ihesus Cris le jour de Pasques Flories, et le jor envoia il en Iherusalem II. disciples pour une asnesse et d'iluec ala en Iherusalem sur l'asnesse. Or vous ai dit et nomé les abeïs et les moustiers de Iherusalem, par dehors Iherusalem et par dedens, et les rues des Latins; mais je ne vous ai mie nomé les abeïes et les moustiers des Suriens, ne des Grejois, ne des Jacobins, ne des Boanins, ne des Nestorins, ne des Hermites, ne des autres manieres des gens qui n'estoient mie obeissant à Rome, dont il y avoit moustiers et abeïes en la cité: pour ce ne vous veil mie parler de toutes ces gens que je ici nomme, qui n'estoient mie obeissant à Romme, si con en disoit.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRECEDING DESCRIPTION.

1. Dr. Schultz observes, that instead of "cele porte tenoit à la *porte* David," we must certainly read "à la *tour* David."

2. "Rue au Patriarche"—called "Ruham balneorum Patriarchæ" in the following extract from a royal grant of Almaric, which further illustrates the position of other streets and buildings mentioned in the description. It is published, with other Archives of the Order of S. John, by Sebastiano Pauli Codice Diplomatico &c., P. I. p. 243, No. cc. and is dated June, A. D. 1174. "Ego Amalricus Scte Civitatis Jherusalem Francorum Rex quintus . . . donavi in elemosinam . . . Scto Hospitali Jherusalem et Ecclesiae Scte Mariae Majoris quandam viam que erat

inter Domum hospitalis predicti et Domum prefate sancte Marie Majoris. Cujus introitus a ruha palmariorum erat respiciens ad septentrionem. in opposita parte faciei Ecclesie Dominici Sepulchri. ingrediens ad meridiem inter utramque Domum. videlicet hospitalis et Sancte Marie majoris. ducens etiam infra Domos hospitalis. usque ad exitum in ruham balneorum Patriarche; de qua via meo assensu et consilio talem fecere conventionem et pactum et divisionem. quod ab introitu prescribto ipsius vie. usque ad quemdam arcum pariete clausum. sit ipsius Scte Marie Majoris possessio et in ea hedificent domos et que hedificanda habuerint. in longitudine et latitudine. In altitudine vero non amplius quam usque ad pedem Signorum Sancti Crucis. que in parietibus hospitalis sculta apparent pro meta. quam in edificio quod super hanc viam hedificaverint sanctimonialibus transscendere non licet. Ab predicto vero arcu pariete clauso. inter Ecclesiam Hospitalis et domos Sanctimonialium vacuum remaneat. neque Hospitali. neque Sanctimonialibus quicquid hedificare licet. Sanctimoniales vero super hoc spatium vacuum neque exitum neque fenestram facient. ab hoc vero spacio vacuo usque ad prenotatam ruham balneorum Patriarche sit libere et quiete possessio et proprietas hospitalis. et in ea quicquid voluerit faciant; Conductos autem observent et custodiant tam Sanctimoniales quam hospitalares. secundum quod cuique parti eorum pertinet. De toto quidem muro Ecclesiae hospitalis lapidem detrahere. vel inferre. aut etiam quicquid operis eidem muro imponere. Sanctimoniales nullo modo presumant."

3. A note of the Editor on the "ruha Palmariorum" in the foregoing document will further illustrate this passage. Codice Diplomatico, &c. p. 546. "Palmarii chiamavansi in questi tempi coloro, che ritornavano o dalla sacra milizia, o dalla visita del S. Sepulchro, dal riportare che facevano di colà una palma per ciascheduno. Del qual uso ne dà la ragione il Durando, lib. 1, Ration. cap. 3, num. 14: *Qui de Hierosolymis veniunt, palmam in manibus ferunt, in signum, quod illi Regi militarunt, qui Hierosolymis cum palmis receptus est.* Vedi S. Pier Damiano, lib. 2. Epistol. 15. Forse che dal luogo ove prendevano queste palme, o da coloro che le vendevano, ebbe suo nome questa contrada di Gerusalemme."

4. Sebastiano Pauli (l. c. p. 537) remarks that this nunnery was called S. Mary the Great, "a distinzione d'un altro monastero di Vergini consecrate a Dio, che nel Diploma CXC. p. 236 vien chiamato: *Sanctae Mariae Petittae.* Del primo ne parla il Tirio, lib. 19, cap. 4, p. 958: *Abatissa S. Mariae Majoris, quae Hierosolymis ante Sepulchrum Domini sita est;* ed il Cardinale de Vitrì, p. 1078: *Abbatia S. Mariae Monialium in Hierusalem cum Abbatissa et Monialibus nigris, sub Scti Benedicti regula Deo servientibus, tamquam cella aromatica sanctis et castis, et Deo devotis personis referta, quae religionis districtionem, vitae honestatem et caritatis fervorem, nulla compellente adversitate, vel paupertate, reliquerunt."*

5. The Monastery of S. Stephen is mentioned in two records among the Archives of the Knights of S. John.—The first dated 1157, is a conveyance to the Hospital of "...quandam vineam que affrontat ab Oriente in vinea Hospitalis. A meridie in vinea Sctae Annae. ab Aquilone in *viam que ducit Neapolim* et tenet de via usque ad *Bivium Sancti Stephani.*" Seb. Pauli, l. c. p. 204. No. CLXI. The second, of A.D. 1163, runs as follows:—"Regnante Ven. Dom. Almarico Latinorum Rege quinto. . . . Ego Eustachius et Agnes uxor mea . . . . quamdam terram cum suis pertinenciis prope *Sanctum Stephanum.* que contigua est terre hospitalis Scti Johannis Baptistae. quod est in Jherusalem. et adjacens *duabus viis* una quarum intrantibus et exeuntibus portam Civitatis Jherusalem que dicitur Scti Stephani est patula. altera ad vallem Josaphat tendens. habet juxta se *cisternam* terre prefate pertinentem. que aperit os. communem haustum praebens viantibus. Deo et Sctis Pauperibus hospitalis prefati . . . . in helemosinam contradidimus." Seb. Pauli, l. c. p. 207. No. CLXIV.

6. Birket es-Sultan is mentioned as "lacus Germani," in the "Cartulaire du S. Sepulchre," A.D. 1177. "... Ego Balduinus . . . in S. civitate Hierusalem Latinorum rex sextus, dono et . . . confirmo Deo et ecclesiae Sanctae Resurrectionis, nec non et Petro ejusdem venerabili priori, universis etiam canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus et in perpetuum servituris, duos quintarios racemorum in vineis meis, quae sunt prope ecclesiam Sanctae Crucis, perpetualiter singulis annis recepiendos, . . . in cambium scilicet decimae, quam habebant in vinea quae est juxta, secundum procopios, quam dominus et pater meus, . . . rex Amalricus, donavit ecclesiae Montis Syon, pro *lacu Germani*, qui communis est usibus universae civitatis, etc." *Assises de Jerusalem*, II. p. 531, No. 48.

7. Chaudemar—*i. e.* Aceldama, mentioned in the Archives of the Knights of S. John, in a grant of the Patriarch to the Hospital, A.D. 1143. "Ego Willelmus D. G. Sctae Jherusalem Patriarcha .....notum facio quod ego Æcclesiam quamdam. quae in agro qui *Achel demach* dicitur. sita est. ubi peregrinorum sepeliuntur corpora. cum tota ejusdem agri terra, ab antiquis Surianis, nobis praesentibus divisa. Hospitali quod est in Jherusalem habendam in perpetuum concessi. etc." Among the signatures is one "Willelmus Clericus. qui predictam incepit Ecclesiam." Seb. Pauli, l. c. p. 23. No. XXII.

8. Dr. Schultz remarks "we must here certainly read "Repous" for "Repons."

No. III.

EXTRACTS FROM MEJIR-ED-DIN.

(Mines d'Orient, Tom. II. p. 83, &c.)

[The following detailed account of the Haram es-Sherif, with some interesting notices of the City, is extracted from an Arabic work entitled "The Sublime Companion to the History of Jerusalem and Hebron, by Kadi Mejir-ed-din, Ebil-yemen Abd-er-Rahman, El-Alemi," who died A. H. 927, (A. D. 1521). It was translated by Von Hammer, in the Mines d'Orient, Tome II. pp. 81, et seq. But I have collated the greater part of his translation with an original Arabic MS. in the British Museum. I have marked by Italics the variations of the original which I follow, from Von Hammer's translation. The figures in brackets refer to the Supplementary Plan on the large Plate. The Arabic words in Italics are explained in a Glossary at the end.]

Chap. XX. Description of the Mesjid el-Aksa.

§ i.

Mesjid el-Aksa is the name given to the body of the Mosk, which extends from South to North, with a lofty dome adorned with mosaics, under which is the *Mihrab* [1], and the *Minbar* [2]. It is divided into seven compartments (*Akwár*), supported by columns and piers, of which are 45 columns, 33 of marble, 12 of stone. The thirteenth column is towards the eastern gate [8], near the Mihrab of Zachariah [7]. There are in all 40 piers of stone. The roof, which is of great elevation, is of wood. *In the middle of its southern part is the dome,* on the sides of which are two compartments. The four others are arranged two on the East and two on the West side. The other half of the roof is of stone and mortar. That which is of wood is leaded without. One part of the Mosk on the South and East is lined with marbles of different colours.

The great *Mihrab* on the East side of the *Minbar* is said to be the *Mihrab* of David. Others say that his is the *Mihrab* outside the *Jamia* on the South wall, to the East, near the place called the Cradle of Jesus [12]. I have spoken before of the *Mihrab* of David at the Castle. *For his residence was there, as was his oratory.* M. d'O. II. p. 84.

When Omar came to Jerusalem *he followed his* (David's) *example,* praying in the same place, which was also called the *Mihrab* of Omar, because there he first prayed on the day of the conquest of Jerusalem. But it was originally the *Mihrab* of David. *In confirmation of this is* the tradition of Omar demanding of Kaab, "Where shall we establish our oratory?" The small *Mihrab* on the West side of the *Minbar,* surrounded with an iron fence, is called the *Mihrab* of Moaviah [3].

§ ii. *Dimensions.*

The length from the great *Mihrab* to the opposite gate is 100 common Ziraas, exclusive both of the apse of the *Mihrab* and of the portico without the northern gate. The width from the eastern gate, leading towards the Cradle of Jesus, to the western gate, is 77 common Ziraas.

On the East is a Mosk, built wholly of stone, called the Mosk of Omar, because this building is *one of the remaining buildings* of Omar; and the *Mihrab* in this place is called the *Mihrab* of Omar, viz. that which is near the *Minbar* opposite to the great North door, as lately described.

On the North of the Mosk of Omar is a porch [6], called the Porch of *'Ozair* (*i.e.* Ezra), from which a door leads into the Mosk of Omar, and near this porch is another where is the *Mihrab* of Zachariah [7], near the eastern gate [8]. Within the Mosk on the West is a large building divided into two compartments, running East and West, called the Mosk of the Women. It has ten arches supported by nine *piers, very well built*, erected, it is said, by the Fatimites.

Within the Mosk (*Jamia*) *behind the Kibla*, is the Corner of the Circumcision [4]. This oratory is surrounded with an iron fence, and adjoins the *Minbar*. Near the Circumcision Corner, on the West side, is the *Dar-el-khotabut* [the place where the Khotba, or prayer for the reigning sovereign is offered]. The Minbar is of wood, inlaid with ivory and ebony, constructed by the Sultan Melik el-Aadel Nureddin es-Shahid, at Aleppo, in the year 564 (A.D. $116\frac{8}{9}$), and thence conveyed to Jerusalem by Saladin after his conquest, according to the intentions of Nureddin, which were thus accomplished after his death. The date *of its construction* is inscribed upon it. Opposite the Minbar is the gallery (*dikkah*) of the Muezzins [5], formed of beautiful marble.

M. d'O. II. p. 85.

This Mosk has ten gates of entrance. Seven on the North, one opening into each of its seven compartments. Outside these gates are seven porches raised on seven arches opposite these gates. They have fourteen *marble* columns *built into the piers* (*sowari*). The eastern gate [8] leads to the Cradle of Jesus; another is opposite to this, on the West side [9], and the tenth is that which leads to the Women's Mosk.

§ iii. *The Well of the Leaf.* [10].

This is within the Mosk at the side of the great gate. There are various traditions concerning this Well, one of which is reported by Abu-Bekr, Ibn-Miryam, and by Atyé, Ibn-Kaisi. According to him, the Prophet said, "One of my people shall enter into Paradise walking, while yet alive." It happened in the time of Omar that *some persons came to Jerusalem to pray.* A man of the tribe of the Beni-Temim, named Sherik Ibn-Habasha, *went to bring water for his companions, and* his bucket fell into the well. *He went down to recover it, and found a door in the well which led to gardens. He entered the door to the gardens,*

and walked in the gardens, and took a leaf from their trees, which he placed behind his ear. He returned by the well, came to the governor, and reported *what he had found in the gardens, and about his entering them.* He sent some men with him to the well, who descended with him, but they did not find any door, nor arrive at the gardens. And *he wrote* to Omar, who answered, that the tradition of the Prophet concerning the man that should enter Paradise alive, was true; but it should be ascertained whether the leaf was fresh or dry; for if it had changed colour it could not be from Paradise, where nothing changes. The tradition adds, that it had not changed. *It is said, that the well is that which is in the Mesjid el-Aksa, on the left as you enter the Jamia.* On the South-east is a great magazine called the Magazine of the Joiners, in which are kept the utensils for the Mosk. It was probably constructed by the Fatimites. There is a second mouth to the Well of the Leaf.

The second *Mihrab* of David [12] is without the Jamia, but within the *Mesjid,* on the southern wall, on the East side—*a great Mihrab celebrated among the people as the Mihrab of David,* near the Cradle of Jesus.

§ iv. *The Mart of Science,* [11.] M. d'O. II. p. 86.

At the eastern end of the Mosk, towards the second *Mihrab* of David, is a place with a *Mihrab,* called the Mart of Science. I know not the reason of this name, which probably owes its origin to the inventive spirit of the servants of the Mosk, to excite the curiosity of the pilgrims. Some historians write that the Gate of Repentance was on this side. When an Israelite transgressed, his sin was found in the morning written on the door of his house, then he went to this place to repent *and beseech* God. The sign of his pardon was the disappearance of the writing; and so long as it was not obliterated he dared not approach any one. This place was assigned as an Oratory to the Hanbelites, by the Sultan Isa, son of Abu-Bekr, of the family of Eyûb, Lord of Damascus.

§ v. *The Cradle of Jesus,* [12].

This is a subterranean Oratory near the Mart of Science. It is said that Miryam, the mother of Jesus, prayed here. To pray here with success one must recite the Surat Miryam, and pray like Omar, who recited the Surat Sad at the *Mihrab* of David. They recite also here the prayer of Jesus, when he was received into heaven from the Mount of Olives.

§ vi. *The Mosk of the Moghrebins.*

Outside *the Jamia,* to the west, *in the front of* the *Mesjid,* is the building called the Mosk of the Moghrebins, where the Malekites pray. This building was apparently first erected by Omar Ibn-Khatab, on whom be the peace of God! For, according to the tradition of Shedad, when Omar had entered the Mesjid el-Aksa he went *to its west front,* bearing in his dress the filth that he had taken from the Sakhrah. We

carried it, says Shedad, like him, and came to the Valley Jehennom. Thence he returned, and we with him, until we stopped to pray with him in a place where the people prayed. The same Shedad reports that
M. d'O. II. p. 87. Omar, on the day of the conquest, went towards a place on the west side, saying, Let us here establish a Mosk: and *this Jamia is in the west face of the Mesjid.* Possibly the building was constructed by Omar, *or* the Ommiades *left it behind them.* It extends from east to west in the Mesjid.

§ vii. *The Rock Es-Sakhrah.*

This Rock is in the middle of the Mesjid, on a raised platform, covered with a beautiful building. It is a Dome rising 50 common architectural Ziraas above the platform, which is itself elevated 7 Ziraas from the ground; so that the total elevation of the Dome above the ground is 53 [*sic*] Ziraas. The Dome is supported by columns *of marble, and piers very well built.* It has twelve columns (*'amud*) of marble and four piers (*sowari.*) The rock itself is surrounded with a wooden rail, and the columns and piers which carry the Dome are surrounded with an iron fence. The Dome is covered with a roof of gilded wood, supported by sixteen columns and eight piers. The pavement and *walls* below the Dome are of marble within and without. It is ornamented above, both within and without, with variegated stones, and the building which surrounds the Dome is octangular. The interior circumference is 224 Ziraas, the exterior 240, *by the ordinary Ziraa.*

§ viii. *The Sacred Foot-Print.*

It is on a stone detached from the rock on the south-west, *and is on marble pillars.*

§ ix. *The Cave.*

Beneath the rock is a Cave on the south, to which is a descent by stone steps. The steps are interrupted in the middle by a small bench excavated in the rock on the east side, where the pilgrims rest. Here is a marble column, the base of which stands on this bench, joined
M. d'O. II. p. 88. on the south to the side of the Cave; the capital supports the side of the Sakhrah, as if to prevent it from leaning towards the south side, or in any other way.

This cave is one of the most sacred places on earth. The author of Messir-el-ghoram says that he found, in the Commentary on the work Muta (a collection of traditions of the Imam Malek), on that verse of the Koran, "We sent water from heaven"—that all the water on earth comes from under the Sakhrah; which is a marvel, because being itself without support on any side, it is supported only by Him who supports the heavens, which can only fall upon the earth by His permission.

On the south side is the footprint of the prophet, which was there

impressed when he mounted the celestial beast Borak, for the nocturnal journey: which occasioned the rock to incline on this side out of respect. On the other side you see the prints of the fingers of the angels who supported the rock while it bowed. Beneath the rock is a cave in which prayers are heard at all events. When I would enter there (continues the author of Messir-el-ghoram), I feared that it would sink down under the burden of my sins; but having seen that sinners covered with all kinds of iniquity entered and came out safe and sound, I took courage to enter; I still hesitated, however; at last I entered, and was astounded to see the rock detached on all sides, and not joined to the earth. So writes the author of Messir-el-ghoram; but, adds our author, it is a well-known fact among men, that this rock is suspended between heaven and earth. It is said that it remained so suspended until a pregnant woman, when she had entered under the rock, being terrified with this appearance, miscarried there. Then it was surrounded with the present building, to conceal the terrific marvels of the place. Ibn el-Arabi relates in his work that he came to the East, A. H. 485 (A. D. 1092),—which is the time of his arrival at Jerusalem, and that then the rock was already surrounded with a rotunda. God best knows how this is! The Dome and the rotunda which encircles it have a double roof, of which the lower is of gilded timber, and the upper covered with lead, and there is a considerable space between the two. The building has four gates towards the Cardinal points. That on the south [46] leads straight to the *Jamia*, properly called Aksa. On the right side within the Dome is a *Mihrab*, opposite the gallery of the Muezzins, on a column of marble of very elegant workmanship. The eastern gate leads towards the steps of Borak [27], opposite the Dome of the Chain [48]. This eastern gate [47] is called the Gate of Israfil (the angel of death). The northern gate [44] is called the Gate of Paradise. There is seen the black pavement, of which I have spoken elsewhere. The western gate is opposite to that which is called the Cotton Merchants.

M. d'O. II. p. 89.

§ x. *The Dome of the Chain*, [48].

This dome is very beautiful: I have spoken of it among the buildings of Abd-el-Melik Ibn-Merwan. It served as a model for that of the Sakhrah, and stands between the eastern gate [47] and the steps of Borak [27], supported by seventeen marble columns, exclusive of those of the *Mihrab*. Tradition says, that the prophet on his nocturnal journey saw the Houris in this place. The platform round the Dome of the rock is square; so, however, that it is somewhat longer from south to north than from east to west, as will appear when we speak of its dimensions, please God.

Before each of the gates of the Sakhrah are columns supporting the prominent part of the roof (porches); the platform is paved with white marble. From whatever quarter you approach there are stone stairs, the

heads of which are surmounted by arches raised on columns. Two of these stairs are on the south side; one of which [33] is opposite to the great gate of the Mosk, commonly called el-Aksa. At the top of these stairs is a marble *Minbar* [15], and near it a *Mihrab*, where prayer is made on festivals and in times of drought. This *Minbar* it is said was erected by the Judge of the judges, Burhan-ed-din Ibn Jema...At first it was built hastily only in wood. The second of these stairs [34] leads towards the Dome of the Roll [23], which is towards the Mount of Olives. It faces the wall of the Mosk el-Aksa. The stairs on the east are called the steps of Borak [27], and lead to the olives planted from the east side of the Mosk to the Gate of Mercy. Two other stairs are on the north, one [28] opposite to the Gate *Hitta*, the other [29] opposite to the Gate of the *Dewatar*. On the west side there are three stairs, one [30] opposite to the Gate of the Inspector (*Bab-en-Nazir*), the second [31] opposite the Gate of the Cotton-Merchants (*Katanin*), the third [32] opposite the Gate of the Chain (*Bab-es-Salsala*). This last was made in our times, in the year 877, (A. D. $147\frac{2}{3}$). Near these stairs is the Dome called the Grammarians' [22], constructed by the great Melik Isa.

M. d'O. II. p. 90

§ xi. *The Dome of the Prophet's Ascension*, [16].

On the right of the Rock, on the west of the platform, rises the Dome of the Ascension, much visited by pilgrims, built by the Amir Isfehsalan Az-ed-din, son of Amru Osman, Governor of Jerusalem, A. H. 596 (A. D. 1199, 1200). It existed before, but was then repaired.

§ xii. *The Place of the Prophet*, [17].

This is said to have been once a beautiful little Dome, standing on the platform on the side of the Dome of the Ascension; but when the platform was paved this cupola disappeared, and its place was marked by a *Mihrab*, described in red marble, in the pavement on the side of the Sakhrah, which still exists. It is said that this is the place where the prophet prayed with the angels and cherubim, on the night of his nocturnal journey, and from which he afterwards ascended to heaven. Two prints of his feet are to be seen there, one in gold the other in silver, marking the spot of the Ascension, which took place on the right side of the Sakhrah. [Directions and formula for praying there.]

§ xiii. *The Place of the Prophet, El-Khudr* (*S. George,*) [18].

Below the platform on the west, towards the Dome of the Prophet, is a place called Bakh-bakh [wonderful and beautiful!], which is the place of El-Khudr, who prayed there; it is now abandoned. It [*lege* There] is beneath the platform, towards the Gate of Iron (*Hadîd*), adjoining the stairs [30] which lead to the platform, [a chamber] called the Cave

of Spirits [19], which is rarely visited by pilgrims. On the west side of the *Mesjid* are rocks said to be of the time of David. It is evident that they are natural rocks, rooted in the ground, and never removed. M. d'O. II. p. 91.

§ xiv. *The Dome of Solomon*, [20].

On this side, near the gate of the Dewatar, is a Dome solidly built on the natural rock, called the Dome of Solomon; and the rock must be that where he stood to pray after having finished the Temple... This Dome dates from the time of the Ommiades.

§ xv. *The Dome of Moses*, [21].

The Dome which stands near the Gate of the Chain (es-Salsala) is called the Dome of Moses; but this is not Moses the prophet. The true origin of this name is unknown. It was built by Melik Saleh Nejem-ed-din Eyûb, son of Melik el-Kaamel, in the year of his death, *i. e.* A. H. 647 (A. D. $12\frac{49}{50}$) It was formerly called Kubbet-es-Sijret (Dome of the Tree). On the west side of the Mesjid are cloisters solidly built, running from south to north. The first is near the Gate of the Moghrebins, (*i. e.* the Gate of the Prophet [41]), and the last at the Gate of the Inspector (Nazir), and beyond [to] near the Gate El-Ghuanimi.—All these cloisters were built under the direction of Melik Naser Motammed, Ibn Kelaûn. Those from the Gate of the Moghrebins to that of the Chain (es-Salsala) were built in A. H. 713 (A. D. $131\frac{3}{4}$), those from the Gate of Nazir to that of Ghuanimi in the year 707 (A. D. $130\frac{7}{8}$). On the area of the Mesjid, between these cloisters and the platform of the court of the Sakhrah, there are a number of small elevations for prayer [35], and a great quantity of trees,—as sycamores, figs and others. The cloisters on the north of the area run east and west from the Gate of the Tribes (es-Sabat) to the School el-Jawlié, now called the House of Prefecture.

As to the cloisters which extend from the Gate of the Tribes to the School of Ghader, I cannot speak positively. Most probably they were erected at the same time as the neighbouring Minaret [56], built by Sultan Eshref Ibn-Hosein, A. H. 769 (A. D. $136\frac{7}{8}$). The cloisters below the School of Ghader were built at the same time as were those of the School of Kerim. The cloisters near the Gate of Hitta to that of the Dewatar were built by Melik Efhad, at the same time with his sepulchre, which is near the former of these two gates; for they are mentioned in the deed of foundation. As for the cloisters commencing at the Gate of the Dewatar, and extending to the western wall of the Mesjid, and the five schools outside them,—the School of Emin and the Persan are ancient. They were repaired during the reign of Melik Isa, in the year 610 (A. D. $121\frac{3}{4}$). The cloisters beneath the other three schools, viz. that of Esaad and Sabib, were built at the same time with these Schools, whose dates will be given in the M. d'O. II. p. 92.

chapter on the Schools. The lower cloisters beneath the Prefecture [Es-Seraiyah] were built at the same time with the minaret of the Gate El-Ghuanimi [55]; for the date is preserved in the chronography written above: but the writing has become illegible from age, and its height from the ground. The two cloisters were built a year after the minaret.....On the east side are many olives, planted in the time of the Greeks, and the remains of the ruined cloisters on the side of the Cradle of Jesus date from the times of the Ommiades.

§ xvi. *The Dome of the Roll,* [23].

This is on the platform of the Sakhrah on the south-west. I have been told that it is so called because one of the ancient kings, on a visit to Jerusalem, having ascended the Mount of Olives, threw a roll which fell here; which gave occasion to the building of this Dome and to its name. Men have invented diverse accounts of this matter: God only knows the truth!

§ xvii. *Retreat of Kashan,* [24].

This is a place near the Dome of the Roll, on the side of the platform of the Sakhrah towards the south. Sheikh Abd-el-Melik of Mosul here lived as a hermit. Its walls are cased with tiles of Kashan, whence it derives its name.

§ xviii. *The Cell of Bostam,* [25].

Under the platform of the Sakhrah, on the east, near the olives, where the poor of Bostam met for prayer. The door is now closed.

§ xix. *The Cell of Samed,* [26].

Near the Cell of Samed on the north, adjoining the Stairs of Borak [27]. The door is now closed, as that of the former building. There are in the Mesjid *thirty*-four wells for collecting the rain-water. One of these is that of the Leaf, already mentioned (§ 3), in the Jamia. There are seven others on the platform of the Sakhrah, the remainder in the ground of the area around the four sides of the platform. Some have no opening, others have as many as three, so that there are *more than* forty mouths to these wells. Some are in ruins, *and some stopped.*

M. d'O. II. p. 93.

§ xx. *Dimensions of the Area of the Mesjid.*

I took these dimensions myself with cords, and found the length—commencing from the South wall near the Mihrab of David, to the end of the cloisters on the north of the Gate of the Tribes—669 common Ziraas, without reckoning the thickness of the two walls. Should any one else find it two or three Ziraas more or less, it must be ascribed

to the difficulty of surveying; for I surveyed it twice myself before I obtained the true measure. The width from east to west, commencing from the eastern wall adjoining the tombs at the Gate of Mercy to the end of the western cloisters beneath the School of Tunjûz, is 406 common architectural Ziraas, without reckoning the thickness of the two walls.

§ xxi. *Observation.*

I have at the commencement called attention to the fact that the place now called by the name Aksa (*i. e.* the most distant), is the Mosk [Jamia] properly so called, at the southern extremity of the area, where is the *Minbar* and the great *Mihrab*. But in fact Aksa is the name of the whole area enclosed within the walls, the dimensions of which I have just given, for the Mosk proper [Jamia], the Dome of the Rock, the Cloisters, and other buildings, are all of late construction, and Mesjid el-Aksa is the correct name of the whole area.

§ xxii. *Dimensions of the Platform of the Sakhrah.*

The length from the southern wall between the two southern stairs, passing with the measure between the eastern door of the Sakhrah and the Dome of the Chain, to the northern wall opposite the Gate Hitta, is 253 Ziraas; the width from east to west, commencing at the eastern wall adjoining the olives, to the western wall opposite to the School of Eshrif, is 189 common architectural Ziraas. The dimensions of the Mosk proper (Jamia), the elevation of the Dome of the Sakhrah, and its circumference, have been before indicated (sup. §§ ii. vii.) If there be an error in the measures it must be very slight. The dimensions here given differ from those which I have given in the account of its construction under the reign of Abd-el-Melik Ibn Merwan. The reason is, that the measures vary according to the usage of the time, though their names remain the same: some who have given these measures employ the Ziraa of iron; others, the hand-Ziraa (the length of the arm)—God knows best! There are besides in the area a number of small oratories, &c., the description of which would be too long, for he only who has seen this sanctuary can form a just idea of it, and all that I have said concerning it is only by way of approximation.

M. d'O. II. p. 94.

[Then follows an eulogy of the Haram, which is not to the purpose.]

§ xxiii. *The Ancient Aksa.*

M. d'O. II. p. 95.

Beneath the *Mesjid* on the south side is a great building, *in which are piers supporting the roof, and it is* under the place of the *Minbar* and *Mihrab*. This place is called the ancient *Aksa*, and these are perhaps the remains of Solomon's building, as may be judged from their solidity.

§ xxiv. *The Stable of Solomon.*

At the side of that, also beneath the *Mesjid,* under where the olives grow, there is a walled place called the Stable of Solomon. *It runs in under the greatest* part of the *Mesjid,* and occupies the subterranean space of most of the above-noticed southern localities of the *Mesjid.* It is probably Solomon's building.

§ xxv. *The Minarets.*

In describing the Mosk as it was built in the time of Abd-el-melik Ibn-Merwan, we have already spoken of the four Minarets, of which three are on the west side of the Mosk, the fourth at the Gate of the Tribes. They still exist, but it is plain that they have been repaired and rebuilt in more modern times, on the old foundations. The first Minaret, and most beautiful [53], is at the south-west near the School of Fakhr, against the back of which it rests. It was perhaps built by the founder of that School; but God knows best! The second [54] is at the Gate of the Chain, served by the most eminent Muezzins: it gives the direction to the other Minarets, which follow it in announcing prayer. I have been informed that it was erected by Tûnjuz, prefect of Syria, when he built the celebrated School at the side of the Gate of the Chain. The third Minaret [55] is at the north-west extremity of the Mesjid. It is the largest and most solid of the four; it was built by Kadi Sheref-ed-din Abd-er-Rahman, son of the Wisîr Fakhr-ed-din el-Khalili, inspector of the religious foundations of the Harams of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. I have seen the patents for this office [or the expenses of this work], drawn up by Sultan Hossam-ed-din Lajin, in the year 697 (A. D. 129$\frac{7}{8}$), at which time probably this Minaret was erected. Others think it was of the time of Kelaûn, which is possible. The fourth Minaret [56] near the Gate of the Tribes is the most elegant. It was built in the reign of the Sultan Eshref, in the month of Shaaban, A. H. 769 [A. D. 136$\frac{7}{8}$].

M. d'O. II. p. 96.

§ xxvi. *Gates of the Mesjid.*

There are first the two gates pierced in the East wall, of which God speaks in the Koran, saying, "He raised a wall, whose gate on the inside is the Gate of Mercy, and on the outside the Gate of Torture." The valley behind this last is called Wady Jehennom. They are now stopped. Remains of the work of Solomon may still be seen on the inside of the enclosure, the only remains that are found within the Mesjid. This place is much reverenced and visited by pilgrims. I heard from a sage that these two gates were closed by Omar Ibn Khatab, and will only open at the end of the world, when Jesus the Son of Mary shall descend upon the earth. It seems they were closed for fear, and to secure the Haram and the city, because they face the desert, and there could be no advan-

tage in having them open, (to facilitate the entrance of the Bedawin). The place above the Gate of Mercy is called the Convent of Nasr, from Sheikh Nasr, who delivered scientific lectures there for a long time. He was replaced by the Imam Abu Hamid el-Ghazali, and this place was called the cell of Ghazali. Being afterwards repaired by Melik Isa, it soon fell again to ruin, so that only some remains of its walls now appear. There is on the east side near the two gates above-mentioned a third closed gate [*u*], opposite the stairs of the Sakhrah, called the Steps of Borak [27]. It is called the Gate of Borak, because by this gate the Prophet entered on his nocturnal journey; and the gate of *funerals, because they went out by it.* The Gate of the Tribes, so called from the Tribes of the Children of Israel, Joseph, Reuben, Simeon, and Juda, at the extreme south-west [lege *north-east*] side, not far from the Gates of Mercy and Repentance. It is said that between the Gate of Mercy and that of the Tribes is the place of Elias and El-Khudr. [Then follow various traditions about these two saints.]

The Gate Hitta is on the north side. This Gate has its name from the command given by God to the Israelites, to say Hitta, (i. e. Pardon!) as they entered it. [Various Traditions.] M. d'O. II. p. 97.

The Gate of the Nobility of the Prophets is on the north. It is apparently this by which Omar entered on the day of the conquest. But God best knows all things! It is now called the Gate of the Dewatar, from the School of the same name at its side. There are then three Gates on the north; that of the Dewatar, that of the Tribes, and that named Hitta. The Gate El-Ghuanimi is at the extremity of the west wall, where it turns north, so called after the minaret of that name. It leads to the quarter of the Children of Ghuanimi, and was formerly called the Gate of Abraham. M. d'O. II. p. 98.

The Gate of the Nazir (Inspector) is an ancient Gate repaired in the time of Melik Isa, about A. H. 600 (A. D. $120\frac{3}{4}$). It was formerly called the Gate of Michael. This is the Gate to which Gabriel tied the celestial beast Borak on the night of Mohammed's journey. The Gate of Iron is solid and beautiful, made by Argun el-Kameli. The Gate Katanin, (of the Cotton Merchants,) so called from its leading to the cotton bazaar. An inscription under it states that the Sultan Melik en-Nasr Mohammed, Ibn Kelaun, repaired it in 737 (A. D. $133\frac{6}{7}$). It is an extremely solid gate, and *in its neighbourhood is the Gate of the Bath, by which you can come to the Bath of the Mesjid. It is ancient, and was in ruins when Alla-ed-din el-bassir renewed its building, when he built the Muttaweddy.*

The Gate of the Chain and the Gate Sekiné both lead over the great street, called the Street of David. These are the principal Gates and most frequented, because they lead towards the Bazaar and the principal streets of the city. The Gate of the Chain was formerly called the Gate of David.

The Gate of the Moghrebins, so called from its vicinity to the door of the Jamia of the Moghrebins (Western Africans)...and because by that one goes to the quarter of the Moghrebins. This Gate is at the south-west extremity of the enclosure, and is also called the Gate of the Prophet....

There are then eight gates on the west side, commencing with that of Ghuanimi to that of the Moghrebins, and three to the north, i. e. eleven in all, exclusive of the two Gates of Mercy and Repentance, and the closed door in the East wall—with which there are fourteen...On the east and south sides, the Mesjid looks towards the desert: on the south, to the Fountain of Siloam, &c.; on the east is also the Mount of Olives and the Valley of Jehennom; on the north and west only the enclosure is bounded by houses. I have already said that the Mesjid was once in the middle of the city, surrounded on all sides by buildings, but after the old constructions were destroyed no one undertook to rebuild them, *and the affairs of the world became exhausted.*—So things remained as we see them in these days.

M. d'O. II. p. 99.

[The last two sections of the xxth Chapter are on the order in which the Imams pray (p. 99), and on the lamps lighted in the buildings (p. 100): these I omit.

The next Extracts given by Von Hammer are from the xxist chapter of the work, (folio 139 of the MS. in the British Museum, translated in Mines d'Orient, Tome II. pp. 118, &c.): and relate to the "Schools and Sepulchral Monuments within and around Jerusalem." These charitable foundations comprehend Schools (*Medressé*), Convents (*Khankeh*), Cells (*Zaweh*), and Caravanserais (*Robat*), founded and endowed by religious sultans, princes, and local governors, or officers, civil and ecclesiastical, or by private individuals, chiefly in the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries of the Hejra; for from the time of its recovery from the Franks the Muslimin vied with each other in their endeavours to repair the temporary desecration of their Holy House by special reverence and acts of extraordinary devotion. I do not think it worth while to give the names and dates of these various foundations, or of the Sepulchral Monuments of some of the founders and others, which could only be identified on the spot, and which throw little light on the topography of the City. I therefore mention only those which have any historical or antiquarian interest.

After noticing three within the Mesjid el-Aksa, and one on the South side of the enclosure, the writer enumerates those on the West side. The first of these is:]

M. d'O. p. 118.

1. The Convent of Fakhr, near the Mosk of the Moghrebins, within the Mesjid, near the gate which leads to the Quarter of the Moghrebins founded by the Kadi Fakhr-ed-din Abu-Abdullah Mohammed, inspector of the troops, a Coptic convert to Islam, who died A.H. 732 (A.D. 133$\frac{1}{2}$), upwards of 70 years of age. [This is doubtless the present house of Abu Se'ud Effendi].

2. The School of Tunjûz, founded by Emir Tunjûz, prefect of Syria, opposite the Gate of the Chain (*Bab-es-Salsala*). The founder left many monuments of his piety, as *e. g.* the marbles near the *Mihrab* of the Great Mosk, on the West side. This building was commenced in A.H. 720 (A.D. 1320). He also caused to be made the marble basin [49] between the Sakhrah and the old Mosk, and the Bath at the Gate of the Cotton Merchants (Bab-el-Katanin). [This is the *Hammam es-Shefa.*]...

[Ten other religious foundations are mentioned on the West side of the enclosure, (p 119,) and fourteen on the North side, (p. 120). He then, proceeds to the Schools in the town, and first those near the Mesjid, but not contiguous to its walls, on the North.]

1. The School of Saleh, near the Gate of the tribes (*Bab-es-Sabat*), founded by Melik Saleh-ed-din. It is the ancient Church of S. John, where the Virgin Mary was buried. It was founded A.H. 583 (A.D. 1192). M. d'O. p. 120.

The revenues of the Sheikhs are the best that have been founded in the countries of Islâm. [The historian has written, or the translator has read, Hanna, *i. e.* John, for Anna, and made it the burial-place, instead of the birth-place, of the Virgin. It is the Church of S. Ann. Eight other foundations are named on this side (p. 121); and twenty Schools, Sepulchral Monuments, &c. on the West side (pp. 121—123); of which I need only cite three:] M. d'O. p. 121.

1. The Cell of Yona, near the Gate of the Inspector (*Bab-en Nazir*). 2. The School of Jehark, on the North of the Cell of Yona. These two places were formerly a Christian Church divided in two, so that one half became the Cell of Yona, the other the School of Jehark, founded in A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389), by the emir of that name, grand-master of the Squires of Melik Barkuk, killed at Damascus. 3. The School of Efdhal, formerly called the Dome of the Moghrebins, founded by Melik Efdhal Nur-ed-din Abulhasan Ali, son of Saleh-ed-din, for the use of the Moghrebins. He founded also the Mosk by the side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, A.H. 589 [A.D. 1193], where his father died. The minaret only was built before the year 870 (A.D. $146\frac{5}{6}$). M. d'O. p. 122. M. d'O. p. 123.

[Of the remaining fourteen, in various parts of the City, I need only mention:]

1. The Cell Derkah, near the Hospital of Saleh. This building was in the time of the Franks the establishment of the Hospitallers, and had been built by Helena, mother of Constantine, who built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The minaret is in ruins. Here the Governors of Jerusalem formerly dismounted. This Cell was endowed A.H. 613 (A.D. $121\frac{6}{7}$), by Melik Mozaffer-Shehab-ed-din Gazi, son of Sultan Melik-el-Aadel Abu Bekr, son of Eyûb, Lord of Miafarakein.

2. The Serpents' Mosk, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where is the talisman against serpents. It was built by the Khalif Omar.

3. The Convent of Saleh, under the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, founded in 585 (A.D. 1189) by Melik Saleh-ed-din. [This is el-Khankey, *n.*]

4. The Red Convent, near the last named, destined for the poor.

5. The School of Maimûn, at the City Gate, ez-Zahari. It was formerly a Greek Church endowed in A.H. 593 (A.D. $119\frac{6}{7}$) by Emir Faris-ed-din Abu Said Maimun, son of Abdullah el-Kasri, treasurer of Melik Saleh-ed-din.

M. d'O. p. 124.

[The writer adds that there are besides many Schools, Cells, and Caravanserais in Jerusalem, but he has only named the most celebrated. I here resume his narrative.]

§ xxviii. *The Minarets of Jerusalem.*

Besides the four Minarets of the Mesjid el-Aksa, there is without a small Minaret at the School of Moazzem, (opposite the Gate of the Dewatar,) and another at the Convent of Saleh-ed-din, built by Sheikh Borhan-ed-din, Ibn Ghanem, before the year 820 (A.D. 1417). I have been informed by Sheikh Shems-ed-din Mohammed, son of Sheikh Abdullah of Bagdad, that Borhan-ed-din's design to build this Minaret greatly distressed the Christians, because it would out-top the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They offered a large sum of money to the Sheikh to abandon his design, but he continued to build, to their great annoyance. Then the Prophet appeared in a dream to a man whom he ordered to salute Ibn-Ghanem in his name, and to assure him of his intercession in the Day of Judgment, in recompence for his having raised this Minaret above the head of the Infidels. We have said above that the Minaret, which is on the South of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was built before the year 870 (A.D. $146\frac{3}{5}$), on the ancient foundations. The Minaret at the side of the Cell Derkah was partly ruined by the earthquake of the year 863 (A.D. $145\frac{3}{5}$), and the Minaret of the Mosk near the Jews' Synagogue was built since the year 800 (A.D. $139\frac{7}{8}$.) The City of Jerusalem, as it now stands, is a large City built partly on the mountain and partly in the valley. Everywhere are found vestiges of ancient buildings on which the modern are reared. It has a large number of reservoirs for collecting the rain-water. Among the most solid buildings of Jerusalem is the Cotton Bazaar, on the West side of the great Mosk, of such height and strength as is found in few other cities: then the three Bazaars near the Gate of the Mihrab, commonly called the Gate of Hebron (Bab el-Khalil), which are also the work of the Greeks, and extend in the direction of Damascus. The first, on the West side, is the Bazaar of the Grocers, assigned by Saleh-ed-din as endowment to the School which he built. The middle one which joins this is the Herb Bazaar, and the third on the East is the Bazaar of Stuffs. The rents of these last belong to the Mosk of Aksa. Travellers say that they know no Bazaar which can be compared with these. They are one of the ornaments of Jerusalem.

M. d'O. p. 125.

Selami Ibn Kossair relates, that when Omar had taken Jerusalem he stopped at the upper part of the Bazaar, and enquired, "Whose row is this?" *i. e.* the row of Shops of the Cloth Bazaar. The answer was

"The Christians'." "And whose," he asked, "is this western row, where the bath is?" He was answered—"The Christians'." Then he made a sign with his hand, saying, "This for them, and that for us." *This, i. e.* the middle Bazaar which runs between the two rows, and is to be understood of the great Bazaar where is the Dome covered with lead. It is clear, he describes the place where are now the three Bazaars before mentioned, for the old rows have disappeared, and the present buildings have taken their place.

There are at Jerusalem nearly twenty Churches and Convents of the times of the Greeks. The principal and most solid of all is that of the Holy Sepulchre, annually visited by a great number of pilgrims from all lands, who arrive there for the day of the Resurrection. The Church of Sion which belongs to the Franks at the Southern extremity of Jerusalem. The Church of S. James, or the Convent of the Armenians near the former. The Church of the Cross (Masulabi), which belongs to the Georgians without Jerusalem, on the West. These four Churches are the pillars of the Christians...The last was taken away from them during the reign of Nasr Mohammed, son of Kelaun, and converted into a Mosk. But in the year 705 (A.D. $130\frac{5}{6}$) an ambassador arrived from the King of the Georgians and the Emperor of Constantinople to demand the restitution of this Church, which was accordingly restored to them.

§ xxviii. *Celebrated Quarters of Jerusalem.*

Quarter of the Moghrebins, *near the walls of the Mesjid*, on the West, where the Moghrebins (Western Africans) sojourn, from whom it is named. The Quarter of Sheraf *in its neighbourhood*, also on the West, *and its name is derived from a man who was of the nobles of the city, called Sheraf, and he has descendants known by the name of Beni Sheraf.* It was formerly called the Kurds' Quarter. The Quarter of Alem, named after Alem-ed-din Suliman, son of Mohezeb, deceased in 770 (A.D. $136\frac{3}{9}$), whose son Omar was inspector of Mecca and Medina, and whose brother *Sheraf-ed-din* is buried in this Quarter. It is close to the preceding on the North, and adjoins the Quarter of Hayadaré. The Quarter Saltein adjoins that of Sheraf on the South-west; *Haret-er-Rîsha*, and the Jews' Quarter on the East. The Quarter of Sion is West of the Jews'. The Quarter Dhawi, North of that of Sion, and the Quarter of the Beni Hareth, without the City, near the Fortress. M. d'O. p. 126.

§ xxix. *The Street of David.*

This is the great Street which commences at the Gate of the Chain (Salsala) of the Mesjid el-Aksa, and leads to the City-gate, once called of the Mihrab, now of Hebron (*Kahlil*). Its parts bear different names. Thus the part from the Gate of the Mesjid to the house of the Koran of Selami is called Suk-es-sagha (the Goldsmiths' Mart); from the gate of Selami to the gate of the Quarter of Sheraf, Suk-el-Kashash (faggots);

from the Quarter of Sheraf to the Khan Fakhm, Suk-el-mobidhîn (the Whitesmiths' Mart); from the gate of the Khan to the arch (*Kantara*) Jobeili, Suk-Khan el-Fakhem (the Mart of the Charcoal Inn); from the arch Jobeili to the steps (*duraj*) Harafîsh, Suk-al-tabakkin (Tobacco Mart); from the steps Harafîsh to the gate of the Jews' Quarter, Khat-bab-el-wakali (the Line of the Gate of the Wakîl's Office). It is a large Khan, (the revenues of which are assigned to the Mosk el-Aksa, and let for 400 ducats a year,) *in which various sorts of goods are sold.* From the Jews' Quarter to the Khan Essarf (Money-changers') is called Suk el-Hariri (the Silk Mart); and from the Khan es-Sarf to the City-gate, Khat-'arsat-el-ghalal (Line of the Place of Produce).

All these parts are comprised in the Street of David, so named from a subterranean gallery which David caused to be made from the Gate of the Chain to the Citadel called the Mihrab of David. It still exists, and parts of it are occasionally discovered. It is all solidly vaulted.

§ xxx. *The Street of the Merzeban* (probably *Landgrave*).

It is divided into different parts, like that of David. From the Gate El-Katanin to the end of the Akba it is called Akbat-el Katanin. From the head of the Akba to the Khan Jobeili *is known as* Hammam Ala-ed-din, which joins on the West the lane (*shaari*), known as the quarter of Sheikh Mahommed el-Karmi, and on the North, a lane (*shaari*), known as the quarter of the Hasryé (Mat Merchant), which is followed on the East by the quarter of Ibn-es-Shentîr, *because he dwelt there; and the whole of this is comprehended under* the Khat of the Merzeban. (I know not the reason of this name, *but it is so written in the legal decisions*).

M.d'O.II. p. 127.

Near the Merzeban's quarter *on the West* is the Plan of the Square, and the Stuff Mart, followed by those of Herbs and Spicery: *and close to it* the street of the Derkah, where is the Hospital of Saleh-ed-din, and the Church of the Sepulchre. Near this the Christians' Quarter extends *to the South-east* from the Gate of Hallil to the Gate of Serb (Drinking). *And within the Christian Quarter is the Quarter of the Rahbeh.* The Quarter Jewalidi joins the Christian Quarter on the West, without the city.

§ xxxi. *The Lane* (*Shaari*) *of the Valley of the Mills.*

This is the greatest street, from the South towards Damascus, which extends from the steps of the fountain to the Gate of the Column (*el 'Amud*)—*one of the city-gates,* and includes many lanes (*shaari*). First, that of *the Gate* of the Cotton Mart, *and this is the Gate of the Mesjid, so called because they sell Cotton in the Bazaar near it.* That of the gate of the Inspector (*en Nazir*), opposite to which, on the West, is *Market-Street* (*Akbat-es-Suk*), *now known* as Lady's Street (Akbat-es-Sit), so called from a house built by Dame Tonshok, in 794 (A.D. 139½). Near

it on the West is the Oil Mart, and by it is an Akbat on the East, known as Akbat Abu Shama (the Mole's Father—it is the title of an unpublished tale of the Thousand and One Nights). On the East side of the Mill Valley is the Quarter Ghuanimi, named from the Beni Ghanem, and opposite on the West is Akbat-ez-Zahari, so called from an oratory of that name. On the South is Akbat es-Sudan, by which, on the North, is the Akbat known as the Arch (kantara) of Green. At the Northern end of Akbat ez-Zahari is the Bazaar of Fakhr, so called from the founder of the school of that name. Here are the soap-manufactories. On the North-west of this Bazaar is the Quarter of the Beni-Merri, joined on the West by the Quarter Zeraini, and that of Malath, without the city, joining the Christians' Quarter on the West. Lastly, the Quarter of the Column, where the Valley of the Mills and the City terminate on the North-west.

The Quarters of the Beni-Saad and Baila are on the East of the Mill Valley, joining on the North the Ottomans' Quarter, followed on the North by Akbat-es-Showekh, on the North of which again is the Quarter of the Beni Zeid, and that of the Gate Ed-Dagu, at the northern extremity of the city. The Quarter Deraj-el-mola is near the Quarter Osaila on the East, joined on the South by the Quarter Sherif-el-Umbia (Nobility of the Prophets), now called that of the Dewatar. It is near the Quarter Mehmazi, and leads to the Gate Zahari. The Quarter of the Gate of Hitta on the North of the Mesjid el-Aksa, joined on the North by the Orientals', which joins the City-walls. The Quarter Tori, from the Gate of the Tribes to the northern wall of the city, and to the Quarter called the Faster's. [Fr. *du Jeuneur.*] M. d'O. p. 128.

There are besides a great number of Quarters, but we have only mentioned the more celebrated; of which the most remarkable is that of the Gate Hitta. All these Quarters are on the North and West sides of the Mesjid. On the South and East is the desert, as was before said.

§ xxxii. *The Castle.*

This is without [?] Jerusalem on the West side, formerly called the Mihrab of David, who dwelt there. It is said that the building joined the Convent of Sion. It has a great Tower named of David, and built by Solomon. . . . . The Franks and Greeks erected some buildings in the Castle, when they were masters of Jerusalem. There is in the Castle a Castellain different from the Governor of the City, who has the privilege of a Mint, and a military Band every afternoon, according to the usage of the Castellains of the Castles in the great cities. This usage is now discontinued by reason of the general disorder. Formerly the Governor resided in the Castle.

The buildings of Jerusalem are all of great strength, built in stone with vaulted roofs, or terraced without timber. Travellers say that they know no city better built for appearance than Jerusalem, and none

better in reality than Hebron. The architecture of Jerusalem resembles that of Nablûs. These three cities are all of stone, because they have the advantage of being situated near mountains where there is an abundant supply of this material. The *coup d'œil* of Jerusalem taken from a distance is very beautiful, above all on the east side, from the Mount of Olives, and also from the South. On the West and North only very little is seen from far. Behind are the mountains which surround Jerusalem and Hebron, and render the approach difficult. . . . . .

M. d'O. p. 129.

§ xxxiii. *The City Gates.*

The first, situated on the South, is that of the Moghrebins' Quarter, then that of Sion, now called the Jews'. On the West is a small *secret* gate adjoining the Armenian *Convent*. The Gate of the Mihrab, now called that of Khalil. Moshrif in his Defence of the Traditions says, that, according to the words of the Prophet, the gate by which Jesus shall enter at the end of the world to oppose Antichrist, is not the Gate of the Church towards Ramla, but the *western* Gate of David near the Mihrab, called by the name of Lîd, and another known as the Gate of Rahbi [*i.e.* wide place]. On the North are the Gates of Serb, el-'Amud ed-dazje, Ez-Zahari, and on the East that of the Tribes. In all Ten Gates.

CHAP. XXII. REMARKABLE PLACES IN THE ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM.

§ xxxiv. *The Fountain of Siloam.*

This is without the City on the South, in the valley adjoining the southern walls of the City.

[Then follow traditions, &c., shewing how highly it is esteemed by the Moslems, who rank it with Zemzem,—the sacred Well of Mecca.]

M. d'O. p. 130.

§ xxxv. *The Fountain of accused Women.*

Said, son of Abd-el-Aziz, says that there was in the time of the Israelites, near the Fountain Siloam, another Fountain, to which women accused of adultery came, and drank the water,—with impunity if they were innocent, but with fatal effect if they were guilty. When Miryam was found with child and accused to her husband, she called God to witness her innocence, and drank of this water only with benefit. She then prayed that this water might never do harm to any faithful woman, and from that day the fountain disappeared.

[This is doubtless the Fountain of the Virgin, of which a similar tradition is often recorded by Christian pilgrims of the middle ages.]

§ xxxvi. *The Well of Job.*

This is near the Fountain Siloam. The author of the Ins mentions that he has read the following in the writings of Ibn Omar son of Mohammed el-Kasem. "I have read in history that in a drought of

water this well was dug to the depth of eighty Ziraas, ten long, and four wide. This well is entirely cased with large stones, each of which is five Ziraas long and two high, more or less. I was astonished at the size of these stones, and at the difficulty of getting them down there. The water was fresh, and during the whole year at the depth of eighty Ziraas, except in the winter, when it overflows, inundates the valley, and turns a mill. I descended into the well with the labourers to dig there. I saw that the water there issued from a stone of nearly two Ziraas [in diameter?] There is a cave, the entrance to which may be three Ziraas in height by one and a half in width. A very cold wind came from this cave. I entered it with a lighted candle, and saw there a cave all in stone; I advanced, but the wind which issued thence extinguished the candle. This well is in the depth of the Valley, and the cave in the middle of the well, which is surrounded by enormous rocks and high mountains, up which one climbs with difficulty. This is the well whereof God said to Job, "Place thy foot in this cold hole." The water which overflows in winter, for a month or more, forms a torrent which floods the valley. M. d'O. p. 131.

There are at Jerusalem six Pools constructed by Ezechiel, (*lege* Hezekiah), one of the ancient kings of Israel. Three of these Pools are in the city—Birket Israil, that of Solomon, and that of *Ayad*. The three others are without the city, Birket Mamillah and the two Pools called El-Merje, which were constructed as reservoirs of water for the city. The first, which is very celebrated, is North of the Mesjid el-Aksa, near the wall, at the Gate of the Tribes (es-Sabat) and the Gate Hitta: it is of majestic appearance. As to the Pools of Solomon and *Ayad*, I know not where they are, unless, at least, they are the two Pools, one of which is at the Street of the Merzeban, and serves as a reservoir for the Bath of Ala-ed-din Bazir [*Hammam es-Shefa*], and the second in the Christian Quarter [Birket Hammam el-Batrak,] which serves as a reservoir to the Patriarch's Bath, whose revenues belong to the Convent of Saleh-ed-din. These two Pools I suppose to be those of Solomon and *Ayad*. That of Mamillah is universally known, the two Pools named Merja are near the village *Urtas*, distant half a farasang, whence the water is conducted by pipes to Jerusalem. [A tradition of Joseph and his brethren to account for the name.]

In the vicinity of Jerusalem are everywhere seen vineyards and orchards. The most beautiful situation is that called El-Kaat [Bukà in MS.], without Jerusalem on the South-west, the revenues of which were granted by Saleh-ed-din to the Convent of the Sofis. These country-houses are elegantly and solidly built, and their owners pass several months there in the summer.

There was formerly at Jerusalem only one palm, supposed to be that which the Koran says bowed to Miryam. According to El-Kortobi, it was planted more than a thousand years since.

M. d'O. p. 132. There were at most three palms in the Mesjid el-Aksa, one near the oratory at the side of the Royal path at the place of the Sakhrah. This withered about the year 802 (A. D. $13\frac{22}{40}$.) The two others still exist, one at the Gate of Mercy, the second at the South of the Sakhrah, known as the Palm of the Prophet.

§ xxxvii. *The Convent of Abu Tor.*

On the side of this Bukà, on the north, is a *small* village in which is a Convent built by the Greeks, known in ancient times as the Convent of Mar Kaibûs. Its present name is derived from a pious Sheikh, to whose family this village was bequeathed by Saleh-ed-din, A. H. 594 (A.D. $119\frac{7}{8}$.) The Sheikh Abu Tor is buried there. His tomb is visited by many pilgrims. The village is near the Gate of the city called the Gate of Hebron.

§ xxxviii. *The Mount of Olives.*

This is the Mountain on the East which commands the Mesjid el-Aksa. [Moslem Traditions.] It is here that Jesus ascended to heaven. On the summit is a Church built by Helena; in the middle is the Dome of the Assumption [*i. e.* the Ascension]. The Church is in ruins, but the place is highly reverenced by the Christians. On the Mount of Olives is a karubeh [a tree], and near it a beautiful Mosk. Beneath the Mosk is a Cave frequently visited by travellers. This tree is called the Karubeh of the Ten—I know not the reason of this name. This Mount of Olives is also called the Mountain of Khamer; it abounds in fruit and shade. When Saleh-ed-din conquered Jerusalem he gave this property to the Sheikh Weli-ed-din Abul Abbas Ahmed, &c. and to the Sheikh Abul Hassan Ali, &c. and their families. The deed of grant is dated the 17th of Zilhajeh, A. H. 584. (January, A. D. 1189.)

§ xxxix. *The Tomb of Miryam.*

M. d'O. p. 133. This is in the Church named Jesmanye [Gethsemane], at the foot of the Mount of Olives, outside the Gate of the Tribes. This place is frequently visited by pilgrims, Moslem and Christian. The Church was built by Helena, mother of Constantine. When Omar conquered Jerusalem, he passed by the Church of Mary situated in the valley, and offered there two prayers. He afterwards repented, remembering the word of the Prophet, who said that this valley is one of the Valleys of Jehennom. "What occasion," said Omar, "had I to pray in the Valley of Jehennom?" According to Kaab, he said "Go not to the Church of Mary which is at Jerusalem," that is the Church of Jesmanye. In the Church of the Mount are two columns of wonderful workmanship. Near the Tomb of Mary, in the Valley of Jehennom, is a Dome built by the Greeks, called by the people The Mound of Pharaoh, at which they throw stones. Near it, at the foot of the mountain, is another Dome of stone, named Kufyeh, after the wife of Pharaoh. It is said that the

first of these is the Tomb of Zachariah, and the second that of John. I have read in some learned writings, that Zachariah and John were buried on Mount Olivet, in the Tombs of the Prophets. Others say that their Sepulchres are at Sabtye [*lege* Sebaste] near Nablûs, others at Damascus. God knows best how it is!

§ xl. *Ez-Zahara.*

This is the valley West of the Mount of Olives. Ibrahim, son of Abu Abbas, says that this valley is described in the Koran by the word Zahara. In the traditions of Ibn Omar it is related that the land of judgment is called Zahara, which is properly "a plain." Travellers quicken their pace to get out of it, and never sleep there. This Valley is without the city on the North. There are graves of Mohammedans.

§ xli. *The Cave Edhemieneh.*

It is beneath the Mount of Tombs in a *wonderful* rock. The Tombs of Zahara are above, so that, should the rock be bored, one would come from the tombs to the oratory Edhemiene (of the Fanatics); but the distance is great and the rock of enormous thickness, so that it may here be said that the dead are above the living, and I have seen it with my eyes. This oratory was formed by the Emir Menjek, prefect of Syria. There are tombs of many pious persons of distinction.

§ xlii. *The Cotton Grotto.*

M. d'O. p. 134.

Opposite the Zahara on the South, under the Northern wall of the city, is a large oblong cave named the Cotton Grotto; which some say extends as far as beneath the Sakhrah.

§ xliii. *Graveyards without Jerusalem.*

The Tombs of the Gate of Mercy, near the eastern wall of the Mosk above the Valley Jehennom, preferred to all others as being the nearest to the Mosk. The Sepulchral Chapel on the north was built by the Emir Kansu El-Badawi, Governor of Syria, when he visited Jerusalem, which he quitted in the year 892 (A. D. 1487). He finished the building in 895 (A. D. 1490). The Tombs of Ez-Zahara, of which I have spoken above, on the north of the city. The Tombs of the Martyrs, near the preceding on the East [?]: few persons are buried there. The Tombs of Mamilla, without the city on the west: these are the largest of all. The name Mamilla seems to be corrupted from the words Ma-min-ullah," (What is from God!), or as others think, from "Bab-ullah," (the Gate of God). The Jews call it Beit-Mollo, the Christians, Babila; the common name is Mamilla.

The Kalenderien Tombs. *In the middle* is an oratory known as Kalenderieh, *in which are great buildings,* and this oratory was a Greek Church. It is known as the Red Convent, *and the Christians believe in it.* Sheikh Ibrahim Kalenderi there collected the poor Kalenders [a sect

of fanatical Fakhirs] in the time of Dame Tonshok, daughter of Abdullah El-Mozaffer, who built the great institution known by the name of the House of the Dame Tonshok, and the Dar-el-akba near the Gate of the Inspector. By her liberality Sheikh Ibrahim built this Convent in 794 (A. D. 139½), but it is in ruins since it fell in 893, (A. D. 1488.) There are seen the Tombs of the most illustrious personages of Jerusalem.

The Kebkebian Tombs, near the Turbet Mamilla. It is a building solidly constructed, raised by the Emir Ala-ed-din Aidi Ghadi, son of Abdullah el-Kebkebi, who is there buried. He died in 688 (A. D. 1289.)

As it was important to retain the Arabic names as far as possible, in order to facilitate the identification of the places designated, I subjoin a short Glossary of the more common words, with their nearest equivalent in English, by which I have uniformly rendered them, to save others the inconvenience and perplexity which I have myself experienced from Von Hammer's practice of representing one and the same Arabic word by two, or sometimes four, different French synonyms.

Arabic.	English.
'Ain	fountain.
'Akbat	street (*lit.* declivity.)
'Amûd	column[1].
Bab	gate.
Bir	well.
Birket	pool.
Dikkah	gallery, p. 36 (5).
Duraj	steps.
Fusûs	mosaics (*lit.* ring-jewels).
Hakwiet	compartment.
Haret	quarter.
Hammam	bath.
Jamia[2]	mosk.
Kantara	arch.
Khan	inn.
Khat	line.
Khankeh (*Pers.*)	convent.
Kibla[3]	south.
Kubbet	dome.
Kubr	tombs.
Maghar	cave.
Medresse	school.
Mesjid[2]	sacred enclosure.
Mihrab	explained in p. 35 (1).
Minbar	——— *ibid.* (2).
Robat	caravanserais.
Sehun	platform.
Shaari	lane.
Sowari	piers[1].
Sûk	market.
Tarik	street.
Turbet	graveyards.
Zaweh	cell.
Ziraa[4]	

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[1] 'Amud and Sowari answer very nearly to these terms. Pompey's pillar at Alexandria is called by a name compounded of these two. 'Amûd es-Sowari.

[2] Jamia and Mesjid are equivalent to ναὸς and ἱερον respectively, according to Von Hammer. See H. C. II. p. 297, n. 3.

[3] It is used in a conventional sense for "l'endroit vers lequel on se tourne en faisant la prière" (M. d'O. II. p. 99) = Mihrab, q. v. Willmet in voc.

[4] The nearest equivalent to this word is a *cubit*, but as this would convey either a vague or false impression, I have retained the word: the value of the measure I have stated at about 2·2 feet English, equal *i. e.* to the Constantinople pit. [See H. C. II. p. 344, n. 3].

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